



**AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF BACHOFEN'S
MUTTERRECHT (MOTHER RIGHT) 1861
A STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS AND JURIDICAL ASPECTS
OF GYNECOCRACY IN THE ANCIENT WORLD**

**JOHANN JAKOB BACHOFEN
ABRIDGED AND TRANSLATED BY DAVID PARTENHEIMER**

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(1861)**

A Study of the Religious and Juridical Aspects
of Gynecocracy in the Ancient World

Johann Jakob Bachofen

Abridged and Translated by
David Partenheimer

With a Foreword by
Robert Graber

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to Natalia Partenheimer

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Translator's Introduction

Mother Right (1861) by Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815-1887) was the seminal document of the nineteenth century concerning the role of women in ancient societies. The title and term “mother right” requires explanation because its sense is not self-evident in English. Bachofen conceives “mother” as the one who bears life, then cares for her child with selfless love, devotion, and sacrifice. In this sense, *Mother Right* is a celebration of motherhood as the origin of human society, religion, morality, and decency. In English, the term “right” does not sufficiently convey the various meanings of the German term. Bachofen means rights, birthrights, justice, laws, interests, authority, and privileges. He explores all these aspects of “mother right” in ancient societies, specifically Lycia, Crete, Ancient Greece, Egypt, India, Central Asia, Northern Africa, and Spain. He concludes by identifying aspects of ancient mother right in Christianity.

By profession, Bachofen was a legal scholar and judge. Bachofen studied law under Friedrich Karl von Savigny and become a professor of law at the University of Basel. Moreover, he was a serious classical scholar, who searched beneath the surface of cultural phenomena for the spiritual meaning of existence. While traveling through Italy and Greece, he became fascinated with ancient tombstones because they indicated that women once had positions and rights that were lost through the centuries. In *Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten* [*Study of the Grave Symbolology of the Ancients*] (1859), Bachofen argues that a cemetery is our common ground for displaying symbols and myths that represent our respect for life and our comprehension of its mysteries:

The reposing symbol and its mythical depictions are the language and writing of the graves. The symbol and its myths are the voice of the graves. The riddle of death gives cause for higher considerations of agony and consolation, of hope and fear, of dismal and joyful sentiments, which only the hands of an artist may properly render.

Furthermore, Bachofen found evidence in ancient mortuary art that women once had positions and rights that were lost through the centuries. Ancient mortuary

art led Bachofen to a general investigation of matriarchy in ancient societies. From his study of myths, legends, folklore, histories, etymologies, legal documents, and works of art, Bachofen ascertained a pattern of social evolution and dynamics resulting from the inherent conflict between the interests of mothers and fathers.

Mother Right is the brainchild of this endeavor. Accordingly, societies advance through three fundamental stages. The earliest phase is what Bachofen terms a hetaeristic matriarchy, in which the mother and children alone constitute the family. In this first stage, human beings are much like swamp creatures, breeding indiscriminately. The only intimate human relationship is between mother and child. Fathers are unknown, for people have not yet made the connection between copulation and childbearing. Human birth is a mystery as is the fruitfulness of the earth. Thus, the mother becomes associated with the earth, the source and symbol of life. As a daughter and proxy of Mother Earth, a woman practices the magic of life. Along with maternal love, fertility is the highest value since it is the source of life. Thus, fertility goddesses like Aphrodite are the center of the oldest religions. Though men may rule by brute strength, women alone enjoy association with the divine.

The second stage coincides with an agrarian society. People understand that sexual intercourse produces offspring as planting seeds in the soil yields crops. The social institution of marriage models this bond in nature. On the one hand, marriage protects women from the lust and abuse of men. On the other hand, marriage civilizes men. A father learns to care for a life beyond his own when he shares in the responsibilities of raising children. In (an ideal) marriage, both men and women overcome their rivalry in the mutual concern for their offspring, thus uplifting themselves and their society. At this cultural stage, women remain preeminent in religion because agriculture ensues from Mother Earth. However, fertility figures yield to such deities of crops and marriage as Demeter and Hera respectively. The moon is the prime symbol of this stage, representing an elevation of matter to a celestial sphere.

Conjugal matriarchy may evolve into a patriarchy, which Bachofen celebrates as the fruition of nature's comprehensive plan for the liberation and exaltation of the human spirit: Privileging paternity liberates the spirit from the materialism of nature. The victory of paternity elevates human existence above the laws of material life. As a symbol of pure light and spirit, the sun represents the supreme paternal stage. The spiritual aspect of man transcends the muck and mire of the material world. Both in the heavens and on earth, the father and the son rule through their intellect, reason, and creative imagination. They reveal and offer to humanity a celestial world beyond time, space, and suffering.

Mother Right belongs to the progressive, idealistic, European tradition of evolutionary theory of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It follows the spirit of Condorcet's *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1795), Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), and Comte's *Course of Positive Philosophy* (1829-30). Along with Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and Marx's *Capital* (1867), *Mother Right* was one of three seminal works of evolutionary theory published within a period of eight years. Ideologically, *Mother Right* stands between Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* and Marx's *Capital*. All three works envision an evolution toward an ideal culture through a dialectic. For Hegel, the progression is spiritual and for Marx, it is material. Like Hegel, Bachofen envisions the refinement and perfection of the human spirit. Like Marx, Bachofen sees social conflict as the impetus of cultural development.

Mother Right opened a new world of exploration for ethnologists and social philosophers in Europe and North America. Foremost among them was Lewis Henry Morgan, who pursued Bachofen's theory of matriarchal societies in his fieldwork with the Iroquois. His *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871) and *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877) were engendered in large part by *Mother Right*. In turn, Friedrich Engels found both Morgan and Bachofen useful in making his case for a communal/communist society, most notably in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State: In the Light*

of the *Researches of Lewis H. Morgan* (1884). Likewise, Henry Adams was inspired by Morgan and Bachofen. His “Primitive Rights of Women” (1876) is derivative of *Mother Right* in both method and substance. His *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1905) applies Bachofen’s dialectic between the male and female principles to the Middle Ages. *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907) applies the dialectic to modern civilization, most succinctly stated in the chapter, “The Dynamo and the Virgin.”

In our time, Bachofen’s *Mother Right* has enjoyed less respect from the social sciences. From a positivistic or scientific approach to ancient societies, Bachofen’s *Mother Right* may seem quaint or inaccurate. In general, scholars in the social sciences have misunderstood or misappropriated Bachofen’s arguments. For example, one routinely points out that Bachofen was wrong in his assertions about the practices or even existence of primitive matriarchies. In fact, Bachofen’s “error” is a semantic misunderstanding on the part of his critics. The confusion comes from Bachofen’s imprecise and sometimes careless use of the terms “matriarchy” and “gynecocracy.” In general, Bachofen uses both terms interchangeably to denote matriliney, matrilocality, or rule of women. His critics have read the term strictly as a rule of women in political terms. Bachofen means a rule of women in a much broader context than political institutions and practices. His actual focus is on the dominant role of women in establishing religious beliefs, rituals, customs, and culture.

In *Der Mythos vom Matriarchat* [*The Myth of Matriarchy*], Uwe Wesel assesses the historical accuracy of *Mother Right* in light of modern research and scholarship. Accordingly, Bachofen was partially right and partially wrong. Women did not rule but they had equal rights. In particular, Wesel notes that Bachofen should not be judged by standards of the social sciences alone. Above all else, Bachofen developed the art of interpreting myths, which he dominated until Sigmund Freud. In this vein, Joseph Campbell praises Bachofen as a great scholar, mythographer, and humanistic thinker in the introduction to *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right*:

For Bachofen has a great deal to say to artists, writers, searchers of the psyche, and, in fact, anyone aware of the enigmatic influence of symbols in the structuring and moving of lives: the lives of individuals, nations, and those larger constellations of destiny, the civilizations that have come and gone, as Bachofen saw, like dreams—unfolding, each, from the seed force of its own primary symbol.... (xxv)

Campbell has in mind such writers as Rilke, Gerhart Hauptmann, and Thomas Mann and such psychologists as Otto Rank, Erich Neumann, and Erich Fromm. In *The Great Mother*, Eric Neumann argues that Bachofen's study of mother right has lasting value if it is "understood psychologically rather than sociologically" (25).

In *Of Woman Born*, Adrienne Rich summarizes the impact of Bachofen's *Mother Right* and its proponents from her contemporary feminist perspective:

The earlier writings of men like J.J. Bachofen, Robert Briffault, Frederick Engels, Erich Neumann, among others, though useful as preliminary steps in identifying the phenomenon and in suggesting that the patriarchal family is not an inevitable "fact of nature," still stop short of recognizing the omnipresence of patriarchal bias as it affects even the categories in which we think, and which has made of even the most educated and privileged woman an outsider, a non-participant, in the molding of culture. (56-57)

Over time, *Mother Right* and women's rights have gone from a relationship of infatuation to contempt. Initially, women's rights advocates embraced *Mother Right* because it evidences societies and historical periods in which women wielded more power and commanded more respect than in modern times. Presently, *Mother Right* is taboo to feminists because it blatantly proclaims that the male principle is superior to the female principle and even intimates women should stay at home as wives and mothers. If this were not provocative enough for feminists, Bachofen's discussion of Amazons and Amazonianism sounds like a condemnation of feminists and feminism. In "Lemnos," Bachofen describes the social components that spawn Amazonianism. The men are away from the home for long periods acquiring goods for the family. During their absence, women assume responsibilities of managing the home and society. As women become more independent in providing for themselves in every respect, they lose respect

and the need for men. Such a relationship is so volatile that any infraction from the men results in their defamation and ouster.

Though Bachofen cites such “political” instances of a matriarchy, his actual focus is on the dominant role of women in establishing religious beliefs, rituals, customs, and culture. The Lemnian women were not feminists seeking political power, but women who had neglected their feminine duties as wives and mothers and were punished by Aphrodite. Bachofen illustrates how society can deteriorate when men and women abandon the spiritual institution of marriage. In short, Bachofen does not approach ancient societies from a scientific but from a functional and spiritual perspective. We can easily see the difference in results from our own world. Imagine a middle-class family in which the man works and the wife does not. From a narrow material perspective, this is a patriarchy in which the wife has no authority because she has no income and her husband is physically stronger. However, when the husband arrives home from work, he follows her agenda of tending the garden, going to cultural events, attending church, and visiting her friends and family. She is in charge of the cultural and spiritual life of this bourgeois family. This contemporary example is a microcosm of a matriarchy as Bachofen means it in ancient societies.

Bachofen had a keen perception for literary archetypes, stories that repeat themselves with different characters and possibly settings. For example, the Lemnian women massacre their husbands along with their Thracian concubines and children. The Lemnian women are willing to kill in order to protect the rights of their own offspring and their own authority on the island. Likewise, Clytemnestra kills Agamemnon because she has ruled the land for ten years in his absence and he returns from the Trojan War with a concubine. Such psychological mythographers as Freud, Jung, and Campbell treat such stories as fanciful psychological adjustments to social threats. In contrast, Bachofen asserts that women in reality know no limits when it comes to mother right. He maintains that the numerous myths, fairy tales, and folktales of the evil “stepmother” are as real as contemporary newspaper accounts of women neglecting or killing their

stepchildren because they all belong to the human tradition of women protecting their own offspring and eliminating the competition from the offspring of other women.

In its own right, *Mother Right* is a myth about the struggle of people to overcome materialism and barbarity. Bachofen does not simply contrapose the material and spiritual but rather he shows their complex relationship and the social dynamics they induce. His stages of human development are ubiquitous forces in human life both personal and social. How a person, generation, or society manages and embraces these clashing forces of brutish desires, devotion to family, and absorption in the divine determines the existence of each. The values attached to the mother and to the father are no less significant today. *Mother Right* provides a mythological and symbolic framework for understanding such trends in our society as feminism, consumerism, populist democracy, and statism. For example, the doctrine of multiculturalism encourages ethnic groups to preserve their languages and customs within and even at odds with mainstream society. In “Lemnos,” Bachofen shows how such a “multicultural experience” ran amuck. The Pelasgians abducted Athenian women and brought them back to Lemnos as concubines. The Athenian women raised their children as if they were living in Athens. The children learned only their mother tongue and their maternal customs and religion. The Athenian children even snubbed the Pelasgians. When the Athenian sons grew older and strong, the Pelasgians feared the Athenians might threaten the rights and status of their own children. Thus, the Pelasgians slew the Athenian women and their children.

In a similar fashion, abortion is a conflict between women’s rights and father right. The conviction that a woman should have exclusive charge of her reproductive capacities is a contemporary declaration of mother right. From the perspective of mother right, an unborn baby is a corporeal being that belongs solely to the mother who carries it in her womb. From the perspective of father right, the unborn child is a spiritual being that belongs to God the Father, the creator of all life. Another controversial issue is universal health insurance offered

through the government. From the perspective of mother right, the state should provide for the medical needs of all its citizenry as an ideal mother takes care of all her children equally regardless of their behavior. Communists and socialists embrace this mode of thinking about medical care and other social services. In contrast, father right requires that children become adults and take care of themselves with their own resources. Likewise, the immigration debate is one between mother right and father right. According to mother right, we are all children of the earth. From this perspective, we are all brothers and sisters and should live in a world without borders. According to father right, we are children of a nation constituted by laws not soil. Father right distinguishes between citizens and foreigners. A foreigner may become a citizen only through the process of law. Likewise, religious beliefs today have an orientation toward mother right or father right as they did in ancient times. A religion whose objective is to aid the poor with material possessions, to develop a communal sense among its members, and to submit oneself to grace for salvation is maternal in its orientation. A religion whose objective is to enlighten the soul, to develop an individual relationship with God the Father, and to cultivate virtue through adherence to divine law for salvation is paternal in its orientation.

According to Bachofen, individuals, societies, and cultures become the deity they worship. They deify what they value as justification for their view of the world and behavior in it. *Mother Right* traces the history of mankind as it worship and serves goddesses and gods, mother right and father right. *Mother Right* is the universal history of the human struggle to overcome materialism and barbarity. In "Lycia," Bellerophon is a prime example. The young Bellerophon overcomes every monster and foe. He is blessed by the gods. Yet when he tries to enter the celestial domain, he is hurtled back to earth, where he wanders alone in misery until his death. Bachofen has no sanguine view of transcendence and salvation for human beings. Most souls struggle and fail. Human beings can attain only an affinity with the divine.

Bachofen argues that ancient mythology consistently shows a pattern of substance prevailing over spirit. Thus, any religion that accommodates the material is likely doomed to failure. Whereas ancient religions faltered and failed, Bachofen maintains Roman jurisprudence often succeeded in overcoming the laws of nature (*ius naturale*) with higher laws of human invention (Apollonian law). He cites adoption law as an example. In a strict sense, adoption as an imitation of nature (*imitatio naturae*) is a compensation for couples who cannot produce children themselves. In contrast, *adoptio in familiam nomenque* [adoption into the family and name] is an intellectual act that produces children outside the mother's womb. In other words, a man does not depend entirely on procreation for a child because he can bestow his noble name and honors onto a beneficiary through a declaratory act of law. Whereas fatherhood ensuing from physical procreation is vulnerable to termination because of childlessness, spiritual propagation is exempt from the fate of substance. In short, a legal fiction transcends the material law of nature.

Bachofen was a pessimistic idealist. He desired spiritual transcendence but he doubted humanity could sustain it. Accordingly, each chapter of *Mother Right* depicts the spiritual ascent of an ancient people from the swamp to the stars. However, like Phaeton, one people after another fails and falls from the heights because any religion with its foundation in materialism is ultimately doomed to corruption. The finest fruit of human endeavor falls from its high branches onto the ground to rot. Such is mankind's fate. A case in point is the empire of Alexander the Great in "India and Central Asia." Militarily, Alexander conquers the materialistic and matriarchal nations of the East and establishes a Hellenic rule. However, Alexander was unable to elevate the cultures of the East to an Apollonian level because he succumbed to the practices of sensuality and Dionysianism. Furthermore, his successors sank deeper and deeper into sensuality and debauchery. In short, the fruits of Alexander's victory were spoiled.

Similarly in "Orchomenus and the Minyans," Jason and the Argonauts succeed in their quest for the Golden Fleece. Symbolically, their success marks a

victory of Apollonian spirituality over Oriental sensuality. As the earthly agent of Apollo, Jason conquers Amazonianism, hetaerism, and tellurism. However, the Apollonian victory is meager and short-lived. The Argonauts do not convert the Colchians but rather provoke them and the Orient in general to retaliation in the figure of Dionysus. He combines the spiritual aspects of Apollo with the sensuality of the Orient. His combined powers are irresistible. Ironically, the ultimate outcome of the voyage of the Argonauts into the East is the complete conquest of the West by Dionysus. Even in heaven, Apollo yields to Dionysus when Zeus and the Olympians grant Dionysus preeminence because of his gift of wine. Like the effects of wine, the spiritual aspects of Dionysianism were illusionary and ephemeral. The cult of Dionysus quickly eroded into mere debauchery. Bachofen claims “more than any other cause the Dionysian cult contributed to the downfall of ancient civilization and to the irreversible degeneration of the people.”

Bachofen’s *Mother Right* is particularly valuable today because it flies in the face of prevailing ideologies. The work provides us with a perspective on the role of women that is currently suppressed. *Mother Right* provides the missing voice in the dialogue about ancient women and the role of women in general. Without *Mother Right* and other such works, we do not have intellectual diversity and discourse, but propaganda and indoctrination. For example, Bachofen’s observations of promiscuous sexual practices in ancient societies are applicable to our own times. In “Lycia,” he cites ancient examples of open marriage and public copulation. He condemns such practices because a civilization depends upon the institution of marriage. Human beings transcend the beasts only when they control and restrain their carnal desires. Matrimony requires a man and a woman to overcome the urges of natural law for the higher benefits of a secure family life. In “Lycia,” Bachofen makes evaluative distinctions between peoples who forage in the wild and propagate like swamp plants and peoples who control and cultivate the land and honor the institution of marriage. Bachofen maintains that a civilization deteriorates when matrimony is diminished or extinguished.

Contemporary social scientists have varying views on the value of monogamous, heterosexual marriages in our society. However, one need only look around without a helping hand from the experts in order to see the effects on children whose parents do not practice traditional marriage.

This translation is an abridgment of the original 1861 edition of *Mutterrecht*. I consulted the edited and annotated version in *Johann Jakob Bachofens Gesammelte Werke* (Benno Schwabe, 1948) as well as the abridged version of *Mutterrecht* (Suhrkamp, 1975) edited by Hans-Jürgen Heinrichs as models for my own editing.

Bachofen was a scholar with a vast knowledge of the classics, law, and the humanities. He assumes a readership of peers able to follow his arguments involving hundreds of classical works and scholarly sources in several languages. My translation is intended for a more general scholarly audience. Thus, I have freely translated and edited Bachofen's fundamental ideas and major arguments.

Preface and Introduction

This work discusses a historical phenomenon noticed only by a few scholars and investigated in its complete scope by no one. The concept of mother right and the family arrangement it defines is new to the study of ancient history. A study of mother right is both fascinating and challenging, for no scholarly research accounts for the cultural period of mother right. We are entering a land without cultivation. We are entering uncharted cultural periods in which our notions and knowledge of antiquity no longer pertain. We will discover people who did not attain the high cultural level we associate with the people of classical antiquity. We will see a strange world unfold before our eyes. As we journey deeper into this world, its phenomena will become stranger and stranger. This world contradicts our notions of a civilized culture. However, we must judge this primordial world, its conceptions, and customs by its own fundamental law. Like us, the people of classical antiquity found the gynecocratic family law of this primordial world odd and unexplainable. A primordial law of life much older than the Hellenic culture is the source and foundation of mother right. The overall purpose of this study is to show the vital principle of the gynecocratic age and to explain its relationship to lower as well as to more developed cultures. Thus, my study is much broader in scope than my title suggests. My research encompasses every aspect of gynecocratic culture. My method is to examine specific gynecocratic cultures, then explain the fundamental concept underlying them all. In this fashion, I intend to reconstruct a picture of this primordial cultural stage, which was diminished or destroyed by later developments of the ancient world. My objective is far-reaching. However, we can only gain real scientific clarity and understanding of the ancient world by extending the range of our views. In this

introduction, I will now summarize my ideas about the development and scope of mother right.

Lycia provides the clearest and most valuable example of mother right in ancient societies. Herodotus reports that unlike the Hellenes the Lycians named their children exclusively after their mothers. The social standing of a child was determined by the status of the mother. Thus, Lycian genealogical records deal only with the maternal family line. In accordance with this view, Nicolaus of Damascus states that only Lycian daughters had the right to inheritance. He traces this customary practice back to the unwritten law, ordained by god. These Lycian practices noted by Herodotus and Nicolaus of Damascus are an expression of the same fundamental conception. Although Herodotus regards these Lycian customs as nothing more than an odd deviation from Hellenic practices, we should examine the core of these practices in order to properly understand them. Accordingly, we will look past an apparent deviation and discover a sound social system. Lycian practices of mother right cannot be an anomaly of any legal system because they were not derived from positive law. Instead, Lycian practices represent an independent system of family law in opposition to the Greek and Roman paternal principle. By comparing these opposing systems, we can better understand their essential characteristics. We will discover that other ancient peoples shared similar maternal social conceptions. The exclusive right of a daughter to inherit property in Lycia corresponds to the exclusive responsibility of the daughter to provide the care of aging parents in Egypt as reported by Diodorus of Sicily. As a manifestation of the same maternal principle, Strabo reports that among the Cantabri the daughters provided their brothers with dowries. When we place all these various incidents together, we get a complete image of life among ancient peoples. We will find that mother right is not confined to a particular people but rather mother right marks an entire cultural stage. Because human nature is universal and consistent, mother right is neither determined nor limited by any ethnic family. Moreover, we should not concern ourselves with the superficial similarities of mother right but rather we should focus on the

fundamental concept at the heart of mother right. Polybius' report about the hundred noble families of the Epizephyrian Locrians indicates that mother right belongs to an earlier cultural period preceding a paternal system. Furthermore, the reign of mother right falls into decline and ultimately disappears as the paternal system develops and prevails. Thus, we find a gynecocratic lifestyle primarily among peoples considered more ancient races by the Greeks. A gynecocratic lifestyle is the essential element of primordial culture. Motherhood shapes the identity of the most ancient societies whereas fatherhood shapes the identity of Hellenism.

My contentions about mother right are not just derived from these few examples. My work will provide overwhelming evidence of the existence of mother right. We will see the vast diversity of mother right as practiced among the Leges, Carians, Aetolians, Pelasgians, Caucones, Arcadians, Epeians, Minyae, and Teleboeans. In these cultures, women enjoyed power and prestige unknown in Hellenic culture. Even the ancients were astonished at the role of women in these societies. In all these cultures, we see a picture of ancient sublimity in all its shades and colorations. The genealogical system in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* illustrates the fundamental principles of mother right: an immortal mother is wed to a mortal father; maternal property and the maternal family name are preeminent; sisterhood becomes the most important relationship; a country is called motherland; female sacrifices are most sacred; and matricide is a crime without possible expiation. . . .

The various manifestations of a gynecocracy all come from the same mold. We can readily recognize the traits of this distinct stage of development in the human mind and spirit. The primacy of motherhood in the family was a general condition in primordial societies. Ultimately, gynecocracies collided with such paternal cultures as those in Greece. The conflict between a paternal system and mother right permeates every aspect of a culture or society. Even such differences as favoring either the left or right side are signs of this conflict. In a gynecocracy, left precedes right. Left belongs to the passive feminine aspect of

nature, and the right to the active masculine. A salient example is Isis, who uses her left hand as a sign of her authority in her rule over Egypt. The *major honos laevarum partium* (greater honor of the left) is evident in the customs and practices of both civil and religious life. Another symbolic manifestation of mother right is the primacy of the night over the day. Accordingly, the day emerges from the womb of the night as its child. The association of the left and the night with motherhood is evidenced in such primordial customs and practices as calculating time by the number of nights, waging battles at night, holding conferences, trials, and rituals after dusk. In addition, the fundamental concept of mother right places the moon before the sun, the conceiving earth before the fertilizing sea, dark death before the light of life, the dead before the living, and sorrow before joy. These are the characteristics of maternal life. . . .

In a system of mother right, the relationship between sisters is most important. Among sisters, the youngest born is the most important. Both of these principles belong to maternal family law. A sister takes precedence over a brother, and a daughter takes precedence over a son. The last female child born is most important because she continues the family line as the one most likely to die last. A maternal system regulates human life according to the laws of nature. Thus, early spring is the preferred season, and a tree is considered more important than its leaves. Mother right represents the material corporeal law of nature, not the higher spiritual life. The conceptual framework of a gynecocracy centers on the mother and earth, not the father and the celestial.

So far we have examined a few juristic aspects of a gynecocracy. We will now examine its moral significance. Whereas the laws of mother right run counter to our present conceptions, the human aspects of mother right remain a part of our most cherished values. During the deepest and darkest stage of human existence, the love of a mother for her child was the only ray of light and source of joy amid profound misery. The bond between mother and child serves as the model for the development of civilization, human goodness, and every noble aspect of human existence. Motherhood countervails a world of violence with the divine principle

of love, concord, and peace. Caring for children, a woman learns to love a person beyond herself and to protect and nurture the other person with all her soul and might. The mother is the source of social progress, charity, devotion, and respect for the dead.

Both myth and historical accounts substantiate the central role of women in ancient societies. The Cretans called their homeland, “dear motherland.” In maternal cultures, people consider themselves brothers and sisters because they share their country as a common womb. As a sacred duty, maternal people protect the mother and seek merciless revenge against violators of the mother, even if it is the father. In maternal cultures, mothers are loyal to mothers and sisters to sisters. However, womanly love transcends these central relationships and ultimately becomes a universal love for all humanity. In contrast, the paternal principle limits the conception of a family. Like nature itself, the maternal principle has no familial bounds. All offspring are brothers and sisters. In contrast, the paternal principle limits the concept of relatives to the immediate family. The maternal principle includes everyone in the family and thereby initiates human society. A woman’s womb is the mortal counterpart to Demeter, the earth mother. Each woman bears children for the grand family of humanity. Therefore, all people are brothers and sisters. A paternity dissolves the unity of the masses and establishes social divisions. Freedom, equality, and fraternity are aspects of the maternal principle. These values underlie the *συνπάθεια* [compassion] for all people in a community without social bounds. Thus, gynocratic states cultivate peace and harmony among their people. The great panegyrises involving the entire populace in a celebration of brotherhood and folk traditions originated in maternal cultures . . . This ancient race of people under the law of motherhood seems blessed with Saturnian innocence. In *Works and Days*, Hesiod depicts the silver age of men as a maternal society. In an agricultural world of plenty, the mother cares for her son until he grows old but never mentally matures. Here myth and history coincide.

Mother right is fundamentally religious. . . . Religion is the most powerful mechanism of civilization. Both progress and decline in human existence arise

from the lofty domain of religion. It is our key to unlocking the mysteries of ancient life because every aspect of ancient life was ruled by religious belief. Historical traditions arose from cultic ideas. The earliest human beings viewed every experience as the work of their perfect gods. Gynecocratic cultures are hieratic because women and especially mothers have a profound intuitive sense of god. This sense along with love for children raises women above men in early human history despite the superior strength of men. . . . Because of women's natural inclination toward the supernatural, divine, and miraculous, they have had the greatest impact on the development of civilization throughout the ages. . . . Women were the first oracles of divine revelation. Furthermore, women have been the most fervent and active agents in the dissemination of religion, especially through the lure of their sensuality. Prophetesses preceded prophets. Women uphold religious beliefs more strictly than men. Even though women are physically weaker than men, they are stronger in religious matters. For example, women observe cultic practices and ceremonies more than men. Armed with religious authority, women prevail over the physical roughness of men. Women counter violence with peace, hate with love, and bloody enmity with reconciliation thereby leading the lawless and wild peoples of ancient times toward a kinder and gentler culture. As agents of the divine will, women rule this higher culture. Women's alliance with religion accounts for their magical power to reconcile warring parties and soothe the fiercest furor among men. A woman's decree is inviolable because she represents divine law. Thus, Arête, the queen of the Phaeacians, commands godlike respect from her people and husband. Her word is like a holy commandment. Another example of the sanctity of women is the rite of εὐσέβεια [reverence for the gods] among the Locrians. Only a maiden could perform the ritual. Similarly, maidens were sacrificed among the Locrians in expiation of Ajax's sacrilege. Both these examples suggest that a female sacrifice is most pleasing to the gods.

In a system of mother right, women are entrusted with the sacred rites and holy mysteries because they are the earthly proxies of tellurian Mother Earth.

Women are the mortal counterparts of Demeter. The religious primacy of motherhood endows mortal women with their authority. Demeter's exclusive relationship with Persephone establishes an exclusive right of succession from mother to daughter. Finally, the intrinsic connection of the mysteries with the chthonic female cults leads to a priesthood of mothers. Mystery is the essence of every religion. Women understand mystery and cultivate it because they are intimate with the secrets of nature and substance. Women's painful experience with death awakens in them the need for consolation and spiritual hope. The mystery of Demetrian motherhood is epitomized in the transformation of seeds, which sprout into life, then perish. Seeds serve as a religious model for understanding why death is necessary for a higher rebirth. In the course of ancient history, every gynocracy was linked to the mysteries of a chthonic religion, whether with Demeter or some other equivalent female divinity. . . . The cultic beliefs of a gynocracy serve as the foundation for the social practices in the ancient world. For example, the daughter-mother relationship of Kore and Demeter accounts for the higher social status of the mother over the father and the daughter over the son. . . .

Order, piety, and tradition are the hallmarks of maternal peoples. Women are strict guardians of the mysteries, justice, and peace. Women account for the initial emergence of civilization and orderly existence. Women possess the natural ability to comprehend the secrets of life. Hence, women initially led the human race from barbarity to civilization. Women formed the first conceptions of natural forces. They confronted the horror of death with the prospect of an afterlife. A gynocracy is the source of culture. A gynocracy is an incipient stage in the history of mankind founded on natural law that rules both society and individuals. A gynocracy is modeled after childbearing motherhood. The laws of material nature form and rule a gynocracy. Matriarchal peoples sense the natural unity of life and harmony of the universe. Likewise, matriarchal people grieve profoundly for the dead and fear the vulnerability of their purely tellurian existence. In particular, mothers lament the death of their offspring and seek consolation for

their loss in the eternal life of nature. Women conceptualize nature as the womb and devoted mother. Specifically, women turn to the earth as their primary deity and obey its laws of physical nature. Thus, chthonic powers precede uranian light. Male power resides in tellurian waters as fecundating liquid, which is subordinate to *gremium matris* [maternal womb]. Likewise, the ocean is subordinate to the earth. Women devote all their powers and attention to material existence and *πρακτικὴ ἀρετὴ* [practical skills]. In this vein, ancient gynecocracies initiated agriculture and the construction of walls for protection. Maternal cultures consider the body sacred and, therefore, care for external appearance at the expense of the spiritual side of life. In short, gynecocratic life is material, physical, and naturalistic. Mother right is the essence of this stage in human social development. . . .

A wild period of hetaerism precedes orderly Demetrian gynecocracy. Both hetaerism and gynecocracy share the material and maternal view of life. Exclusive marriage between one man and one woman is the essential difference between the two. The Demetrian restriction on motherhood to one father elevates a gynecocracy above unrestricted sexual relationships in hetaerism. A gynecocracy is an escape from the lowest form of natural life and a transitional stage culminating in the spiritual stage of the father. . . . Gynecocracy consciously and consistently resisted the practices of hetaerism degrading for women, who were at the mercy of physically stronger men. Women longed for a better life with order and decency. Because of their contempt for hetaerism, women established a gynecocratic lifestyle of strict discipline, in particular concerning marriage. . . . The Demetrian principle of exclusive marriage infringes upon the religious commandment of hetaerism for unrestricted sexual relationships. Therefore, we find the widespread practice of propitiating the offended deity for entering into a marriage. According to the principle of hetaerism, nature did not endow a woman with sensuous beauty only to wilt away in the arms of one man. The rule of the body rejects any limitations and bonds upon sexual activities. Thus, exclusive marriage is a sin against the divinity of hetaerism. In various forms, a period of

hetaerism as propitiation must precede a marriage. The conflict between hetaerism and marriage has lasted for thousands of years. Progress has been gradual and tenuous. Over time, homage to hetaerism diminished into mere tokenism. Yearly hetaeristic sacrifices diminished into a single offering. Matrons withdrew from hetaerism leaving only maidens. Hetaerism was allowed only before marriage and only with a select few men. Hierodules are another example of a restriction on hetaerism. These sacred prostitutes relieved matrons of their responsibilities to hetaerism so that women in general could lead a more dignified life. The simplest way for a maiden to personally propitiate hetaerism was to offer a lock of her hair.

At odds with the strictures of Demetrian motherhood is wild and natural primordial tellurism. This wild production of Mother Earth's vegetation is most apparent in lush swamp life. Hetaerism is modeled after swamp life whereas Demetrian marriage is modeled after the practice of agriculture. However, both stages of human life acknowledge the ultimate authority of the childbearing body. The difference between the two lies in the degree of following the dictates of nature. Tellurian motherhood is associated with plants and animals of the swamp. Demetrian motherhood is associated with grains. . . .

The first great encounter between Asian and Greek cultures became a battle between the hetaeristic authority of Aphrodite and the conjugal authority of Hera. The cause of the Trojan War was Paris' violation of the marriage bed. The West took on the task of promoting the higher Demetrian principle and thereby liberating humanity from the slavery of tellurism and the magical entrapment of the sensuous Orient. The Roman *imperium* completed the process of liberation from tellurism. Initially, the Romans practiced hetaeristic motherhood. They remained loyal to Asian Aphrodite and related religious practices. Furthermore, Tarquinian kings familiarized the Romans with the maternal Etruscan culture. Were it not for the concept of *imperium*, the Romans would have succumbed to material motherhood of Asian derivation. Augustus contemplating the dead body

of Cleopatra is symbolic of Rome's ultimate conquest over the seductions of the Orient and *ius naturale*.

The spread of the Dionysian religion gave hetaerism assistance in its battle with the Demetrian principle and therefore resulted in a disastrous setback for all of civilization in the ancient world. Dionysianism plays a crucial role in the history of gynecocracy. Initially, Dionysus was the prime adversary of mother right, especially of Amazonianism. Women had fallen victim to the lifestyle of Amazonianism, and Dionysus was a relentless opponent of this unnatural degeneration. Dionysus required the strict fulfillment of marriage vows and the return of women to the role of mother. Dionysus glorified male-phallic nature. These circumstances suggest that the Dionysian religion assisted Demetrian marriage law and served as the most important factor in the establishment of a theory of paternity. These contributions of the Dionysian religion are indisputable. Nonetheless, the history of the ancient world shows that the Bacchic cult ultimately became the most powerful accomplice of the hetaeric way of life. Though the Bacchic cult elevated the institution of marriage, it contributed more than any other cause to the regression of female life to the complete naturalness of Aphroditianism. Though the Dionysian religion advanced the male principle at the expense of motherhood, it contributed most to the denigration and decline of men.

A catalyst for the rapid and successful dissemination of the Dionysian religion was Amazonianism, an extreme and decadent form of ancient gynecocracy. As the reign of motherhood became more and more extreme, women became less and less able to maintain the unnatural greatness of the Amazonian way of life. In order to allure female followers into his service, Dionysus combined sensuous beauty with transcendent radiance. In a short time, the strict Amazonian gynecocracy changed its rigid resistance against Dionysus into ecstatic devotion to him. At first these warrior women proved a match for Dionysus in battle, then they became invincible troops of devotees. Their rapid

succession of extremes shows a general inability of women to observe moderation. . . .

Dionysus is the god of women. He is the source of all their sensual and transcendent hopes. He is the central figure of their existence. Women were the first to recognize his divinity and they successfully disseminated his cult. The Dionysian religion based its transcendent hopes on the fulfillment of sexual acts. It closely associated the beatitude of transcendent existence with the satisfaction of sensual desires. The Dionysian religion was essentially erotic in its orientation. Thus, it ultimately undermined the discipline and order of Demetrian matronhood and led women back to Aphroditean hetaerism. Historically, the Dionysian religion began with an alliance with Demeter and ended with the worship of Aphrodite and other nature goddesses. Grains and bread, symbols of a cerealian regulated maternity, were supplanted by the Bacchic grape, the flourishing fruit of a fertile god. The chaste offerings of milk, honey, and water, deferred to the frenzy and sensuous desires incited by wine. In the Bacchic cult, the region of deepest tellurism, viz. swamp propagation of both animals and plants, was worshipped above the fruits of agriculture. . . . The Dionysian cult afforded antiquity the highest development of a thoroughly Aphroditean civilization. Antiquity, as well as the modern world, is indebted to the Dionysian cult for the refinements in all the art forms. The Dionysian cult removed all fetters and abrogated all differences among the people and thereby left the people with only material aspects of life. The cult cast human life back to the laws of matter. The Bacchic sensualization of life coincides with the dissolution of political organization and the decline of civil life. Democracy or the undifferentiated mass emerges as a replacement for complex hierarchal political organizations. Freedom and equality become the standards of this natural and material way of life. The ancients were well aware of the connection between the Bacchic cult and democracy. They regarded emancipation of the flesh as the twin brother of political emancipation. The Dionysian religion was the apotheosis of Aphroditean pleasure and of universal brotherhood. Therefore, the Dionysian religion was

especially popular among the servile classes and among such tyrants as Pisistratus, the Ptolemies, and Caesar, who exploited democracy in order to establish their reigns.

The older Demetrian rule of women demanded a chaste, strict, and traditional way of life. In contrast, the newer Dionysian rule of women centered on the emancipation of the flesh. The Demetrian rule was the source of lofty virtues and of a secure and orderly social existence even though with a limited conceptual scope. The rich material and intellectual life of the Dionysian rule concealed the decline of social vitality and moral decay undermining the ancient world. The bravery of men went hand in hand with Demetrian gynococracy whereas Dionysian gynococracy weakened and degraded men so that women came to despise them. . . .

Though an aberration, Amazonianism marks a significant advancement in human civilization. Amazonianism was initially a step toward a purer form of life. It was not only a necessary step in human development but a beneficial one in its own right. Amazonianism recognized the higher right of motherhood over the sensuous demands of nature. Amazonianism led to gynococracy and civil life. . . . Amazonianism emerged before conjugal gynococracy and prepared the foundation for it. Thus, the Lycian myth of Bellerophon portrays him as the conqueror of the Amazons, then the founder of mother right. . . .

The progression from the maternal to the paternal conception of human beings constitutes the most important turning point in the history of the relationship between men and women. Both the Demetrian and Aphroditean-hetaeristic stages of life share the centrality of childbearing motherhood. These stages differ only in their conception of childbearing motherhood. In contrast, the transition to the paternal system results in a profound change in the fundamental principle of human life. Indeed, the paternal principle marks the transcendence over the maternal principle. The nexus between the mother and child is an obvious natural fact. In contrast, there is no obvious natural nexus between the father as procreator and child. Even in marriage, the father cannot be certain that a

child is his. The father is only a distant potency dependent upon the mother, who actually bears the child. The father is the quickening and seemingly immaterial causality of a child, in contrast to the tangible nurturing and nourishing mother, ὕλη [matter], χώρα καὶ δεξαμενὴ γενεσέως [place and receptacle of generation] and τιθήνη [caregiver]. Because of the immaterial quality of fatherhood, the establishment of a paternal-oriented society led to the liberation of the human spirit from the bonds of nature. Because the principle of motherhood is bound to the spheres of tellurian creation, human beings become aware of their higher calling and escape the bonds of nature by embracing the procreative potency of fatherhood as their conceptual model. The concept of fatherhood elevates human life to the spiritual realm and confines the deeper domain of reproduction to the mundane. Motherhood belongs to the corporeal side of life whereas fatherhood is spiritual. The spiritual principle severs the bonds of tellurism and redirects mankind's vision from the earth to the higher regions of the cosmos. Fatherhood is associated with heavenly light, whereas childbearing motherhood is associated with the all-bearing earth. Uranian solar heroes establish the rights of paternity, whereas chthonic maternal deities defend mother right.

. . . The myth of Orestes depicts the confrontation between father right and mother right and the religious transformation in the history of the human race. As representatives of ancient mother right, the Erinyes seek unmitigated punishment against Orestes for the vile crime of matricide. However, Apollo and Athena introduce a new and higher law of fatherhood and heavenly light. The gods themselves resolve an actual historical event. The Apollonian age emerges out of the ruins of mother right. The divinity of the father succeeds that of the mother. The day outshines the night. The right side takes precedence over the left. The maternal and material Pelasgian culture stands in stark contrast to the paternal and spiritual Hellenic culture. The Pelasgians lived by their instincts, whereas the Hellenes practiced individualism. The Pelasgians were devoted to nature, tranquility, and pleasure in a state of eternal intellectual infancy. In contrast, the Hellenes transcended the ancient bonds of nature like Prometheus through their

striving and suffering. The Demetrian mysteries offered the gift of life from the mother. The seed was the symbol of Demetrian hope. The Hellenes insisted on achieving everything through their own deeds. Through battle, the Hellenes became aware of their paternal nature. Through struggle, they elevated themselves above motherhood and toward divinity. For the Hellenes, the male creative principle became the divine source of immortality rather than the childbearing woman. In particular, the Attic race developed the conception of fatherhood through the figure of Zeus. Even though Athens had roots in Pelasgian culture, it ultimately subordinated the Demetrian principle to the Apollonian. The Athenians honored Theseus as a second Heracles because of his victory over the authority of women. In the figure of Athena, the Athenians replaced fatherless motherhood with motherless fatherhood. The Athenians even legislated the inviolability of the paternal principle. The ancient Amazonian warriorress was transformed into the figure of the virgin Athena, who assisted the heroes of paternal solar right. . . .

We have considered all the stages of social evolution between the sexes from unregulated tellurism to the order of pure light. The remaining question concerns the nature of this final stage of father right in antiquity. Both the cult of Apollo and the Roman political principle of masculine *imperium* are possible sources for the establishment and maintenance of father right. However, history teaches us that mankind owes more to the Roman *imperium* than to Apollo of Delphi. Even though the political notion of *imperium* entailed less spirituality than the Delphic conception of fatherhood, the *imperium* connected both public and private spheres with a practical juridical system. Therefore, the Roman *imperium* was able to withstand every assault and survive a relapse into a material lifestyle. Because a purely spiritual god does not have such a practical legal system for its defense, Apollonianism was unable to withstand the increasing onslaught from decadent doctrines. We see paternity sink from its Apollonian purity down to Dionysian materiality and thereby afford the female principle a new victory and a new future for mother cults. The compact made between Apollo and Dionysus at Delphi was designed to elevate both powers of light by purifying and refining the

sensuality of phallic Dionysus with Apollo's immutable tranquility and clarity. However, their compact had the opposite result. The higher sensual allure of procreative Dionysus overwhelmed the spiritual beauty of Apollo and usurped his power. Instead of an age of Apollo, it became the age of Dionysus. Furthermore, Zeus bestowed his scepter upon Dionysus. Dionysianism assimilated all other cults and became the ruling universal religion of the ancient world. In Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*, Apollo and Dionysus compete for a prize among an assembly of the Olympian gods. Apollo offers the gods a drink mixed with honey. Dionysus wins the contest with his strong wine. Humiliated, Apollo concedes he has no rival gift. Though Apollo is spiritually superior, Dionysus triumphs with his gift of wine. The contest between Apollo and Dionysus is comparable to the encounter between the Greek and Oriental worlds during the conquests of Alexander the Great. We see the antithetical West and East engaged in a battle that is resolved to some extent by the Dionysian cult. The house of the Ptolemies was devoted to Dionysus because his cult enabled the conquerors to assimilate with the native populations. . . .

The spiritual principle of Apollo was unable to transform the ancient world by overcoming the material view of the relationship between the sexes. Humanity owes the preservation of paternity to the Roman political conception of *imperium* because it protected paternal rights with a rigorous juridical system that ultimately permeated all aspects of social life. Thus, the *imperium* made Roman paternity immune to the degeneration of religion and the regression to the practices and views of gynecocracy. Traditional Roman law prevailed over all incursions and dangers from the Orient, in particular over the incursion of the mother cult of Isis and Cybele and of the Dionysian mysteries. By comparing the impenetrable power of *imperium* with the failure of the purely religious Apollonian cult, we can see how vulnerable human nature is without the protection of a rigorous legal system. As the adopted son of Caesar, Augustus became a second Orestes in the eyes of the Romans when he avenged Caesar's murder. The ancients believed that Augustus initiated a new Apollonian age.

However, this attainment of the highest cultural stage in human history ensued more from the political structures of Rome than from any religious idea. In fact, Roman law found its greatest opponent in the religious practices of the Egyptian-Asiatic mother cult. At the very moment when Cleopatra fell and Rome subjected the East, motherhood staged a comeback from its political defeat with redoubled power and success in the arena of religion. The triumph of the maternal principle in religion over a purely spiritual paternal principle shows how difficult it is for people of all times and under the reign of various religions to overcome the gravity of material nature in order to elevate human life to the purity of the divine paternal principle.

Lycia

I. Any study of mother right must begin with the Lycians because their culture provides the most abundant and reliable information. Therefore, I will cite the reports of the ancients about Lycia as the basis for my entire study. According to Herodotus, the Lycians emigrated from Crete in ancient times as followers of Sarpedon in his exile. Under Sarpedon's rule, both his followers and the indigenous people were called Termilae. However, the Termilae acquired their new name, Lycians, from Lycus, son of Pandion, when he fled Athens and joined Sarpedon in exile in the land of the Termilae.

Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian. However, they have a strange custom, which no other people practice. They take their names from their mothers rather than their fathers. When one asks a Lycian who he is, he gives the family line of his mother, including the mothers of his mother. If a woman citizen marries a slave, her children are considered of pure blood [γενναῖα]. Even if the noblest Lycian man takes a foreign wife or concubine, the children are considered ignoble offspring deprived of civic rights [ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα]. (1.173)

This passage is especially significant because it conflates matrilineage with the child's legal position. In short, matrilineage is a fundamental principle of mother right with social consequences.

Other writers confirm and augment Herodotus' account. Nicolaus of Damascus writes: "The Lycians honor women more than men. They take the names of their mothers and bequeath their property to their daughters, not their sons" (*FHG* 3.461). In *De Rebus Publicis*, Heraclides of Pontus states: "The Lycians have no written laws but only unwritten customs. From time immemorial, they have been ruled by women" (frg. 15). In addition, Plutarch relates a remarkable tale from Nymphis of Heraclea:

In the fourth book about Heraclea, Nymphis tells how a wild boar laid waste to the land of the Xanthians. The boar killed animals and crops until Bellerophon slew it. Because Bellerophon was not rewarded for his deed, he cursed the Xanthians and implored Poseidon to pollute the entire region with salt. Thus, the earth became saline and remained so until Bellerophon acquiesced to the pleas of the Lycian women. He prayed to Poseidon to end the devastation. Because of the bravery of the Lycian women, it became the custom among the Xanthians to name themselves after their mothers rather than their fathers. (*De mul. vir.* 248D)

Nymphis' account suggests that naming a person after the mother comes from a religious conviction that the fertility of the earth and the fertility of women are one and the same.

Plutarch's version of the Lycian women and Bellerophon in "Bravery of Women" shows the correlation between female and earthly fertility even better:

The story about the Lycian women is presented as an historical account but it is actually grounded in an ancient myth. Amisodarus (called Isaras by the Lycians) arrived from the Lycian colony near Zeleia with several pirate ships under the command of Chimarrus, a bellicose, bloodthirsty, and brutal man. His ship had a lion as its figurehead and a serpent on the stern. He inflicted great harm on the Lycians. They could not sail the sea or live in security along the coast. Riding Pegasus, Bellerophon killed Chimarrus as he fled. Furthermore, Bellerophon drove out the Amazons from the land. However, Iobates did not reward Bellerophon for his deeds. Therefore, Bellerophon waded into the sea and implored Poseidon to make the land barren and unproductive. Thereupon, a great wave inundated the land. The sea swelled up and followed Bellerophon onto the land. The Lycian men could not persuade Bellerophon to stop the flood. Then the Lycian women approached Bellerophon and pulled up their chitons. Ashamed, Bellerophon returned to the sea, and the flood followed him. (248AB)

II. In Plutarch's "Bravery of Women," Bellerophon responds to women in radically different ways. On the one hand, he combats and defeats the Amazons. On the other hand, he retreats at the mere sight of womanhood and obeys its demands. His obedience to womanhood makes him the founder of mother right in Lycia. Bellerophon's victory over women yet his subjection to them is a remarkable story illustrating the struggle between mother right and men's rights.

In this case, Bellerophon and men's rights succeed only partially. Bellerophon routs the Amazons, the man-hating, man-killing, bellicose virgins. Amazonianism is the ultimate degenerative form of mother right. However, women representing the higher law of marriage prevail over Bellerophon and male authority. In short, Bellerophon curtails Amazonianism but not mother right itself. Mother right is grounded in the maternal nature of woman. Therefore, woman and the earth are equated. As Bellerophon acquiesces to the Lycian women's display of maternal fertility, Poseidon withdraws his devastating waves from the fertile land. Masculine procreative power acknowledges the higher rights of the conceiving and bearing substance of earth, the mother of everything. Mother Earth is to Poseidon what mortal mothers are to Bellerophon. Γῆ [earth] and γυνή [woman] or Gaia are equivalents. Woman is the agent of earth. She performs the primordial role of motherhood among human beings. On the other hand, the fecundating man is an agent of the universal procreative powers of Oceanus, for water is the fecundating element. When water mixes with female earth, the germ of all tellurian life develops within the depths of the maternal womb. See Plutarch's "Isis and Osiris" (38). Man and woman reflect this relationship between Oceanus and Mother Earth. Who is primary in this relationship? Who should have power over the other? Should Poseidon rule over Mother Earth and man over woman or conversely? The story of Bellerophon and the Lycian women addresses this question. Bellerophon and Poseidon advance the cause of father right. However, they withdraw from the display of conceiving motherhood. The salt of the water should fertilize rather than waste the land. The salt of the water is the content and symbol of masculine power. See Josephus, *Jewish War* (4.8.3.) and Plutarch's "Table Talk" (5.10). The material principle of maternity prevails over the immaterial vitalizing power of a man. The female κτείς [pudenda] rules over the male phallus, the earth over the sea, and the Lycian women over Bellerophon. Bellerophon's campaign against the authority of women succeeds only partially. He conquers over the deviant Amazons, but he submits to women who uphold marriage and motherhood.

The entire myth of Bellerophon illustrates the ascendancy of motherhood and mother right. Besides vanquishing the Amazons, Bellerophon sought to subordinate the mother to the father in marriage. Bellerophon considered his conquest over the Amazons as one battle against the rule of women in general. However, Iobates refused to reward him for his victory over the Amazons. In other words, Bellerophon is thwarted in his general campaign against the rule of women. Likewise, other aspects and versions of the myth suggest that Bellerophon achieves only a partial victory. In *Iliad*, Bellerophon receives only half a kingdom for his deeds (6.193). After his victory over the Amazons, he experiences defeat. With Pegasus, Bellerophon battles and subdues the Amazons. He attacks and subdues them from high in the sky. Compare Apollodorus (2.3.2), Pindar's *Olympian Odes* (13.83-90 ff.), and Athenaeus (11.497). However, when Bellerophon attempts to ride Pegasus up into heaven, Zeus strikes him down onto the fields of Aleia. Bellerophon hurts his leg in the fall and limps thereafter. The limp connects Bellerophon with Hephaestus, who also limped after Zeus tossed him from heaven (Ar., *Arch.* 426-27). In *Olympian Odes*, Pindar writes "I sing of his victories, but I am silent about his death" (13.91). Pindar articulates the disparity between Bellerophon's glorious beginning and his miserable end. Both Pindar (*Isthm.* 7.43-48) and Horace (*Carm.* 4.11.26-28) portray Bellerophon's lofty ambition and his failure as an image of the human spirit aspiring for the divine, struggling with the gods, then incurring their punishment. As an antagonist of the gods, Bellerophon is much like Prometheus. Bellerophon's downfall separates him from such other challengers of mother right as Heracles, Dionysus, Perseus, Achilles, and Theseus. These heroes succeed in destroying all forms of gynecocracy, including Amazonianism. As agents of pure light, they exalt the incorporeal solar principle over material and tellurian mother right. However, Bellerophon fails to reach the heights of pure celestial light. From the heights of his ride into the sky, Bellerophon gazes down upon the earth with aversion. However, the earth receives him again when he falls. In contrast, Pegasus is able to fly on and reach heaven and the gods because he is of divine stock and under

Athena's protection as her pet. The earthly rider falls back to earth, a proper habitat for the son of Poseidon. Bellerophon is an agent of masculine power at the level of water symbolized by Poseidon.

Water was the central element of worship in Lycian cults. The fish oracle (Ath. 8.333d-e) and Latona at the pool (Ov., *Met.* 6.315-80) are stories about the divinity of the sea and water in Lycian life. Bellerophon represents physical existence confined between tellurian water and the ether surrounding the earth. In an endless cycle, ether absorbs the moisture from the earth, then returns it. The Tarentine myth of Aethra's tears is an apt image of this notion (Paus. 10.10.6-8). Even with a divine stallion, Bellerophon cannot enter the solar regions and transform the paternal principle of matter into sunlight. Like Bellerophon, Pegasus is also an offspring of Poseidon and associated with tellurian water. Thus, fertilizing springs spurt wherever Pegasus strikes the earth with his hoofs. *Equus/Epus* [horse] and *aqua/apa* [water] are etymologically the same. Like Bellerophon, Messapus in the *Aeneid* (7.691-705) is *Neptunia proles* [child of Neptune] and *equum domitor* [horse tamer]. Within this context, we might better understand the significance of the bronze horses and captive Messapian women dedicated to Apollo at Delphi by the victorious Tarentines (Paus. 10.10.6). The bronze horses and women are Messapian religious and cultural objects in honor of their supreme god, Neptune. The bronze horses are artifacts of earthly ore forged with the chthonic powers of fire and water. (Cf. Plato's *Republic*. 2.359d.) The women are the leaders of their people by virtue of their bravery and command of family and state. Both horses and women should serve Apollo, the sun god, at Delphi as a sign that light transcends Poseidon's water and gynecocracy. In this vein, Pegasus escapes from the lowest powers to the higher ones. His wings carry him up to heaven, where he serves Aurora signaling the daily arrival of the glorious sun god. Pegasus serves women. On earth, Pegasus obeys Athena, and in heaven he serves the Roman Mater Matuta [Mother of Dawn] and the Greek Eos. Like Bellerophon, Pegasus remains under the control of women. Like Aurora, he signals the rising sun and the higher solar principle in which father right abides. In

summary, Bellerophon transcends the lowest level of existence, but he does not enter the highest domain. In contrast, Heracles, Dionysus, and the heroes of Apollo achieve an absolute victory over both Amazonianism and conjugal gynecocracy. These heroes release fatherhood from the bonds of substance and elevate it to the level of the sun. Fatherhood is incorporeal by nature and therefore superior to mother right because the latter is rooted in substance.

III. The myth of Bellerophon entails yet another aspect of mother right. Bellerophon and Philonoe/Casandra, the daughter of Iobates, produced three children, Isander, Hippolochus, and Laodameia (*Il.* 6.200). At the will of the gods, the first two children died young. Despised by the gods, Bellerophon wanders through the Aleian plain, avoiding other men until he dies alone and full of sorrow. Rather than attaining immortality, Bellerophon sees his race languish under the law of earthly substance. Like Anius, a man of sorrow, ἀνία (*Ov.*, *Met.* 13.632), Bellerophon outlives his children, then dies himself. What Ovid says of Cinyras applies to Bellerophon: *si sine prole fuisset, inter felices Cinyras potuisset haberi* [Cinyras might have found happiness if he had been without children] (*Met.* 10.289). Bellerophon is yet again a casualty of corporeal life. As the son of Poseidon, Bellerophon is made of earthly substance; hence, he is subject to death. He is barred from the luminous heights where immortality reigns. He falls down to earth and meets his doom. He belongs to an existence of perpetual becoming rather than the world of being. Death destroys whatever substance creates. Even though the force of substance may be immortal, all its manifestations are doomed to mortality. Poseidon represents the immortal force of substance, whereas Bellerophon/Hipponous represents one of his mortal offspring. As an image associated with water, the horse likewise embodies the notion of death. This close association between man and horse is also reflected in the belief that the horse is the only animal that cries. Xanthus and Balius cry when Achilles and Patroclus die. Furthermore, these same horses have the power to prophesy death (*Diod. Sic.*, 6.3). A race is immortal in its sequence of

generations, but an individual is mortal. “One generation sprouts up while another one withers away” (*Il.* 6.149). “The mortal race of man shares the life cycle of the plants. While some flowers bloom with life, others die and are cut off” (Plut., *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 7.104). In *Georgics*, Virgil praises the life of bees, whose society models mother right most perfectly in nature:

*ergo ipsas quamvis angusti terminus aevi
excipiat (neque enim plus septima duciture aestas),
at genus immortale manet, multosque per annos
stat fortuna domus . . .*

[Although the bees themselves have only a short life,
(They never live past the seventh summer.)
their race remains immortal,
and fortune stays with their household for many years]
(4.206-09)

Death is a precondition of life. Life dissolves into death, and life emerges from death. This endless fluctuation between life and death entails the immortality of the human race. This identity of life and death is portrayed in countless myths, particularly in the myth of Bellerophon. Simultaneously, Bellerophon represents the procreative power of Poseidon and the destructive element of nature. The name Bellerophon or Laophontes marks him as an agent of death. Involuntarily, he initiates his life as a man with the murder of his kinsman, ἐμφύλιος φόνος. Ironically, Bellerophon is a Poseidonian fertility figure, yet he is called the murderer of his own kin. Procreative power is also a destructive power. Whatever arouses life also incites death. Birth and death are inseparable twins in tellurian creation. Death is a part of all tellurian organisms. Death destroys and life renews. Only where the old has disappeared can the new appear.

This reciprocal relationship between life and death is central to ancient philosophy and mythology. We see this theme represented in many profound ways in ancient art and symbols. Bellerophon is a prime example of its expression in myth. As a procreative and destructive agent, Bellerophon demonstrates emergence and disappearance, rise and fall, death as a precondition and consequence of life, and deterioration as the intrinsic law of earthly creation. The myth of Bellerophon is an expression of such physical life. He must have three

children so that one survives. Isander, Hippolochus, and Laodameia are the human counterparts to the monstrous Chimera. Bellerophon's offspring consist of two men and one woman. The Chimera is part lion and part dragon, animal images of procreative water and fire respectively. Furthermore, the Chimera is part goat. Chimera means she-goat. In general, the goat is a symbol of the fertile earth. For Asclepius, the goat was a symbol of a conceptive and nursing animal. Like the tripartite Chimera, the Dioscuri and Helen are contained in a single form, viz. an egg. The tellurian power of nature manifests itself as a trinity. Therefore, all procreative natural powers appear as *triplices* [threesomes]. (Cf. Plutarch's "Isis and Osiris" 36.) Thus, there are three Lycian subterranean gods of life and death, Arsalus, Dryas, and Trosobius (Plut., *De def. or.* 21). Likewise, Iobates' nine-day festival for Bellerophon is the product of the cardinal number three times three (Ath. 5.185b). In all its manifestations, life undergoes constant deterioration but its force remains eternal. Like the Chimera of three parts, Bellerophon's three children are born to die. All creatures are subject to the law of death. As an old man, he sees the law at work in his progeny. Like Thetis, he deludes himself into thinking that the child of a mortal man can be immortal. Though he eludes a deathtrap set for him by Iobates, he becomes aware that no one can evade the curse of death from the gods upon all creatures of the earth. Thus, Bellerophon denounces the celestial gods for their ingratitude and entreats Poseidon to wreak vengeance on Lycian earth. He wants to inflict the maternal earth with infertility because it only produces life that dies in vain. Like Pygmalion, he withdraws into solitude (Ov., *Met.* 10.245), for it is better to have no children than children who die. What is the sense of useless acts? Why should Ocnus grow old plaiting a rope when a she-ass nibbles it away? Why should the Danaids pour water into an urn full of holes? Thus, Bellerophon determines that salt shall no longer make the land fertile but infertile. In vain, Bellerophon revolts against the central law of all tellurian life that rules all creatures from the maternal womb. Immortality is only possible within the sphere of the sun, where Bellerophon is refused admission.

The law of substance rules beneath the sphere of the moon. Here dwell the twin brothers of life and death:

Who is bestowed with wealth,
Who beams with beauty beyond others,
Who has won prizes in contests and honors as a hero,
Let him bear in mind:
His handsome body is but booty for death,
And a shroud of dirt shall cover him in the end.
(Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 11.13-16)

IV. Glaucus of Lycia articulates the human situation from the perspective of mother right when he meets Diomedes on the battlefield of Troy. Glaucus compares human lineage to leaves on a tree:

As the leaves in the forest,
So are the races of men.
The wind scatters the leaves to the ground.
Yet in the spring, the forest trees bud anew with life.
Even so the generations of men flourish, then perish.
(*Il.* 6.145-49)

The ancients esteemed the fundamental truth underlying this passage. Both Plutarch and Lucian repeated it often in their works. Glaucus' explanation of the law of life is especially significant for Lycia because it relates directly to the myth of Bellerophon. Unlike Bellerophon, Glaucus understands the absolute law ruling all creation from the leaves of a tree to the generations of man. Sisyphus rolls a boulder up a hill, yet it slips from his hands and rolls back into the pit of hell again. His futile task is symbolic of the task of nature to continuously restore vegetative and animal life. Bellerophon discovers this law of substance and the destiny of matter when the women of Lycia expose themselves. He sees that death is the destiny of all progeny from the "maternal furrow." Because these above lines from the *Iliad* come from the mouth of Glaucus, they represent not only the general predicament of man but also a specific reference to the notion of mother right in his homeland, Lycia. Leaves do not come from leaves but from a tree. From the perspective of mother right, the mother is the tree and her children, the leaves. The father is merely a sower, who departs after he has strewn his seed in

the furrows. Offspring are products of maternal substance. A mother carries a child in her womb, bears the child to the light of day, then nurtures the child. The primal mother is the earth. Earthly mothers serve as her surrogates, then pass on the responsibility to their daughters. As leaves do not come from leaves but from a tree, human beings do not come from human beings but from the primal force of substance. In this vein, Glaucus corrects Diomedes' misunderstanding about the nature of one's lineage. As a Greek, Diomedes has a different view of lineage. He disregards the material source of life and derives the lineage of the son from the father as the vital force in creation (cf. Cass. Dio. 57.12.4). However, Glaucus responds from the perspective of mother right, which does not distinguish human beings from the rest of tellurian creation. Like plants and animals, human beings are products of maternal substance. A paternal son has a line of ancestors without a concrete physical connection between them. In contrast, a maternal son has a single ancestor, primordial Mother Earth. What is the sense of counting leaves? Glaucus is but a surviving green leaf on the tree. His paternal ancestors, Hippolochus, Bellerophon, Halmus, and Sisyphus, are fallen leaves scattered on the ground. A person has no significance after death. According to mother right, a son is a child of the mother only, and a mother is a surrogate of Mother Earth. The difference between the perspectives of father right and mother right is conspicuous in the opposing legal statements from Ulpian and Gaius: Ulpian privileges mother right: "*Mulier familiae suae et caput et finis est* [A woman is the beginning and founder of her family, and when she dies, so does her family]" (50.16.195.5 in *Digest of Justinian*). In contrast, Gaius privileges father right: "*feminarum liberos in familia earum non esse palam est, quia qui nascuntur, patris non matris familiam sequuntur* [it is clear that children are born into the household of the father, not of the mother]" (50.16.196 in *Digest of Justinian*). From the perspective of father right, a woman cannot establish a family regardless of how many children she may bear. A woman is merely an individual and her existence does not survive in a family. From the perspective of mother right, the very opposite view prevails. The father is merely an individual and his life ends

with his death. In mother right, the father is the lost and forgotten leaf after death. Thus, Glaucus uses the simile of leaves when Diomedes asks him about his lineage. Glaucus defends the perspective of Lycian mother right as consistent with the laws of nature.

V. The maternal tellurian principle underlies the myth of Bellerophon. Mother right and the transience of material life go hand in hand. In contrast, father right is integral to incorporeal immortality situated in the domain of light. If a religion views tellurian substance as the source of life, then the law of substance prevails. Accordingly, human beings are merely members of primal creation, and mother right dictates both human and animal propagation. If a religion separates the source of life from substance and unites it with the sun, human beings and thought transcend. Mother right is left to the animals and father right presides over the human family. With father right, mortality is limited to substance, which returns to the maternal womb whence it came. The spirit is purified of its earthly slag by fire, then rises to the luminous heights of immortality and immateriality. Accordingly, Bellerophon is mortal and an agent of mother right. In contrast, Heracles is the founder of father right on earth and dwells among the gods in the luminous heights after his death. In summary, mother right is bound to material existence and to religion that comprehends only corporeal life. Like Bellerophon, adherents of mother right bemoan the eternal demise of all worldly creations. In contrast, father right adheres to a transcendent principle of life. Father right identifies itself with the incorporeal power of the sun and with a spirit beyond change. Bellerophon represents the cultural level of mother right in Lycia, and Heracles represents the Hellenic cultural level of father right. In the same vein, Apollo of Lycia is the child of Latona, queen of the swamp bottoms. He resides in his homeland for the six months of winter. In contrast, Apollo of the Greeks is metaphysically pure and transcendent. He resides on the holy island of Delos during the lively months of summer.

VI. . . . In *Olympian Odes* (13.84-90), Pindar presents Bellerophon as a powerful and handsome man. Understandably, Stheneoboea/Antia falls in love with him and invites him to make love. However, Bellerophon is chaste. Out of revenge and self-protection, Stheneoboea accuses Bellerophon of making sexual advances (Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.3.1-2; Hyg., *Poet. astr.* 18; and Diod. Sic. 6.9). Both names, Stheneoboea and Antia, entail the sense of longing for the fertilization of maternal earthly matter. In this broader sense, she desires sexual relations with Bellerophon. Stheneoboea/Antia is much like Plato's Penia, who incessantly seduces men for procreation. Plutarch explains such female behavior as "the wish of material to join and participate in the Good" (*De Is. et Os.* 374cd). Both Plato and Plutarch consider the earth and its female surrogates as hetaeristic. Because Bellerophon respects the sanctity of marriage, he rejects Stheneoboea's licentiousness. Bellerophon combats both extremes of female behavior. At the one extreme, he conquers the perverse, man-hating Amazons. At the other extreme, he defies Stheneoboea's lusty, unrestrained sexuality. Because Bellerophon was a counterforce to female perversions, Lycians considered him their benefactor. In particular, Lycian women were grateful for his deeds since they most benefited from them. Bellerophon liberated Lycian women from both their excessive relationships with men, viz. Amazonianism and hetaerism. In other words, Bellerophon serves as a counterforce to disorderly, wild, and destructive power. In this role, he kills the Chimera, ensuring the safe practice of farming. By expelling Amazonianism and hetaerism, he secures the higher institution of monogamous marriage. These deeds go hand in hand toward establishing a civilization. Thus, he receives Philonoe's hand in marriage and fertile farmland as his rewards according to Homer (*Il.* 190-95).

Agriculture serves as a model for mother right. As seeds sprout from the furrows of plowed fields, children issue forth from the maternal *sporium* [womb]. According to Plutarch, the Sabines named the grain field a *sporium* or κήπος [garden or pudenda] (*Quaest. Rom.* 103). *Spurii* [illegitimate children] is derived from σπείρω [to sow]. As an extension of sowing, wounding is a central act of

love. Thus, Amor wounds his victims with an arrow as a plowshare wounds the earth and a man's *aratrum* [plow] wounds a woman's womb. According to Philostratus, the fecundating water god, Poseidon, is associated with the plowshare (*Imag.* 2.17). Whatever issues from the *sporium* [womb] has only a mother, either Mother Earth or her proxy, a woman. The father is merely the plowshare or the sower, who casts his seeds into the furrows of the tilled field, then disappears into oblivion. This notion is formulated in Roman law. Julian states:

omnis fructus non iure seminis, sed iure soli percipitur and in percipiendis fructibus magis corporis ius, ex quo percipiuntur, quam seminis, ex quo oriuntur, aspicitur. . . .

[Fruits come primarily from the soil, not from the seed, [and] when harvesting fruits, greater respect is given to the ground from which they came than to the seed.] (22.1.25.1 in *Digest of Justinian*).

In short, the same conception of law regulates agriculture and human marriage, the material law of gynecocracy.

In a society regulated by mother right, children are named after their mother and they acquire their mother's social status. Ironically, these are both signs of an illegitimate sexual relationship from the perspective of father right. In truth, conjugal mother right strictly restricts sexual relationships between married couples. *Matrimonium* [matrimony] is the foundation of a gynecocracy. Indeed, the term *matrimonium* literarily means "mother marriage" and it is derived from the fundamental conception of mother right. The original concept and practice of marriage was a *matrimonium* rather than a *patrimonium* [patrimony in general and father marriage in particular]. Likewise, the notion of a *materfamilias* [mother of a family, or matron] preceded a *paterfamilias* [father of a family, head of household]. Plautus often uses the term *materfamilias* but never *paterfamilias*. In a society of mother right, there is a *pater* [father] but no *paterfamilias* in the sense of a father as the head of the family because *familia* [family] is a physical concept applicable only to a mother. The application of *familia* to a father is an *imprope dictum* [improper term] for legal language. Only much later did the term *paterfamilias* become a common concept and term in general usage. In any case, a

father is always a juridical fiction whereas a mother is a physical fact. According to Paulus, *mater semper certa est, etiamsi vulgo conceperit, pater vero is tantum, quem nuptiae demonstrant* [even if a mother has been promiscuous, one can be certain the child is hers. On the other hand, the father is only known by nuptial documents] (2.4.5 in *Digest of Justinian*). Fatherhood is a juridical fiction because it lacks natural certainty. Mother right is *natura verum* [true by nature] while fatherhood exists only as a conception of *ius civil* [civil law] according to Paulus. Without the legal documentation, *nullum patrem habere intelleguntur* [children are considered to have no father] (*Inst. Just.* 3.5.4). Seneca names children without a father, *publici pueri* [children of the public] (*Contr.* 2.4.12.6). Roman law terms them *spurii*, sown ones, or *vulgo quaesiti* [common property] (Gai. *Inst.* 1.64). . . .

Mother right ensues from the natural love between mother and child. In the *Odyssey*, Telemachus says of his relationship to his father μήτηρ μὲν τέ μέ φησι τοῦ ἔμμεναι, ἀὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε οὐκ οἶδ [My mother says I am his son. Yet, I do not know] (1.215). Therefore, the *uterini* [those born of the mother] feel more kinship toward each other than *consanguinie*, *eodem patre nati* [those related by blood and engendered by the same father]. Thus, Helen says she especially loves her brothers, the Dioscuri, because τὼ μοι μία γενναίτο μήτηρ [they are born to my mother] (*Il.* 3.238). In a similar vein, Lycaon, the son of Priam, attempts to convince Achilles to spare his life by contending that he is not a corporeal brother to Hector: μή με κτεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὁμογάστριος Ἕκτορός εἰμι [Do not kill me since I am not of the same womb as Hector] (*Il.* 21.95). Lycaon is the offspring of Priam and Laothoe, the daughter of Altes, king of the Leleges. These are examples of kinship in which natural birth is decisive. In a mother-right society, *matrimonium* is the highest expression of love. In this vein, the Cretans call their country, “beloved motherland.” Accordingly, Plato says motherland expresses a personal attachment absent in the term “fatherland” (*Resp.* 9.575).

By no means did the ancient gynecocratic peoples live like animals at the lowest level of life, mating without marriage. Gynecocracy is not a sign of

uncivilized but rather of civilized life. A gynecocracy coincides with the development of agriculture, i.e. regulated cultivation of the earth. A gynecocracy distinguishes itself from both the practice of gathering fruits from the earth and from the natural generation of swamp plants. The ancients equated sexual relationships outside of wedlock with swamp life (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 38). Thus, swamp plants were equated with the *nothus* [illegitimate child] and the cultivated plant with the *legitimus* [legitimate child]. Even though mother right is grounded in *ius naturale* [natural law], the institution of marriage restricts the extent of *ius naturale*. In contrast to animal life, *matrimonium* precludes free and unbridled sexual relationships among human beings (*Inst. Just.* 1.2).

VII. For the sake of contrast, I will cite some ancient accounts of peoples who did not practice *matrimonium*. Instead, these peoples submitted themselves entirely to *ius naturale* and engaged in free and unbridled sexual relationships. Furthermore, these accounts show how human beings made the transition from a completely natural life to one of exclusive marriage. I will trace this gradual development of human society from the lowest bestial level of *ius naturale* to *ius civile*.

At the lowest level of existence, human beings copulate without restrictions and in public. Like animals, men and women satisfy their natural drives for all to see without ever forming a personal relationship. The Massagetae provide the most salient example of public sexual intercourse with many partners. According to Herodotus, “each man has a wife but any man may have sexual intercourse with her. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom but it is actually a custom of the Massagetae. Whenever a man desires a woman, he simply hangs his quiver before her dwelling and has intercourse with her” (1.216). Strabo concurs with Herodotus about the Massagetae: “Each man marries only one wife, but they share them openly with each other. Whenever a man desires sexual intercourse with the wife of another, he hangs his quiver onto her dwelling and has intercourse with her” (11.513). Herodotus reports of similar behavior among the

Nasamones: “Men have several wives, and they copulate with them in common. Like the Massagetae, they thrust their staffs into the ground as a sign of the deed” (4.172). The Massagetae and Nasamones are but two peoples who practiced promiscuous sexual intercourse in public. According to Diodorus of Sicily, the Mosynoeces also practiced public copulation: “The soldiers (of Cyrus II) said they were the most barbarous people they had encountered on their campaign. The men copulated with the women for all to see” (14.30.7). In the *Argonautica*, Apollonius of Rhodes confirms this practice of copulation among the Mosynoeces: “They have no respect for marriage but copulate with women in the presence of others like swine in their herds” (2.1023-25). According to Herodotus, the Ethiopian Ausians “do not practice marriage but copulate and propagate like cattle in the fields” (4.1080). In this light, we can better understand why the Ethiopians in general revered the dog as the symbol of their supreme god (Plin., *HN* 6.192; Ael., *NA* 7.40; and Plut., *Comm. not.* 11.1064b). The dog is the perfect image of hetaeristic, earthly life, reveling in copulation. The dog represents the most visible and crudest form of animal reproduction. In “Isis and Osiris,” Plutarch says the dog was worshipped as a god in Egypt. He associates κύων [dog] with κούειν [to bear in the womb]. Most likely, the Greek term for dog is derived from the Greek term for copulate. . . .

Like the peoples above, Strabo reports that the Arabs share wives:

One woman serves as wife for all brothers of a clan. The brother who enters the house first places his staff before the door and has intercourse with her. However, she spends her nights with the eldest brother. All men of the clan are considered brothers. They also have intercourse with their mothers. The penalty for adultery is death. However, adultery is only a sexual relationship outside the family. A beautiful princess had fifteen brothers all in love with her. They visited her for sexual purposes unceasingly, one after another. Exhausted from their visits, the princess tricked them. She had staves made like theirs. When one of the brothers left her, she put a staff like his in front of her door, then a little later another, and then another. Her ruse worked until one of the brothers went to her for sex and found a staff in front of her dwelling. However, he knew it could not be one of his brothers because he had just left them all at the market. Hence, he suspected the visitor was an

adulterer. The brother summoned his father, and the princess was found innocent of adultery. (16.783)

This account is not about a single incident but rather about a general practice of bestial natural law among an entire people. *Ius naturale* permits sexual relations between brother and sister as well as between mother and son. The animal world is oblivious to any conception of incest. In this vein, Myrrha convinces herself that her love toward her father is natural and good.

*sed enim damnare negaret
hanc Venerem pietas: coeunt animalia nullo
cetera dilectu, nec habetur turpe invencae
ferre patrem tergo, fit equo sua filia coniunx,
quasque creavit init pecudes caper, ipsaque, cuius
semine concepta est, ex illo concipit ales.
felices quibus ista licent! humana malignas
cura dedit leges et quod natura remittit,
invida iura negant. gentes tamen esse feruntur,
in quibus et nato genetrix et nata parenti
iungitur; et pietas geminato crescit amore.*

[Bonds of piety do not condemn such love as this; other creatures couple as they choose. It is not shameful for a heifer to be mounted by her father, or for a stallion to mate with his daughter. Goats may mate freely with the flocks they have fathered. Even birds conceive from their fathers. How blest are they that have such license! Human bitterness leads to wretched laws-what nature will allow, jealous human codes forbid. Yet there is said to exist a tribe in which a son and mother, as well as a daughter and father, may mate, and their love increases their bonds of duty to each other.]
(Ov., *Met.* 10.323-33)

Myrrha articulates the conflict between positive law and natural law. *Ius civile* curtails *ius naturale*. One is the adversary of the other. Many myths depict this rivalry. For example, St. Augustine tells of Silvanus, who is the divine enemy of mothers, marriage, and childbirth. After a mother gives birth, he tries to kill her and her child. However, three guardians protect her house at night with an axe, a pestle, and a broom. These *tria signa culturae* [three symbols of agriculture] prevent Silvanus from entering the house. Because Silvanus represents wild vegetative life, he functions as the natural rival of civilized marriage (*De civ. D.* 6.9). In a similar vein, Penelope tells how the Harpies snatch away the orphan

daughters of Pandareus and deliver them to Erinyes of the earth when Aphrodite leaves them unguarded while she ascends to Olympus to arrange marriages for them (*Od.* 20.68-78). (Cf. Paus. 10.30.1-2.) This tale illustrates that the law of nature is fundamentally antithetical to conjugal relationships, for these impinge upon the rights and powers of Mother Earth. Helen is endowed with all the seductive charms of nature as allurements for all men, not just a single husband. When she violates her wedding vows by eloping with Alexander to Ilium, she is simply obeying the commandment of Aphrodite. In deference to Mother Nature, a woman must practice hetaerism before marriage. In other words, a maiden must purchase a life of chastity in matrimony with free love beforehand. In order for a husband to gain permanent possession of a woman, he must allow her to have casual sexual relationships with men first. According to *ius naturale*, a woman is by nature licentious, like Acca Larentia, who gives herself τῷ τυχόντι [to anyone who comes along] (Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 35) or like Penia, who incessantly seeks a new sexual partner. The unmarried woman should give herself to men until exhausted. Thus, the Roman temple dedicated to Horta was always open (cf. Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 46). . . .

The ancient matriarchy functioned much like a beehive. Many ancient writers considered the beehive as a model for the development of human society. In the *Georgics*, Virgil describes the communal nature of bees:

solae communis gnatos, consortia tecta
urbis habent magnisque agitant sub legibus aevum;
et patriam solae et certos novere penatis (4.153-55)

[Only bees have children and the shelter of a secret city, and live their lives under great laws; they alone know both fatherland and established household gods]

We find a similar passage in the *Aeneid* describing the construction of Carthage under the rule of Dido (1.435 ff.). The beehive shows us a gynocracy in its clearest and purest form. Each hive has its queen. She is the mother of the entire stock. She is served by numerous male drones, whose entire purpose is to inseminate her. The drones do not work and the female worker bees kill them once they have fulfilled their mating function. Thus, the hive comes from a single

mother yet from many fathers. The fathers do not earn love or devotion from the hive. In fact, their own children eject them from the hive or sting them to death. Once they have inseminated the queen bee, they are doomed to die. In contrast to the drones, the queen has an intimate and loving relationship with the worker bees. The worker bees somehow sense that she is the source of their life and the crux of their society. When the queen dies, the entire hive falls into disorder. The bees do not work. Each bee seeks food only for itself until it dies. The bees plunder the honey combs and destroy the hive. Therefore, the bees protect the queen mother even to the death. The queen is the mother of the stock. She has no other duty than to bear bees. She lays one egg after another in individual cells. The worker bees lead an unmarried life dedicated solely to work in the hive and procuring food abroad (Virg., *G.* 4.199-202). The ancients considered the beehive a model of initial human society based on a gynecocracy of motherhood. Aristotle even ranked the life of bees higher than early human life because of the law of nature manifested itself more in bees. In *Georgics* (4.154 ff.), Virgil confirms Aristotle's notion. Bees embody the female aspect of nature. They are associated with Demeter, Artemis, and Persephone because they represent earthly substance from a maternal perspective. Bees are the perfect reflection of Demeter in her role as the maternal soul of the earth because they never rest in their skillful and productive activities. Heraclides (reported in Ath. 14.647a) describes a custom of celebrating the Thesmophoria in Syracuse. The women paraded so-called *μυλλοί* [cakes] in honor of Demeter and Persephone. These cakes were made of sesame and honey and shaped like the pudenda. In Germany, the honey flower, Melissa, is also called *Mutterkraut* [mother's herb], which is considered medicinal especially for female sexual diseases. Bees are like nurses in their performance of maternal duties. Thus, bees fed honey to the newborn Zeus child. Furthermore, honey is the best food for mothers because it is the purest produce of organic nature, in which animal and vegetable matters are perfectly combined. Honey and milk belong to motherhood whereas wine belongs to the masculine Dionysian principle of nature.

Crete

XI. We shall now examine evidence of mother right in Crete. Both Strabo (14.3.10) and Herodotus (4.45) trace the origins of the Lycians to Crete. Was there something similar to Lycian mother right in Crete? Crete was the only country in the ancient world called μητρίς [motherland] rather than πατρίς [fatherland]. Plutarch provides evidence of this in his work, "Whether an Old Man Should Engage in Public Affairs" (17):

Imagine you had Tithonus as your father, who, though immortal, required extensive care because of his many years. You would certainly neither refuse nor find it troublesome to take excellent care of him, to treat him with compassion and to support him in every way because he did so much good for you for a long time. Your fatherland or motherland, as the Cretans are wont to say, is far older and has far greater rights than even your parents. As it is long-lived, it has not been spared from the various discomforts of age nor can it take care of itself. Because it also requires more and more care, support, and attention, it seizes the statesman and holds him tight, "like a young girl, small and tender, who follows her mother and begs: Take me! She snuggles onto her mother's gown slowing her down as she hurries on her way" (*Il.* 16.9).

The Lycians identified their mothers as their origin and listed the mothers of their mothers as further lineage. Thus, the Lycians viewed the birthplace of their original mother as their own homeland and called it "motherland" rather than "fatherland." Mother right accounts for this designation. Crete maintained the designation of "motherland" whereas the newer concept of "fatherland" replaced it in other places. However, colonists throughout the ancient world called their homeland μητρόπολις [mother-city]. In this term, metropolis, ancient mother right has maintained its status even today. Furthermore, Pausanias recounts an allegorical dream in which the mother is equated with one's homeland. "Comon

[Messenian leader] dreamt that he was lying next to his deceased mother in the underworld. After awhile, she returned to life. . . . This dream foretold the restoration of Messene” (4.26.3).

XII. The expression "Cretan motherland" is used by two other writers, Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals* (17.35) and Plato, *Republic* (9.3). Plato adds that the Cretans say "dear motherland," an expression of their devotion, which especially underscores the maternal quality of their homeland. In *Republic*, Plato relates a tale about the kinship of the citizenry. Because the citizens were all born of the one and the same womb, they have familial attitudes toward each other as well as toward the country.

In their youth, they (the warriors) were underground, where they raised and educated themselves and made their weapons and other equipment. Once they were grown up and mature, the earth, their mother, sent them above ground, where they had to stand by their country when threatened, for the sake of their mother and provider, and also to treat their fellow citizens as brothers likewise born of the earth. (3. 414)

Such a notion explains the peculiar extension of the concept of *paricidium* [parricide or murder of a relative] in Rome from its earliest times. Even though the concept of a murder of a relative is clearly maintained in this word, a murderer of any free person, not just a relative, is called a *paricida*. There is evidence of this comprehensive application from the earliest period. Finally, the definition of the murderer of a relative was extended to all members of the country. Whoever kills a fellow citizen is a murderer of a relative according to Numan law. The Platonic idea of a common origin and consanguinity of all free people is a general perspective of the ancient world. The supposition about the motherhood of the earth and the derivative notion that all people are related and brothers was not mere speculation but the general outlook of most of the ancient world. Likewise, Numa follows this view by making all murders punishable as *paricidium*. Whoever kills another person is considered a murderer of a parent. Even the murder of an *extraneus* [stranger] is considered *paricidium* because it is an assault on a common father and mother. Furthermore, Verginius is called a *paricida* for

killing his daughter (Livy 3.50), and Horatius, for killing his sister (Lucius Annaeus Florus, *Epitome bellorum* 1.3). Murdering a child is considered *paricidium* because it violates the engendering and bearing force of motherhood inherent in the child. *Paricidium* is a violation of a common origin of ancestors more than a crime against an individual. Therefore, a parricide is anyone who kills a relative, an *extraneus*, an ascendant, a descendant, or collateral. In time, this idea, as well as an awareness of a common ancestry, diminished and was replaced by individual blood relationships. *Paricidium* became restricted to the closest relatives, and the remaining cases of murder were designated as *quaestio de sicariis et veneficis* [trial for assassins and poisoners]. Kinship was originally a general concept that became reduced to the family by the state. The concept of a national people became restricted to blood brothers. Even though the basic concept of *paricidium* still meant murder of a relative, the circle of people became much smaller.

The natural and physical foundation of *paricidium* distinguishes it from *perduellio* [treason]. *Perduellio* is directed against the state; it is a violation of political rights and thus, a civil crime. In contrast, *paricidium* involves an infringement upon the physical and material foundations of the state. It is a violation of the natural procreative power, an offense against the original generative force present in each member of the state, a force that produces the physical existence and survival of the citizenry. Therefore, it is not a civil but a natural crime. The religious character of *paricidium* is likewise grounded in this physical line of thought. *Paricidium* is a sin against the material power, which is the source of all life and which constitutes the highest conception of a deity. The *paricida* [murderer] wrongs God and the *perduellis* [public offender] wrongs the state. The disruption of the religious order of things is such an integral part of the concept of *paricidium* that a *sacrilegus* [temple robber] could be prosecuted under its jurisdiction. In *Laws* (2.9), Cicero confirms an ancient sacred rule when he includes, among his inventory of laws, the statute: *sacrum sacrove commendatum qui clepserit rapsitque, paricida esto* [It is proper to treat a temple robber as a

murderer]. Therefore, *paricidium* had its proper place among the religious laws of Numa. Here it is considered a disruption of the divine order of things, one of the sins committed against a life-giving god.

Perduellio in its civil nature relates to Romulus, whereas *paricidium* in its sacred sense relates to Numa. Romulus represents the paternal side of the state, whereas Numa represents the maternal side. Romulus founded his city on the principle of the paternal *imperium*; Numa organized his city according to the maternal side. According to maternal descent, Romans are all Quirites as descendents of their Sabine mothers. Both sides become united in the expression *populus Romanus Quiritium* [the Roman people of the Quirites]. *Populus Romanus* designates the civil entity with Romulus as its creator, whereas *Quiritium* designates the material foundation. Materially, the *populus Romanus* is made up of Quirites. This maternal, material aspect pertains to Numa, the Sabine king. When we realize that *paricidium* involves the idea of a violation against the material existence of the people, the intimate connection of the Numan law with *paricidium* becomes absolutely clear.

All free members of the state have equal status because they have a common origin, the womb of the same mother, the earth; therefore, *paricidium* is considered parenticide regardless of the victim. This can be explained even more precisely. There is a distinction between the male and female lineage. In a strict sense, only the male members of the state may claim descent from a primeval mother earth, as Plato claims is the case for warriors. Women are not merely offspring of the earth, but even more so they are the earth itself, whose motherhood passes on to them. They possess more divinity than men. Their sanctity comes from their earthly motherhood. Numan law extended the concept of *paricidium* as protection for women to include males. Natural rights, which originally pertained only to the mother and all women, were devolved upon men, whose natural rights were not self-evident. The sanctity of women is derived from their identity with an all-bearing earth, whereas the sanctity of men is recognized in law. The divinity of women is grounded in pure nature. Because men's status

is not self-evident, it is articulated in law, which is justified by tracing the origins of men to the motherhood of the earth. Thus, it is understandable that in the documents of the ancients about *paricidium*, the male lineage was first and foremost the topic of discussion since it was unnecessary to mention women. Thus, Plutarch renders *paricidium* as *πατροκτόνιον* [patricide]. In *Romulus*, he elaborates: “And for a long time, it seemed proper that one had not even allowed for the crime of patricide since it was not committed during the first six hundred years of Rome. Lucius Hostius became the first patricide at the end of the Punic Wars” (22.3). Plutarch mentions only the murder of a man, only patricide, not matricide. He names Lucius Hostius but not Publicius Malleolus, who allegedly committed the first matricide in Roman history during the Cimbric Wars. Furthermore, Plutarch’s comment that killing any man is the same as killing a father shows that a patricide proper was not recognized and that at first there was only a notion of men but not of fathers. This confirms our view of the overall status of the male sex as well. A man is considered only in his general role as a procreative force of nature. The individual relationship of the murderer to his victim is not taken into account but only the general procreative masculine power. Accordingly, every murder of a man is a patricide, but an actual patricide is nothing more than the murder of a man, a violation of the masculine potential in nature; therefore, patricide does not qualify as a special class of murder. Even marriage and the related civil fiction of individual fatherhood are irrelevant. Only the rule of essential nature is relevant – there is no particular paternity. Masculine potency is derivative of the feminine potency as a son’s relationship to his mother. Woman is the original source of the corporeal element. Masculine power manifests itself when a son is born. Killing a man ultimately entails a violation of mother earth. Thus, the murder of a man and a woman are one and the same. The difference lies only in the direct or indirect relationship to the earth.

The act of birth is stressed in the word *paricidium*. *Paricidium* has its origins in *pario* [bring forth and produce], which is a stem of *pareo* [appear] and *appareo* [be manifest]. Giving birth results in an appearance or manifestation of

what was concealed before. On this subject, Lucretius explains *dias in luminis oras exoritur* [it comes forth to the divine regions of light] and *visitque exortum lumina solis* [it is born and sees the light of the sun] in *On the Nature of Things* (1.22-23 and 1.5 respectively). The existence of masculine power is revealed by a birth; therefore, the concept of a life-bearing mother and a masculine power are one. The feminine act of birth is named by a single word, the stem of which indicates the natural masculine power. *Pario* and *Pales* are obviously connected. *Pales* is the primeval, all-bearing mother, who discloses her identity through birth as the masculine *Pales*, the great inseminator of the earth. According to Sextus Pompeius Festus, the oldest *quaestores rerum capitalium quaerendarum* [magistrates investigating capital crimes] were called *quaestores parici*. This is a fact. The adjectival form of *paricus* is roughly *palicus*. *Quaestores parici* means the duumvir entrusted with the investigation of a murder as a violation of *Pales*. Here we are led back to our view above. *Paricidium* is a crime committed against any of the offspring of the primeval, life-bearing mother. Every murder involves this notion whether a man or a woman is the victim. It does not matter how close the relationship is. Only the crime against the natural life-bearing and generative power provides the grounds for punishment.

The sin corresponds to the outrage. The *paricida* [murderer] cannot be buried because he would be returned to the womb of the earth, against which he had transgressed. He is prevented from coming into contact with the mother in any way by being sewn into a sack. Burial in a river or in a lake makes him a sacrifice to the element in which the inseminating power lies and the force that demands penance for the victim. A dog, a viper, a cock, and a monkey are buried with the offender to represent the forces on three levels, the telluric, solar, and lunar. The viper and dog represent the first level, the cock the second, and the monkey the middle level of the lunar between the animal and human worlds as in the Egyptian tradition. They are all offered along with the offender as a sacrifice of penance to the violated power (Cic., *Rosc. Am.* 30, 70 and 71). The *paricida* is denied a return to the womb of the earth, and he is delivered up to the procreative

element as a sacrifice of penance. In this fashion, both aspects of nature's power are expiated and the foundation of the natural order of things is restored. It is always the general relationship to the maternal substance and its active power, not the individual, personal blood relationship, which accounts for *paricidium* in its conception, etymology, scope, and atonement. The motherhood of the earth manifests itself in *paricidium* as the foundation of legal institutions.

XIII. In "Bravery of Women" (8.272), Plutarch says that the Cretan city Lyctus was considered by the ancients to be a Lacedaemonian colony though its inhabitants were kindred of the Athenians. Women are the reason for both of these affiliations. The women won the status of Spartan kinship for their people through trickery. However, they were actually Athenian women abducted by the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians from the foothills of Brauron. An oracle proclaimed that these Pelasgians would found a colony where they would lose their goddess and their anchor. These instructions are completely consistent with those that Neleus received to make his home where a maiden would offer him earth soaked with water, a prophecy he considered fulfilled when a potter's daughter handed him clay for marking with his finger seal (Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1378-81). According to the view of the ancients, earth impregnated with water is a vehicle of fertility. The anchor indicates water; the goddess was Diana, the great Ephesian Earth Mother. Likewise in this myth, the preeminence of the maternal origin is accomplished by equating women with the archetype of the maternal earth.

XIV. Privileging relationships of maternal origin is not uncommon. In *Theseus* (6-7), Plutarch remarks that the Athenian hero Theseus was motivated to emulate Heracles because of his close relationship to him, "for Aethra (Theseus's mother) was the daughter of Pittheus, and Alcmene (Heracles' mother) was the daughter of Lysidice. Pittheus and Lysidice were brother and sister, children of Hippodameia and Pelops." Thus, there is a union of origin

from the definitive mother's side. In this way, Theseus maintains a family tie to Daedalus since the latter's mother, Merope, was supposedly a daughter of Erechtheus (Plut. *Thes.* 17). From the point of view of mother right, any offense against the children of a sister seems especially vile because it is the sister who reproduces the family of the mother, not the brother. The myth of Daedalus points out in particular that he killed his sister's son, Perdix (Ov. *Met.* 8.237-54). According to Hyginus' *Fabulae* (39), Daedalus fled from Athens to Crete for protection under King Minos.

Thus, there is the custom of Roman women appealing to the goddess Ino-Leucothea, who is the counterpart of the Roman Mater Matuta [Mother of Dawn], to bless their sisters' children rather than their own. In *Roman Questions*, Plutarch asks: "Why don't these women ask the goddess for a blessing for their own children rather than their sisters' children? Is it because Ino loved her sister, Semele, very much and she had even suckled her sister's son, Dionysus? Or because she was dissatisfied with her own children? Or because this is simply a good and commendable practice that effects a considerable affection in families?" (17) Ino-Matuta is nature's feminine principle above all else; mortal woman is her earthly image; therefore, as one is the highest in nature, the other is the highest in the family. Thus, women pray to her only on behalf of their sisters but not for their brothers. Children belong to the mother, not to the father. The daughters reproduce the family, not the sons. All the sisters exemplify the status of the mother. They form an integrated whole as mortal women do in their relationship to the great primeval mother, Mater Matuta. When sisters pray for each other, they are praying for the prosperity of their own family because they have in mind their entire maternal lineage, not just the line beginning with themselves. Mater Matuta lends a particularly understanding ear to such prayers. A woman who prays for her own children establishes herself as the source of a new family line; in contrast, a woman who prays for the children of her sisters does so for her mother and furthermore for the primeval mother, Matuta. Therefore, only the latter prayer is devout and certain of exaltation. This practice,

reported by Plutarch above, is an outcome of gynecocracy, which is rooted in the assumption that the feminine principle of nature stands above all else.

This view is prominent in the original religion of Crete. According to Posidonius's *Fragments* and Diodorus Siculus, in the city of Engyum in Sicily, the Cretans established a highly celebrated temple to the μητέρες (the Mothers), who fed the infant Zeus in a cave on Crete unbeknownst to Saturn. As their reward, Zeus translated them into the heavens as a constellation named the Bears (Diod. Sic. 4.79-80). The Cretans honored the Mothers with particular awe. In the temple, the Cretans displayed spears and bronze helmets inscribed with the names of Meriones (Molus's son, and Minos's grandson) and Ulysses, who bestowed these weapons as votive offerings to the Mothers. One reads in Posidonius' *Fragments* how Nicias blasphemed against the Mothers, then pretended that they struck him with madness. He fell to the ground and tossed his head back and forth in a frenzy and spoke with trembling (257). These were probably the Mothers presented frequently as a trinity in Crete. We also find the *Matres* [mothers] or the *Matronae* [matrons] along the Rhine and in England represented in numerous stones, especially those displayed in museums in Mannheim and Mainz. The name of their cult's location, Engyum, as well as the observation that the Mothers could control Nicias only when he touched the earth, led to the view that the earth is the physical basis and the material location of the μητέρες [the Mothers]. Engyum literally means "in the earth." The relationship of "gya, gyia, gyie" to "ge" will be explained later. Another relevant detail is that Minos's son, Androgeos, is also called Eurygyes. Athletic contests were held in his honor in Ceramicus [potter's quarters] near Athens (Paus. 1.1-4). Equating Androgeos with Eurygyes shows the unmistakable importance of the latter name. Androgeos is etymologically the "man of the earth," the personification of masculine power permeated with earthly substance. Eurygyes stands for the same thing; "gye, gyia, gyie" is the acreage or tillage (Eur., *Heracl.* 839), thus the womb as well (Soph., *Ant.* 569); "gyes" is the plowshare; "eury" (wide) is a description of an attribute of the land (Hes., *Theog.* 117),

which has also become a part of other proper names of chthonic deities such as Eurynome and Eurymede. In Cretan Engyum, the mother goddesses appear as a materialization of the earth itself, in the capacity of mothers from whose wombs all fruits come. The earthly, mortal mothers perform the duties of the immortal, primeval mothers of all corporeal birth and this role accounts for their eminence. Mothers are at the head of the family, as mothers are the most important in natural life in general.

XV. An observation from Diodorus Siculus shows the crucial role of the mother in religious and social life: [Citizens of] “some cities were instructed by oracles to worship the Mothers of Engyum if they wanted to be happy in their private lives and to have prosperity for their country” (4.80). In other words, not only bodily well-being but civil prosperity as well comes from the Mothers. Here is an obvious association of this cult with a civil institution. A very noteworthy aspect of antiquity is inherent in the content of this mandate from the oracle to the benefit of gynecocracy. It promotes the domestic as well as the public weal. Both the Opuntian and Epizephyrian Locrians praised law and order. Lycians valued self-control. Both the Lycians and Locrians maintained aspects of a gynecocracy the longest.

It should be assumed that a strong element of discipline and constancy was maintained in the matriarchy and in its religious practices especially because crude power and passion of the primordial period had no counterbalance in customs and institutions and men did not submit to anything except the inexplicable magical power of women over them. As instruments of discipline, as embodiment of the law, as innate oracles, and as agents of charitable wisdom, women contravene the wild, unbridled force of men. The warrior gladly bears these fetters because he senses the necessity of doing so. A gynecocracy survived an entire epoch through voluntary recognition of the exigency of obeying its higher natural law for the general well-being of humanity. In any case, conservatism and stability must have been characteristic features in the lives of

people controlled by women. Women contain the law within themselves; they express it with the necessity and certainty of natural instinct and of human conscience. Woman is physically shaped for stability. She is predestined by nature as a *domiseda* [she who stays at home]; she shares the character of the earth; she has the attributes of the native soil from which she originates. Because a woman is stable and secure, the roaming and unstable man always returns back to her. With the awareness of the authority in her hands, women of ancient times must have appeared with mysterious greatness and grandeur to those of a later epoch. The later downfall of her character results essentially from the limitation of her effectiveness with the small matters of existence, from her submissiveness, from the withdrawal from great activities, and from the resulting tendency to be affected by tricks and intrigue. Even the ancients asked: What has happened to these women whose physical beauty, high character, and perfect charm have attracted even the eyes of immortal gods and stimulated their desires? Such women as Alceme, Medea, Coronis and so many others are no more to be found. How do women of today measure up to those of primeval time? The awareness of authority and power ennobles the body and soul by suppressing lower desires and emotions, banning sexual licentiousness, and assuring strength and a heroic frame of mind for the offspring. The sovereignty and the authority of women is the most effective model for educating a people about virtue in the older, robust sense, as opposed to today's pleasure seeking. In any case, the account that Roman heroes descended from Sabine women with Amazonian traits is most significant. Such women would not be pleased with weaklings and reprobates nor with the unfaithful, who disrespect other men. Therefore, the matriarchy of those old days did not curtail the courage of men but promoted it. The argument thus becomes even more convincing that the reports of the glory and prosperity of the matriarchal peoples of ancient time are certainly correct.

The cult of the mother is inherent in the worship of Demeter. The concept of the earth as maternal substance characterizes this deity. Therefore, it is of

great importance to the notion of Cretan mother right that on the fertile island of Crete, Demeter makes love with Iasion on a thrice-plowed field, an immortal goddess with a mortal man. Instances of goddesses coupling with mortal men are cited in a supplement to the *Theogony* (963 ff.). The enumeration begins with Demeter's love of Iasion (Cf. Diod. Sic. 5.77.1 and *Od.* 5.125). The immortality of woman in contrast to the mortality of man expresses the preeminence of motherhood and preserves one of the oldest religious views. In contrast, father right expresses the more common view in the mythological world, in which the father is immortal and the woman is mortal. This latter relationship is an expression of the spiritual Zeus principle, the incorporeal heavenly power of light. In contrast, mother right has its origins below, from substance, out of the earth, which is regarded as the primordial mother of the entire visible creation because it bears everything into the light from its hidden womb. Even though woman is eternal and immortal, her offspring are transitory, even her most beautiful creatures, godlike human beings. Men are a part of this frail creation, Iasion as well as Peleus, Thetis's husband. Men are also destined for a decline and fall and removal and replacement by a successor. An endless series of male generations pass away while the Earth Mother remains eternal and unchangeable. Only she remains constantly the same, returning from motherhood to maidenhood, thus combining in herself what is impossible in mortal women, motherhood and virginity. Iasion is only Demeter's inseminator. He is the sowing man, spreading his seeds, and then leaving the scene after completing his job of the moment. He can also be compared to a plowshare, which opens and wounds a womb, but is replaceable by another. Though a man may arouse life, the substance of it originates entirely from the woman. As a tree is the child of the earth and is ever dependent on it, so is a human being entirely from the mother, not from the father. Demeter's immortality is bestowed upon earthly women through mother right. As a son follows a son in father right, a daughter follows a daughter in mother right. The mother lives on in her granddaughters, and the primordial mother lives on in the mother. According to father right, *pater*

familiae suae et caput et finis est [the father of the family is its beginning and end] describes the situation of the sons, whereas according to mother right, *mater familiae suae et caput et finis est* [the mother of the family is its source and end] describes the situation of the daughters. The son does not reproduce the family according to mother right; he has a strictly individual existence limited to the span of his life. He is mortal whereas woman is immortal. In Aeschylus's *Libation Bearers*, Electra compares the children of deceased fathers to corks, which "show the tug on the line descending to the bottom of the deep sea while securing the ropes and net above" (504-7). Sons are the "corks" in father right whereas daughters are the "corks" in mother right. In *The Nature of the Gods* (3.45), Cicero discusses the relationship of a mortal man to an immortal mother as well. He stresses that according to *ius naturale* [natural law], a son born from such a union inexorably shares the nature of his mother, whereas according to *ius civile* [civil law], he shares the nature of his father; the son of a goddess must also have a divine nature. The significance of the opposition of *ius naturale* and *ius civile* has already been explained above. *Ius naturale* is the law of material life, including chthonic motherhood. Violating this law diminishes woman. According to one of Romulus's statutes (Plut., *Rom.* 22.3), one must make an expiatory offering to the subterranean gods when this law is violated.

XVI. Demeter is the mother of Plutus from a union with Iasion. Her relationship to her son illustrates the relationship of the maternal natural principle to the masculine principle. The mother precedes the son. Womanhood is above everything; the masculine manifestation of vitality appears only afterwards. Woman is a given, while man becomes something. From the beginning on, the earth has provided the maternal fundamental substance. All visible creation comes from the earth's womb, and only when its creation is manifest are there two separate genders; the masculine form is revealed only through the act of creation. Woman and man do not appear at the same time, and they are not equal. Woman leads and man follows; woman precedes man, her

son; woman is a given, and man becomes something because of her. He is a part of the visible and ever-changing creation; he exists only in mortal form. Only woman is existent, present, and immutable from the beginning. In the process of becoming, man is always vulnerable to demise. In the physical domain, the masculine principle is subordinated to the feminine principle. Thus, nature serves as a model for gynecocracy and provides its justification. The primeval notion that an immortal woman couples with a mortal man is an expression of the subordination of man to woman. Nature is always the same, but as it pertains to man, there is an unpredictable series of lineages. The same primordial mother mates with many different men. An example is Socrates' story of Penia and Plutus, in which the substance of the earth [Penia] is poor, needy, and insufficient. She needs fertilization from a man. Because Penia feels inadequate about herself, she pursues various men, yearns for new mates, and like Smyrna, she seduces her own father and like Phaedra, she seduces her own stepson. Only by continually bearing can Penia secure a long life and immortality for her children. In this situation, a son becomes a father by impregnating his mother. In the Cretan myth, Plutus is Demeter's son, and in the Platonic myth he is Penia's husband and father of the visible world. In fact, he is both. As a son, he becomes the inseminator of his mother; the created becomes a creator; the same woman is at once his mother and his wife. The son becomes his own father. Thus, there is a recurrent theme of the love of a daughter for her own father, as in the myth of Smyrna. In these cases, the child has only a mother, and the father is twice removed as a relative of the mother. Woman is the seductive partner like Eve and Pandora; she lives on, while man succumbs to death. The visible creation, the child of Mother Earth, evolves into the concept of the procreator. Adonis, the figure of the manifested world that wastes away each year to arise anew, becomes Papas, the procreator of what he is himself (Diod. Sic. 3.58.4). Plutus is his counterpart. As Demeter's son, Plutus is the visible, ever-renewing creation, at once Penia's husband and father. He is simultaneously a resource from the womb of the earth and the distributor of resources; in this vein, he is

simultaneously object and active potential, creator and created, cause and effect. However, the first appearance of masculine power upon the earth is in the body of the son. The father evolves from the son. This view explains the subordination of the masculine principle to the rights of mothers. Man appears as a creation not a creator, as an effect not a cause. The opposite is the case for the mother. She precedes creation; she appears as a cause, as the first life-giver. In short, woman is first a mother, and man is first a son. Daylight is plowed forth from the mother's furrow (Cf. *Ov.*, *Met.* 15.553). The motherly attributes of the earth become discernible in the plant, which breaks forth from the ground. Still, there is no representation of the masculine until the first male child is born. Woman precedes man, and she is also the revealer of the great mysteries of the creation of life. No one can observe how the seed unfolds and life awakes within the darkness of the earth's womb, and the occurrence of birth is what first becomes perceptible. Only the mother participates in this. The existence and representation of masculine power is revealed in the body of a male child; by giving birth, the mother discloses what was unknown before and whose activity was hidden in obscurity.

In numerous accounts in ancient mythology, masculine power is depicted as a revealed mystery; in contrast, woman is depicted as the primordial foundation, as granted, as the corporeal basis, as the material, the sensually perceptible, as something that needs no disclosure; she provides the certainty of the masculine existence and appearance by giving birth. In *Theseus* (18.3), Plutarch recounts the myth of Aphrodite Epitragia. When Theseus observed Apollo's decree to sacrifice a she-goat to the goddess Aphrodite by the seashore, the she-goat transformed itself into a he-goat. Since then, Aphrodite has been depicted sitting upon a he-goat. Likewise in this case, the mother animal is the source and has always existed. From a woman comes a man through a wonderful metamorphosis of nature, as is the case in every birth of a boy. A mother appears transformed into a father through her son. In any case, the he-goat is Aphrodite's symbol, her subordinate and servant. Even the mother is astonished when a male

appears from her womb because she recognizes in her son the image of the power that impregnated her and made her motherhood possible. She watches her creation with delight. Man becomes her darling, the he-goat, her carrier, and the phallus, her constant companion. As a mother, Cybele is superior to Atys, Diana to Virbius, and Aphrodite to Phaëthon. The material, feminine, natural principle is primary and the masculine principle is secondary, existent only in mortal form and perpetually changing.

XVII. The same notion underlies the myth of Zeus's birth from Rhea. In this case as well, the mother is paramount. Even though Cronus is named as Zeus' father in the legend, he should not be construed as the fleshly procreator. Rather Cronus only symbolizes an earlier extinct age, and its subsequent age is depicted as a father to son succession. The image is not of engendering but rather that of destruction and downfall symbolized as a paternal relationship. Thus, the Cretan Zeus has only a mother, the flowing, moist soil. Zeus becomes the first visible form of the masculine side of nature. In this case as well, woman is depicted as foremost, as the original, as timeless material being, and man is portrayed as a manifestation of the mother. Furthermore, Zeus is mortal. His grave is on Crete. The feminine side of nature is immortal in contrast to the ever-changing masculine side, which can sustain itself only through constant rejuvenation dependent upon persistent death. The dead and buried Zeus represents an existence of perpetual death and resurrection. However, Zeus is also a creator; furthermore, he is simultaneously effect and cause like Plutus and Adonis. He is the masculine foundation of earthly creation that becomes manifest through creation, in the form of mortal men. In Cretan mythology, Zeus is born, dies, and then returns in death to earth, to his mother. This version appears in connection with the immortal, immutable, timeless primeval mother Rhea, who represents a perfect expression of gynecocracy grounded in material law, which has been transferred from religious to civil life.

Nowhere do feminine deities play a larger role than on Crete, the homeland of the Greek religion and mysteries. Minos's life is interwoven with female characters, who all represent tellurian, material motherhood: Minos's mother is Europa, the daughter of Telephassa. Pasiphaë is his wife and mother of the Minotaur (Apollod. 3.1.2.). Minos passionately pursues Britomartis/Dictynna, the chaste *virgo dulcis* [sweet maiden] until she finds peace from him in the depths of the ocean. His daughter, Ariadne, becomes involved with Dionysus after Theseus abandons her (Paus. 2.23.8). On Cyprus, she looks like Aphrodite with her crown and dancing (*Il.* 18.592). Phaedra is Ariadne's sister. Gorgo is Asander's lover (*Amat.* 20.766 c). All of these female deities are representations of the maternal earthly substance, and they are also related to lunar women, specifically Artemis/Diana. Even their names proclaim their lunar identity. Luna [Moon] is called the glowing one, the all-illuminating goddess, and the one shining from afar. All the great mothers of nature lead a double existence as earth and moon, for the moon is material like the earth; it is an earth in the heavens or in the ether. Thus Athena, Artemis, and Aphrodite glisten as stars in the humid, fertile night sky. Helen and Iphigenia are likewise associated with the moon. Helen was born from an egg as a sign of her material motherhood. Gynecocracy is grounded in the motherhood of the moon. Therefore, it is a sign of mother right on Crete that Ariadne is counted among its rulers. According to Plutarch's *Theseus* (19.6), Ariadne assumes control of the government after Deucalion's death. She makes peace with Theseus, returns the hostages, and forms an alliance between the hostile countries, Athens and Crete. In a similar fashion, Britomartis and Artemis serve as witnesses to the ratification of the peace treaty between the Cretan cities Latos and Olus. Here again, motherhood is mediating and reconciliatory.

The following customs are significant reverberations of the ancient Cretan gynecocracy: Only daughters visit the Apollonian shrine to commemorate the departure of Theseus (Plut., *Thes.* 18.3). Only mothers are present at the festival of the Oschophoria to honor Dionysus and Ariadne (Plut., *Thes.* 23.3). In

connection with this practice, the Cretan custom of saying “beloved motherland” is doubly meaningful. As the feminine principle is foremost in nature, so is woman foremost in the state and family.

XIX. However, gynecocracy and mother right have been surmounted on Crete. Only the remembrance of its earlier eminence has been maintained in the designation “beloved motherland.” The lunar principle has ceded to the solar principle, and material motherhood to spiritual father right. This advancement is a religious fact. Here I will elaborate on the stages of the progression.

The transference of the material motherhood of the earth to the moon suggests a cosmic solution to the question about the relationship of the genders. The sun relates to the moon as a man relates to a woman. The male and female genders are united within the earthly substance, and then split at birth; in the heavens, there is an analogous division into two separate and autonomous cosmic powers. The material moon represents woman, and the incorporeal blaze of the sun, man. Indeed, Joseph interprets his dream of the sun and moon as corresponding to man and woman (Gen. 37:9-10). The relationship of these two celestial bodies prefigures all aspects of the relationship between man and woman. The immateriality of masculine solar power contrasts with the materiality of the moon. In fact, the moon does not have its own light. The moon is like Penia, the feminine earthly matter. The moon is brought to life by the rays of the sun. The sun bestows light and fertility upon the moon. The moon shines with an external and borrowed light. Luna pursues Sol as Penia pursues Plutus. Yearning for the illuminating Helios, she always follows at a respectful distance in his path. She is a cosmic planet depicted as material, conceptive, maternally bearing like our earth and always waxing and waning in an eternal variation as a creation of substance issued from the womb.

However, this depiction stresses only one aspect of lunar nature. Sometimes the moon is depicted as masculine or, indicative of its whole identity, as hermaphroditic. In relationship to the sun, the moon is feminine conceiving

material. However, the moon is the masculine inseminator spreading its seeds upon our earth. What the moon receives from the sun, it emits as fluid rays from its nocturnal glow upon the earth, onto the ground, in order to inseminate all feminine living things. When such rays of seeds fall upon a cow in heat, the Egyptians (according to Plutarch's "On Isis and Osiris") believed its offspring becomes the Apis, who looks like the moon with black and white parts. In short, the moon is a mother in respect to the sun but father of all creation on earth. The moon advances from feminine materiality to a masculine conceptualization. The moon progresses from a material body to a force that awakens life. The masculine gender on earth is first revealed through birth as an effect, not a cause. However, the moon exhibits the masculine power of insemination. Whereas motherhood acquires its material nature from the earth, fatherhood acquires its masculinity from the moon. This conceptualization is the first movement in the area of religion toward the overthrow of gynecocracy. Earthly substance discloses only the feminine side of nature; in contrast, celestial powers suggest something beyond a feminine substance, leading to the conception of a masculine power, ultimately moving the feminine into the background. In the end, substance abdicates to awe-inspiring celestial power. In short, mother right originates from below; it is chthonic by nature and origin; in contrast, father right comes from above; it is celestial by nature and origin; it possesses the authority of light in contrast to the power of darkness commanded by the womb of the earth. It denotes a higher stage of religion and of human development than material mother right.

XX. Cosmic fatherhood has two levels, one lower and one higher, symbolized by the moon and the sun respectively. In other words, masculinity is exhibited both as lunar and solar power. The masculinity of the moon is not free of materiality; when masculinity makes its final ascent to the sun, the purest of all nature, it assumes the incorporeality of celestial light. The procreative power of the moon does not come from within itself but rather from the sun. The rays of

the original light impart life to all the lower bodies. The sun enters the moon and weds with the conceptive substance, as the Egyptians conceptualized the relationship of Osiris and Isis according to Plutarch. This union makes the moon a paternal Deus Lunus. A ray at its source in the sun is entirely incorporeal and of the highest purity; when it combines with lunar substance, it loses some of its eminence and original purity. Therefore, the ancients considered the moon the impurest of the celestial bodies but the purest of the worldly ones. On the boundary, the moon links yet separates two realms. Whatever lies above the moon is eternal and incorruptible like the sun; whatever lies below the moon is transient and corruptible as is everything that is born of matter. The moon itself falls under the shadow of the earth and shares the earth's materiality. According to Pliny, the moon is the *familiarissimum nostrae terrae sidus* [star in the closest relationship to our earth]. We should measure the character of masculinity at the level of lunar power accordingly. Masculinity appears at first to be entirely composed of matter. As the moon, masculinity has not yet attained its highest level; it has not yet arrived at its ultimate source, the sun. Though masculinity has acquired the attributes of light, it is the impure, material light of the moon, not the pure light of the incorporeal sun. Lunus [masculine moon] is still a part of the material world, where it holds the highest position, whereas it holds the lowest position in the solar region of immortality. Indeed, Lunus is enthroned high above the earth. Lunus manifests its pure divinity as the penetrating masculine power of earthly substance as well as the chthonic abode of moisture, the waters out of the deep according to the ancients. Though Lunus is high above the earth, it is lowly in comparison to the sun. Conceived as Lunus, masculine power is earthly substance raised toward heaven. Lunus has attained an initial ascent from the material toward the nature of light. As Lunus has its source in Helios, father right seeks its supreme and final ascension in incorporeal, solar light, the purest and highest of all cosmic forces.

XXI. In Cretan mythology, the masculine side of natural power manifests itself especially in the form of a bull as a counterpart to the cow, the symbol of feminine power. Minos's wife, Pasiphaë becomes inflamed with wild sensual lust for Poseidon's bull. Asterius, the half-bull and half-human Minotaur, is the child of their union (Apollod. 3.1 and Diod. Sic. 4.77.1). According to Plutarch (*Thes.* 19.3-4), the renowned leader of Minos's military campaigns was called Taurus; Zeus incarnates himself as a bull to abduct Europa (Hyg., *Fab.* 30 and Apollod. 2.5-7); and Diodorus Siculus traces the Marathonian bull back to Crete (4.59.6). There can be no doubt about the significance of this hieroglyph. It designates the masculine, life-arousing aspect of natural power. Minos appeals to Poseidon, and a bull arises out of the depths of the sea and ultimately impregnates Pasiphaë with Asterius. Thus, the women of Elis and Argos call forth the god with bull's feet out of the waves with blasts of trumpets so that he shall come and impregnate them.

Chthonic waters, fluids from the deep, are the initial source of masculine power. The sea conceals the procreative phallus, and the god sends it upward from its depths. Masculine power progresses from tellurian to lunar existence. The invisible, active, masculine power that penetrates substance is incarnated into a cosmic power, the moon. Like masculine Lunus, Taurus becomes a symbol of the moon shining its procreative rays upon the earth. From such moonlight, the Apis, the holy bull, is created. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 178), Cadmus's heifer bears a full moon on its flanks; furthermore, *lunula in bovis latere* [a crescent on the flank of a cow] is depicted so in art. The location of the full moon on the body of the animal is significant. Whereas a radiant sun held between the horns of a bull is depicted on many hieroglyphs, in this case, it is similar to the *lunula* [small crescent ornament] of Roman patricians, who wore it on their shoes. In contrast to the space between the horns, the body expresses the material, purely physical side of existence, which the moon constitutes and promotes. Physical prosperity for human beings comes from the moon and its virility. Materiality conforms to materiality. Accordingly, we have treated the

Cretan Bull as a lunar bull; thus it is depicted as snow-white, consistent with the attribute of light . . .

XXII. The elevation of natural power from the level of the moon up to the level of the sun indicates progress from the corporeal to incorporeal; furthermore, this transition is even more important and significant than the first one, from the maternal earth to masculine Lunus, because the moon is still within the domain of materiality. Like the earth, Lunus is a part of materiality and corruptible nature. However, the sun lies beyond. It is incorporeal, entirely immaterial, immutable, and completely pure. Both spirit and a spiritual life are associated with the sun whereas corporeal procreation and physical prosperity is associated with the moon feminine or masculine. The ancients attribute the three components of human beings as follows: *soma* [body] from Mother Earth, *psyche* [soul] from the moon, and *nous* [spirit] from the sun, the highest of all and pure divine spirit. According to Sappho, Prometheus ignites the torch of the immortal spirit on the wheels of the chariot of the sun, what Ennius calls *istic de sole sumptus ignis* [that fire taken from the sun] in his treatise about Epicharmus. The sun creates material through the agency of the moon, Lunus, but it creates spirit directly, with no intermediary. Therefore, man's solar derivation is manifested in his spiritual, but not in his corporeal nature. Hence, human actions illuminate a higher, celestial, divine origin. The sons of mortal mothers prove they are powers of light and children of celestial fathers through the magnanimity of their actions. In this fashion, Heracles, Perseus, Theseus, and the descendants of Aeacus embody the nature of a higher immortal light that liberates humanity from the bonds of materiality. They are founders of a higher spiritual existence that is incorruptible like the sun; they are heroes of a civilization ruled by munificence and spiritual aspirations. The highest level of father right is spiritual whereas the lunar level of father right is entirely material. Lunus is physical power; solar power is the spiritual father of humanity. Though life begins as corporeal and material, it is empowered and perfected on a higher

spiritual level. As a result of this development, immortality is transferred from the mother's side to the father's side. The conceptions of a mother and a father are reversed. Though the mother was paramount and immortal in accordance with the laws of material life, the father supersedes her in accordance with spiritual laws. The mother ends up with transience and subordination. This transition from the mother to the father is exemplary in the figure of Minos. In body, he is the son of Asterius, the corporeal son of Lunus. However, Minos's immortal spirit that enables him to perform great deeds shows he is the son of Zeus. As Minos's father evolves into a celestial figure, conversely his mother, Europa, is degraded into a mortal woman. The oldest tradition portrays Minos as born of woman. The mortal, procreative bull is subordinate to immortal Europa, as Iasion is to Demeter. Ultimately, a spiritual viewpoint prevailed in religious thought in contrast to purely material life. Thus, the genealogy of heroes was reversed. The balance tipped in favor of the paternal side. The authority of the celestial powers of light, fatherhood, prevailed over authority of material, tellurian motherhood. Woman abdicates willingly to a higher solar authority. She acknowledges that her glory comes from borrowed light. As the moon follows the sun, Ariadne follows Theseus, the solar hero spawned by the sea, and greets him as her liberator. Following the dictates of the material law, man courts the pleasure of the feminine substance. Thus, Minos pursued the chaste Britomartis, Hephaestus pursued Athena, Peleus pursued Thetis, and Mars pursued Anna Perenna; with the accession of father right, this relationship is reversed, and woman pursues man. Dazzled by the higher nature of man, as Io by Zeus, woman longs for union with him, and she finds her highest satisfaction in her subordination to her loved one. Thus, the relationship between the sexes is squared with the highest cosmic laws. Theseus completes this task. By slaying the Minotaur, he establishes spiritual father right based on the celestial power of light. The traditions of Crete are continued and developed in Attica. According to Plutarch (*Thes.* 29.3), there was a proverb: "Not without Theseus," which directs one to seek sustenance in a higher, celestial, spiritual power like Theseus.

Athens

XXIII. Like Crete, Athens is closely associated with Lycia. According to Herodotus (1.173) and Strabo (12.573), Aegeus expelled his brother, Lycus, from Athens. Lycus took refuge with Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae. Does this event suggest that mother right prevailed in Athens as well? There is much evidence for this view.

In the *City of God*, St. Augustine quotes a passage from Varro about two omens during the reign of Cecrops.

At the same time, an olive tree and a fountain of water sprang from the earth. Frightened, Cecrops asked the oracle at Delphi about the meaning of these phenomena. Apollo replied that the olive tree signified Minerva and the water, Neptune. Furthermore, Apollo stipulated that the citizens of Athens should decide which of these two gods manifested in these natural phenomena should represent their city by name. Therefore, Cecrops called an assembly of citizens, both men and women, for it was the custom at that time for women to participate in public deliberations. At this assembly, the men voted for Neptune and the women voted for Minerva. Minerva won the election because the women outnumbered the men by one person. Neptune became angry and caused the sea to flood the Athenian territory. To placate Neptune, the men imposed a threefold punishment upon the women: the women lost their right to vote; children would no longer take the names of their mothers; and women lost their privilege of being named Athenians. (18.9)

In this myth, Neptune represents father right and Athena, mother right. Apparently, mother right ruled Athens until this event because the children were named after the mother, and the women were named after Athena. As long as the women were called Athenians, they possessed full status as citizens of Athens. Afterwards, the women were considered merely wives of citizens. Ancient mother right preceding Cecrops yielded to father right. In *Ecclesiastus* (455),

Aristophanes mistakenly claims that a rule of women is the one form of government never attempted in Athens. However, a rule of women was the practice before any other form of government. As in Lycia, mother right ruled in Attica. In Athens as in Asia, mother right was the primordial law of the people. As in Asia, mother right in Athens was allied with religion as is evidenced in the cult of Athena and the use of her name for the city.

XXIV. Varro's story is remarkably similar to one told by Ephorus and recorded by Strabo. The context is the war of the Boeotians against the Thracians, Pelasgians, and Hyantes to regain their homeland. The Boeotians drove the Pelasgians to Athens, the Thracians to Parnassus, and the Hyantes to Hyas in Phocia (9.3).

Ephorus says that the Thracians made an armistice with the Boeotians. Nonetheless, the Thracians attacked the Boeotians by night. Even though the Boeotians were taken by surprise, they were able to repulse the Thracians. The Boeotians charged the Thracians with breaching the peace. The Thracians countered that the armistice stipulated only the daytime whereas they had attacked during the night. Whence comes the proverb *Θρακία παρεύρεσις* [Thracian pretense]. In order to resolve the dispute, both the Pelasgians and Boeotians went to consult the oracle. The priestess told the Boeotians that they would win the war if they would commit an impious act. The Boeotians suspected that the priestess had given them a false prophecy because she was kin to the Pelasgians. Indeed, the Pelasgians founded the oracular shrine. (Cf. Strabo 7.324, 327, 328, and 329.) Therefore, the Boeotians burned the priestess to death on a pyre. They reasoned that this action was proper whether the priestess spoke the truth or a lie. If lying, death was her proper punishment. If telling the truth, they had fulfilled the command of the oracle. However, the male temple authorities challenged the killing and ordered a hearing. For this purpose, the temple authorities summoned the other two priestesses to determine the case. The Boeotians protested because nowhere in the world was it customary for women to adjudicate. Thus, the Boeotians appointed two men to join the two priestesses as judges. The men voted to acquit the Boeotians for killing the priestess and the women voted for conviction. However, the tie vote resulted in acquittal. Thus, the decision of the men prevailed over that of the women. After this trial, the Boeotians appointed

only men as oracles at Dodona. The two remaining priestesses interpreted the oracle as a commandment from god to steal tripods from their homeland and take them to Dodona. This is now the custom. Every year, the Boeotians hide the sacred tripods under their cloaks and take them to Dodona under the cover of night. (9.4)

This peculiar story indicates that the authority of female nature principle precedes the male principle. The female principle resists the male principle in vain. Women condemn the murder of the priestess and the men acquit it. By killing the priestess, the Boeotians violated the female earth itself. According to the incorporeal male law, the Boeotians were innocent. They simply sacrificed a woman to the higher nature principle of male virility. The priestess is burned to death on a pyre. The flames burn away her mortal parts so that she may merge with the higher principle of light, whose incorporeal power quickens the seeds of life in material earth. Ironically, a sacrilege becomes the source of joy. Even the priestesses of Dodona acknowledge the progression in their interpretation of the oracle. . . .

XXV. In addition to Varro's account, Aeschylus' *Eumenides* indicates the existence of mother right in Attic prehistoric times. In this drama, the Erinyes represent mother right and Apollo and Athena represent father right. Orestes kills his mother in order to avenge his father. Which parent is more important, the mother or the father? Which parent is closer to the child? Athena establishes a court to decide. She selected the most respected citizens of Athens to serve as jurors. The Erinyes prosecute Orestes as a matricide. Apollo defends him. Apollo ordered Orestes to kill his mother and Apollo purified Orestes of bloodguilt afterwards. The Erinyes argue the side of Clytemnestra, and Apollo takes the side of Agamemnon. The Erinyes represent mother right and Apollo represents father right. In the following dialogue, the Erinyes interrogate and accuse Orestes (595-608):

ERINYES: The seer demanded that you kill your mother?
ORESTES: Yes. And I, indeed, will never blame my fate.

ERINYES: But if the court condemns you, you'll quickly change your mind.

ORESTES: I am hopeful because my father will sustain me from the grave.

ERINYES: You place your hopes in the dead, you who killed your mother.

ORESTES: Yes, for she twice defiled herself.

ERINYES: How so? Explain it to the judges.

ORESTES: By killing her husband she also killed my father.

ERINYES: But while you are still alive, she has been redeemed through her death.

ORESTES: Why did you not banish her when she lived?

ERINYES: She was not of one blood with the man she slew.

ORESTES: Am I of one blood with my mother?

ERINYES: How else, you bloodstained man! Did she not bear you under her heart? Do you disown your own mother's blood?

It is evident that the Erinyes do not acknowledge the rights of a father and man, for they do not punish Clytemnestra. They recognize only the rights of the mother, the law of maternal blood. In accordance with ancient law and custom, they prosecute Orestes as a matricide. Apollo is their opposite. At the behest of Zeus, Apollo commands Orestes to kill his mother in order to avenge his father. Thus, Apollo defends Orestes against the charges of the Erinyes by arguing that father right surpasses mother right. He presents himself as Πατρῶος [paternal god], which was his epithet as a tutelary god of Athens.

I will explain why the father is more important than the mother. A mother is not the parent of her child but rather the caregiver of an implanted seed that grows in her womb. The parent is the father who begets the child. As a stranger for a stranger, she preserves the seed unless god destroys it. I will offer you definite proof of what I say. There can be a father without a mother. The daughter of Olympian Zeus stands before you as living proof. She was never within the darkness of the womb. Such a child no goddess could bring to birth. (657-65)

Here Apollo pleads the right of the father as begetter whereas the Erinyes defend the right of the mother as the blood and body of a child. Apollo represents a new law and the Erinyes the old law. The Erinyes lament:

You tricked the ancient goddess with wine in order to undermine the ancient dispensations. (727-28)

You younger god do not respect my age (731)

After the judges have heard the arguments from both sides, they cast their stones into the voting urn. Likewise Athena takes a stone into her hand and declares:

It now befalls me to pronounce final judgment; I cast my vote for Orestes' side. Since I am not born of a woman, I stand for the male with all my heart in all things except marriage. I am entirely on my father's side. Therefore, I do not consider the death of a mother as a worse crime than her murder of her lord, the lawful master of the house. Orestes wins with equal ballots. (734-41)

Thus the father as protector of the house prevails over the mother. Zeus himself is the source of father right. He is the father of both Apollo and Athena, who represent father right at the first trial for murder among mortals. The vote of the jurors results in a tie. However, Athena breaks the tie and establishes the new law of the gods. The Erinyes lament their loss of authority: "You younger gods have undermined the ancient laws and wrenched them from my hands!" (808-10) Indeed, Apollo and Athena destroyed the ancient juridical system. Thus, the Erinyes complain that people shall cease to cry out: "O Justice!" "O enthroned Erinyes!" (511) Enraged, the Erinyes threaten to bury the fertility of the soil and the fruits of the womb into the depths of the earth. However, Athena persuades them to reconcile with the new law. Henceforth, the Erinyes shall serve at her side. They shall receive new respect and authority: "And you, enthroned in honor near Erechtheus' house, shall receive from processions of men and women, more tributes than you have ever enjoyed from the entire world" (854-57). The Erinyes agree to dwell and serve beside Athena. Henceforth they will prepare maidens for the joys of marriage. In general, these primordial goddesses shall become powers of peace and concord. A group of pious maidens and matrons conduct the reconciled Erinyes back into their realm of the dark abode of the dead. In Athens, Moira and Zeus become one.

Aeschylus' *Eumenides* depicts the struggle between father right and mother right, in which the old traditional order is toppled and a new order is

established. Specifically, the father becomes a more significant parent than the mother. In other words, the spiritual overrules the material. Thus, marriage is also elevated. As Apollo says, the Erinyes failed to honor and uphold Hera's commandments of sacred marriage (213). Clytemnestra's violation of marriage meant nothing to the Erinyes. Therefore, they could not excuse Orestes' just retribution. In this sense, father right is tantamount to marriage right. The victory of father right initiated a new age of strict order in the family and state resulting in cultural progress and prosperity. Athena empowered her people by establishing a system of father right. She promised the Athenians: "This city will be honored by the entire world and always victorious in warfare" (913-15). Apollo made a similar vow to Athena: "I will exalt your city and people with all my power" (667-70).

XXVI. A few details from Aeschylus' *Eumenides* illustrate even further the difference between father right and mother right. The Hill of Ares is significant for both father right and mother right. Athena establishes it as the homicide court. Here the old law of the earth is annulled in the decision against Clytemnestra. The Hill of Ares is also the site where the Amazons had set up their camp when they waged war against Athens: "The Amazons pitched their tents on the Hill of Ares when they waged war against Theseus. They built a citadel with lofty towers to rival his and sacrificed to Ares" (685-90).

Here is yet another example of the conflict between male and female rights. Theseus represents the patriarchal state and the Amazons represent the matriarchal state. The Amazons erect a towering fortress on the Hill of Ares to challenge Theseus' newly founded city of Athens. The Amazons wage war against Theseus because he abducted their queen, Antiope, and removed her girdle. Theseus establishes a new authority, which inherently opposes and endangers Amazonianism. The Amazonian state (a term used loosely for a nation of women) is the ultimate consummation of mother right. Theseus establishes his state upon the principle of father right. The history of Athens begins with a battle

between mother right and father right. (Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.16.2 and 4.28.1; Plut., *Quest. Graec.* 45; Plut., *Parallela* 34; Plut., *Thes.* 26-29; and Hyg., *Fab.* 241) Therefore, Theseus' victory over the Amazons is a crucial historical moment. Later generations recall this event as a great victory for all Greece. (Cf. Hdt. 9.27 and Paus. 5.11.7) . . .

XXVII. Aeschylus' *Eumenides* illustrates yet another antithesis between father right and mother right. Father right represents the new celestial law of Olympian Zeus whereas mother right represents the old chthonic law of the subterranean powers. After Athena absolves Orestes, he proclaims that the Olympians are the source of the new law:

O Pallas, you are the savior of my house. I was bereft of fatherland and you have restored it to me. It shall be said in Hellas of me that "the man is an Argive once more and lives in the house of his father by the grace of Pallas and of Loxias and of the all ordaining God and Savior." Apollo has honored my father's death and protected me against the advocates of my mother. (754-61)

Similarly, Athena proclaims: "Zeus himself has revealed his will that Orestes should receive no penalty for killing his mother" (797-99). In response, the Erinyes plead:

Who was not afraid when he heard me proclaim the law of fate and the gods? My ancient honors I yet maintain even though my abode is deep beneath the earth in sunless light. (389-96)

You younger gods have undermined the ancient laws and wrenched them from my hands. Because you have dishonored me, I will return to the earth in anger and contaminate the ground with drops of poison from my vengeful heart. (778-86)

Shall I endure such shame? Shall I dwell beneath the earth detested and rejected? I am filled with fury and rage. (837-42)

These excerpts clearly illustrate that father right is celestial and under the authority of Olympian Zeus. (The Erinyes rightly point out that Zeus violated his own principle of father right when he chained his father, Cronus.) In contrast to father right, mother right is chthonic and subterranean. Thus, the Erinyes abide deep inside the earth. In short, mother right derives its authority from substance

and the body. Father right derives its authority from the incorporeal and spiritual part of human life. . . .The Erinyes are the powers that emanate from deep within the earth. They are the children of the night, who create all life from within the dark foundation of substance. Whatever sprouts from the earth is their gift and creation. They provide both people and animals with food. They nourish the child in the mother's womb. When they are angry, the vegetation and offspring of people and animals perish. People sacrifice the first fruits of the land to the Erinyes for the prosperity of children and marriage. In the *Eumenides*, the Erinyes depict themselves in precisely this fashion:

Strong wind shall not blow to destroy the forests nor scorching heat shall burn the crops, -- thus I declare my blessing to the land. Never shall blight destroy the fruit. May the earth always fatten the flocks with twin lambs at the appointed time. May the earth always yield the rich gifts of the gods. (939-48)

Deep under the earth, the Erinyes receive honors, sacrifices, and ritual fires for warding off calamity from the lands and for soliciting blessings for the city. The Erinyes become the friendly goddesses, who grant people prosperity and well-being. They serve as the Eumenides [good ones] like the agathodaemon and the Roman Bona Dea. They are called the noble goddesses, the *σεμναὶ θεαί*. From the dark Ogygian depths, the Erinyes weave life, then send it upwards into the light above the surface of the ground. At death, all their creations return to them. Material and tellurian being includes both life and death. Personifications of the chthonic powers of the earth embody these two aspects as points between which the cycle of all things takes its course. Thus, Venus is the goddess of physical creation and the goddess of death as Libitina. At Delphi, there is a statue named Aphrodite of the Tomb. By saying this name, one used to summon the dead to partake in the sacrifices offered in their honor (Plut., *Quest. Rom.* 23). Priapus is the most common symbol of material procreation. On the holy island of Delos, no one may die or be born. Gyges magical ring had the power to make a person visible or invisible. Autolycus possessed a similar chthonic power of transforming white into black. In this sense, Mercury is both a benefactor and a thief. In the sense of a thief, the Eumenides become the horrible goddesses, who

deprive the land of its riches. In the role of thieves, they delight in blood and death. As thieves, they are despised monsters and bloody wicked demons banned by Zeus. They pronounce the final judgment of death upon every man. As goddesses of death, they also serve as goddesses of retributive fate.

We were entrusted with this office at our birth. But the immortals may never approach us and partake of our feasts. And I may not wear the brilliant white robes of the celestials. Death is my domain. When one kills a family member, we pursue him relentlessly and waste him away for his crime of blood even in the splendor of his youth. (*Eum.* 349-56)

All these characteristics of the Erinyes are derived from the fundamental idea of material, tellurian nature. Like ἔρα [earth], the Erinyes are an embodiment of earthly, corporeal, bodily life and tellurian existence.

Mother right is closely connected with chthonic religions. It is distinct from the spiritual principle of Olympian Zeus and his children, Apollo and Minerva. The mother is earth itself. She is the material principle and man is the spiritual principle. Apollo says of both the mother and earth: “Is not the mother of what is called her child but a nurse of the implanted seed?” (*Eum.* 658-60). . . .

XXIX. The Erinyes avenge a matricide yet do nothing against Clytemnestra for murdering her husband. Orestes challenges them over this inconsistency, and they respond: “She was not of one blood with the man she slew” (*Eum.* 605). Though Clytemnestra pays with her life for her crime, the Erinyes have no part in the revenge. Only a mother’s blood can wake them from their sleep and raise them out of the Ogygian depths to pursue revenge on the earth. Why is this so? The answer is simple. Erinys is the earth itself. She is the great mother of all earthly life. She is maternal substance. A woman assumes the place and function of the earth. Thus, any matricide violates Erinys in her heart. Whoever spills a mother’s blood offends the earth. A matricide violates the rights of maternal earth because a mother is a surrogate of the earth. The earth itself avenges violations of mother right because it has also been violated. A matricide goes against the order of everything, the rights of nature, the highest divine right of primordial times. At death, the murdered mother returns to the earth. The human mother rejoins the

divine mother, the soul of the earth of which she is a part and surrogate. Clytemnestra becomes Δημήτηρ Ἐρινύς [the avenging Demeter] (Paus. 8.25.4). When Orestes beholds the Erinyes, he sees the enraged spirit of his mother among them (Paus. 8.34.2-3). The mortal mother joins the immortal mother. Indeed, the Athenians used to call the dead, Δημήτριοι [Demetrians] (Plut., *De fac.* 28). The dead becomes *dii manes* [deified souls of the dead] and consorts of the great mother, Genita Mana (Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 52). The dead become χρηστοί [good]. As such, they join the tellurian Ἀγαθοδαίμων [agathodaemon] and Bona Dea (Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 52). However, these attributes of the dead apply especially to the mother because she is the counterpart of mother earth and her surrogate among mortal creation. A matricide violates the unity of motherhood and provokes mother earth to revenge. Every other homicide is left to human revenge. Thus, Orestes must avenge the murder of his father himself. When Orestes murders his mother, the earth herself seeks revenge. Except for a matricide, a murderer can elude human revenge through conniving, force, or boldness. In contrast, a matricide cannot escape the vengeance of the earth. A matricide's crime is against the material law of nature and against maternal earth. A matricide upsets the tellurian order and he must set it right again with his own life. Until the motherhood of the earth is assuaged, she does not bear fruit and perform her natural duties. In Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the Erinyes demand the death of Orestes as atonement for upsetting the maternal order of tellurian nature: "O mother night, who bore me as a spirit of retribution for both the living and the dead, hear me. Leto's son dishonors me by rescuing this cowering criminal, who must be made a victim to expiate the murder of his mother" (321-23).

The Erinyes call Apollo the son of Leto. Though he is a different type of deity and the champion of father right, the Erinyes view him from their old perspective. Thus, they name him after his mother rather than his father. Likewise, the Erinyes point out the irony that Zeus proclaims a reign of father right yet violated the principle himself when he bound his father and assumed his power. Furthermore, Zeus was rescued from his father by his mother. The Erinyes

seek revenge as their duty. They are compelled by their tellurian nature to avenge matricide.

The law of the earth is bloody and merciless. Only death can propitiate a sin against the mother. We see from Aeschylus' *Oresteia* that the era of mother right was a dark, terrible, and hopeless cult of an irreconcilable chthonic power. In the world of mother right, there is no respect for Orestes' duties as a son, for Apollo's command to avenge the murder of a father, or a violation of a marriage. The Erinyes do not acknowledge Orestes' duties, purification, or defense. They only notice that he has violated the fundamental law against spilling a mother's blood. Thus, the Erinyes take no notice of Agamemnon's murder but feel a sacred duty to avenge Clytemnestra's murder. Matricide is an unforgivable offense against the material foundation of the earth. Therefore, a trial over the murder of a mother is unthinkable in a system of mother right. Even the suggestion of a trial is an affront to the rights of the earth, the highest divinity. The matricide is accountable only to the earth. No court has the authority to judge or interfere in any way. Thus, the Erinyes complain:

... he wishes to submit to trial. But that may not be.

A mother's blood spilt upon the earth cannot be excused. (*Eum.* 260-61)

The first trial for a homicide resulted in the abolishment of tellurian mother right. The trial of Orestes resulted in the establishment of the Areopagus and the end of mother right for the Erinyes. The entire transition is an act of the celestial, Olympian powers.

The era of mother right was a joyless, dark, and wild life of blood revenge, in which each murder generated another one, in which spilt blood was washed off with the blood of another, in which the curse on a family ended only after the death of its final member. In this era of mother right, the Erinyes served merely as blood hungry agents of revenge. As a vehicle of the law of substance, mother right inflicted such great suffering and trials on mankind that mankind sought a higher law with hope of peace, happiness, and prosperity. Aeschylus' *Eumenides* dramatizes this transition from mother right to father right. No historical work

presents the perspectives and ideas of the most ancient world as clearly as Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. . . .

XXXI. . . . Aeschylus' *Oresteia* provides an important contribution to our understanding of the primordial law of mother right in human society. Sophocles' *Electra* complements Aeschylus' conception of mother right. In the *Oresteia*, the Erinyes pursue Orestes for killing his mother. However, the Erinyes do not pursue Clytemnestra for murdering Agamemnon because she is not his blood relative. In other words, Orestes violates the primordial law of mother right and Clytemnestra does not. Furthermore, Clytemnestra and the Erinyes serve the same fundamental principle of mother right. Clytemnestra murders Agamemnon upon his return from the Trojan War because he has violated mother right. Agamemnon tramples upon the rights of his wife when he returns from the Trojan War with his concubine, Cassandra. Orestes obviously violates mother right by killing his mother. The sons of Pelops commit crime after crime against mother right. Agamemnon violates mother right when he sacrifices his daughter Iphigenia. Both Agamemnon and Orestes cause a woman's blood to flow into the earth and thereby provoke the vengeance of the Erinyes. Because Agamemnon sacrifices Iphigenia, Clytemnestra has a right to kill him in revenge. Whoever spills the blood of a child must face the wrath of the mother. A daughter is a part of the feminine principle of nature. Thus, a violation against a daughter is a violation against mother earth. As the Erinyes arise when Clytemnestra is murdered by Orestes, Nemesis arises on behalf of Iphigenia against Agamemnon. The Erinyes charge Orestes with a blood crime, and Nemesis charges Agamemnon with a blood crime because both men have violated the motherhood of the earth. Furthermore, Nemesis only avenges crimes against women. Therefore, Clytemnestra chides Electra when she invokes Nemesis to avenge the murder of Agamemnon: (Soph., *El.* 792-93):

ΗΛΕΚΤΡΑ.	ἄκουε, Νέμεσι, τοῦ θανόντος ἀρτίως.
ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΝΕΣΤΡΑ.	ἤκουσεν ὦν δεῖ, κάπεκύρωσεν καλῶς
[ELECTRA:	Hear, Nemesis, avenger of the murdered.

CLYTEMNESTRA: The goddess has heard and has found it just.]

As an avenger of mother right, Clytemnestra kills her husband for the sacrificial slaughter of her daughter. Such is the law of the primordial mother, Nemesis. However, Electra discounts the justice of Nemesis (*El.* 560). She joins with Orestes to avenge their father (*El.* 399) in violation of the ancient and preferred law of mother right. According to Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Artemis is offended when Zeus' eagles devour the unborn offspring from the womb of a hare. The eagles' act is a violation of mother right. Thus, the seer regards this as an omen of disaster for the sons of Atreus (*Ag.* 125-40). Like the eagles, Agamemnon violates mother right when he kills his daughter. Clytemnestra declares that she sacrificed Agamemnon on behalf of Dike [natural law or justice], Ate, and the Erinyes (*Ag.* 1432-34). She insists that she punished Agamemnon justly because he sacrificed her child, which he begot but she raised and lamented (*Ag.* 1555-57). The living avenge the dead. The mother serves as the avenger of violated mother right. The great primordial mothers exact their revenge on Agamemnon. Dike, Ate, Erinyes, and Nemesis demand Agamemnon's blood because he sinned against the earth, the holy primordial mother, by killing his daughter. He is the counterpart of the eagle who devours the pregnant hare.

In Sophocles' *Electra*, Clytemnestra justifies her revenge on Agamemnon with such arguments. From our current perspective, we may view Clytemnestra's reasons as mere excuses to assuage Electra. From the standpoint of ancient mother right, Clytemnestra has legitimate grounds for exacting revenge. Her justification is embedded in mother right and the primordial law of Nemesis and the Erinyes. However, their law conflicts with the higher Apollonian rights. The mother's rights are derived from their relationship to material existence. Maternal blood vengeance is derived from the authority of maternal birth, whose prime model is the motherhood of the earth. As a surrogate of Mother Earth, Clytemnestra has not only the right but also the duty to avenge the death of her daughter. Clytemnestra's duty is compounded because the murderer of her daughter is the father. Agamemnon has committed the ultimate crime against

motherhood by killing his own daughter. From the perspective of mother right, Clytemnestra does not murder a husband but a father who violates the sanctity of motherhood and his own children.

Maternal mother right is the bloodiest of all laws. It sanctions acts of revenge that are themselves crimes from the perspective of higher conceptions of justice. Whereas Apollo expiates and absolves guilt for crimes, Nemesis and the Erinyes thirst for blood. Therefore, the demon haunting the house of Atreus uses women [Helen and Clytemnestra] to exact its revenge for bloodguilt (*Ag.* 1475-80). Clytemnestra claims she is not Agamemnon's wife but an embodiment of the demon punishing the house of Atreus (*Ag.* 1497-1504). Because of a woman [Helen], Agamemnon suffers the trials and tribulations of war. Then a woman [Clytemnestra] ends his life (*Ag.* 1453). Helen's name is related to the Greek word for destroyer as in her epithets *ἐλέναυς*, *ἐλανδρος*, *ἐλέπολις* [ship-destroying, man-destroying, city-destroying]. Indeed, she proves true to her name (*Ag.* 681-90). In the house of Atreus, a woman initiates a disaster and another woman completes its course. The demon of retribution rages within women (*Ag.* 1468-74 and *Paus.* 10.28.5). In contrast, a man serves as a redeemer. Electra does not exact revenge on Clytemnestra herself. Instead, she waits for her brother to return out of exile. A woman cannot execute the higher Apollonian law because matricide from the hands of a woman would be inexpiable. Electra can only condemn the murder of one's spouse and plead for higher justice in words. Clytemnestra may act on behalf of mother right whereas Electra can only invoke agents of father right. Like the Danaids, Clytemnestra is an agent of bloody and merciless women's law. She defends motherhood and motherly love with resolve and majesty. She is the image of a proud and austere Amazon, who defends the rights of her sex. In contrast, Electra disputes the rights of the mother because she values the father and his rights more. She honors her father's scepter as a symbol of male authority (*Paus.* 9.40.11). Even though Electra is a woman, she yields to a higher male power. She is aware of her weakness and therefore relies upon the greater masculine strength of her brother. However, she prepares the way of

revenge for Orestes. She patiently plots revenge against her mother and Orestes completes it quickly with a stroke of his knife. As the morning light precedes the noonday sun, she envisions revenge long before Orestes. Orestes punishes his mother yet liberates women. Clytemnestra is vanquished yet Electra is vindicated. The transition from the old bloody law of the earth to the new pure celestial power of the sun takes place in the heart of women first as in the case of Electra. Women seek a higher law first. They offer men a helping hand. In this fashion, Hypermnestra spares her husband. Women give birth to the rule of men. Both Hypermnestra and Electra willingly violate mother right because they would rather love than seek bloody revenge. They submit themselves to the higher calling of love. . . .

Lemnos

XLIV. Thus far our investigation has involved three countries. We began with Lycia, proceeded on to Crete, then on to Attica and neighboring Megara. Now we shall take account of the island of Lemnos.

We discussed the atrocity of the Lemnian women earlier in conjunction with Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon. Likewise, the chorus in Aeschylus' *Choepori* [*Libation Bearers*] equates the two misdeeds:

The Lemnian women committed the most nefarious atrocity.
Thus, any new horror is likened to the Lemnian crime. (631-33)

In *Library*, Apollodorus says of the Lemnian women:

Jason and the Argonauts first sailed to Lemnos. The island was bereft of men and ruled by Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas. This situation came about because the women of Lemnos had failed to worship Aphrodite. As a punishment, she afflicted them with *δυσσομία* [stench]. Repulsed, their husbands captured maidens from nearby Thrace and made them concubines. Angered by this rejection, the Lemnian women murdered their fathers and husbands. However, Hypsipyle hid her father and saved him. Thus, Lemnos was ruled by women when the Argonauts landed. The Argonauts had intercourse with the Lemnian women. Jason slept with Hypsipyle. From this union, she bore two sons, Euneus and Nebrophonus. (1.9.17)

We find similar accounts of the Lemnian women in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* (1.609-910), Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (2.111 ff.), Hyginus' *Myths* (15), Ovid's *Ibis* (396), Herodotus' *Histories* (6.138), Statius' *Achilleid* (1.206), and Dio Chrysostom (33.50).

Most noteworthy in Apollodorus' account about Lemnos is his use of the term *γυναικοκρατούμενη* [ruled by women]. On Lemnos, gynecocracy arose from man-killing Amazonianism. The story of the Lemnian women confirms the

practice of Amazonianism on Lemnos. Moreover, the story illustrates how conjugal gynecocracy can deteriorate into Amazonianism. The Lemnian women neglected their worship of Aphrodite and alienated her. This is a most important aspect of the story. The Lemnian woman failed to obey Aphrodite's command to dedicate themselves to marriage and childbearing. They preferred to be warriors rather than mothers. They violated the cult of Aphrodite by practicing a life of Amazonianism and neglecting their duties as wives. In short, they alienated their husbands with their Amazonian behavior. Aphrodite punished the Lemnian women by making them sexually repulsive. Δυσσομία [stench] embodies the forfeiture of beauty and femininity when women behave like men. In other words, the Lemnian women lost their "charms of Pandora" and could no longer sexually attract their men. In a similar vein, Achilles does not realize that the Amazon warriorress, Penthesilea, is beautiful until she lies dying in his arms as a woman. Achilles falls in love with Penthesilea at her death because her womanhood is restored. Ironically, death makes her desirable but unattainable. Likewise, Perseus does not realize that Medusa is a beautiful woman because she threatens him as a combatant. In general, a woman loses her sexual charms when she becomes a combatant against a man.

In *Lesbiaka*, Myrsilus of Methymna claims that Medea cursed the Lemnian women with their δυσσομία [stench]. As she and the Argonauts passed by the island on the return journey, she cast a spell upon the land. In remembrance of the infliction, the women of Lemnos have practiced a ritual one day each year, in which they remain separated from their husbands and sons. In any case, the interjection of Medea into the story does not change the significance of δυσσομία [stench]. Unlike the Amazonian, man-hating Lemnian women, Medea obeyed Aphrodite's commandment by following Jason. Medea cursed the Lemnian women because they disobeyed Aphrodite's law.

Repulsed by the δυσσομία [stench], the Lemnian men captured Thracian women during their raids on the mainland and made them concubines. This example of life on Lemnos is representative of the customs and circumstances at

the core of a gynecocracy. Women must rule themselves because war and pillage keep the men far away from home and family for a long time. The mothers care for the children, till the fields, manage the house and servants, and even defend their country and homes by taking up arms themselves. A prime example of such a situation is the Lycian women bearing arms as they tilled their fields. As a result of assuming responsibility and control coupled with skill in arms, the Lemnian women became conscious of their worth and power. Ultimately, they surpassed their men. The Lemnian women were considered exceedingly beautiful as a sign of their high social position. In contrast, the tribal name, Sinties, connotes the marauding lifestyle of the Lemnian men. This most ancient name for the Lemnian people is similar to the names Ozolae [tribe of the Locrians] and ψολόεις [male ritual Minyan mourners]. These three pejorative names indicate the inferiority of servile men in a society ruled by women. The Minyan ψολόεις [male ritual mourners] were depicted as filthy blacksmiths. The Locrian shepherds were called Ozolae because they reeked of the goatskins they wore. The term Sinties is derived from two sources. On the one hand, the name suggests the wild lifestyle of marauders. On the other hand, Hellanicus of Lesbos believes the name is a reference to the Sinties as the first blacksmiths to forge weapons. Thus, Lemnos was considered the foundry of Hephaestus. (See Plut. *De fac.* 22 “little bronze heifer” of Lemnos). As either marauders or blacksmiths, the Lemnian men had roles inferior to those of their wives, who ruled both house and country. The legendary beauty of the Lemnian women is symbolic of their superior intellectual and physical abilities. In this context, we can easily understand how a conjugal gynecocracy eroded into Amazonianism. Ultimately, the Lemnian women were provoked into passionate and bloody revenge when their men betrayed and humiliated them by taking concubines.

Those who dismiss the murder of the Lemnian men as a fictional story do not understand a woman’s insatiable thirst for blood when provoked (Eur., *Ion* 616 and *Med.* 263 ff.). We should keep in mind the emotional impact on women of owning property and exercising power at home and in society. Because we live

in a more advanced and civilized society, we find such stories mere nonsense. However, the story of the Lemnian women is part and parcel to the history of humanity. Blood and murder were facets of ancient gynecocracies. The story of the Lemnian women illustrates that the internal dissolution of a country and people often ensues from a gynecocracy. Apollonius Rhodius emphasizes that the Lemnian women were provoked much more by the usurpation of the Thracian concubines and their offspring than by the betrayal of the Lemnian men. Not only did the Lemnian women hate the concubines for taking over their beds but they also feared their control of society might be usurped. The Lemnian women had two compelling reasons to kill the Thracian concubines.

Plutarch provides two other examples of women killing out of fear of losing civil power: Hippodamia killed Chrysippus because he was a contestant for the throne. Nuceria murdered her stepson, Firmus, lest he threaten the status of her own sons (*Parallela Graeca et Romana* 33). Above all else, these women wished to secure their social power and authority. These women sacrificed their maternal instincts at the altar of Amazonianism. Their murder of male offspring is a real and essential aspect of Amazonianism. Such misdeeds among women were a common occurrence in ancient times. Later writers have attenuated these stories. In deference to attitudes of his time, Apollonius Rhodius allows Hypsipyle to gloss over the murder of the Lemnian men. She tells Jason that the men and their sons were banished because of their immoral behavior toward their wives and daughters (*Argon.* 1.794 ff.). In this version, the Lemnian women maintain their feminine decorum.

XLV. The Lemnian women's bloody massacre of their husbands is an extreme instance of a gynecocracy in practice. The Lemnian women demonstrate that women's desire for authority extends even to the murder of their own husbands. The Lemnian women avenge the violation of marriage vows, slay the concubines, and eradicate their children. The Lemnian women emerge as glorious heroines and noble Amazons, who have overcome the weakness of their sex in

order to right a wrong. Ironically, their greatest triumph entails their downfall because the role of a conquering hero is a perversion of the female character. Amazonianism destroys itself through excess.

Hypsipyle, the Lemnian queen, stands apart from the other Lemnian women. She embodies loving motherhood in stark contrast to their man-hating Amazonianism. She is an innocent, loving child among the blood-drenched Lemnian women. As her name suggests, Hypsipyle is “higher” than these women. She alone obeys her inner voice of womanly love and tenderness rather than the dictates of Amazonianism to establish a rule of women on Lemnos. Thus, she spares her father, Thoas. In other words, she respects fatherhood by keeping her hands free of her father’s blood. Her relationship with Jason is significant within this context of fatherhood. She bears him two sons, who trace their lineage back to the father rather than the mother. Homer identifies one son of Jason as Euneus (Hom., *Il.* 7.468). In her role as wife to Jason, Hypsipyle becomes a transitional figure between mother right and father right. On the one hand, she represents mother right as the Amazon queen of Lemnos. On the other hand, she becomes the mother of a family that traces its lineage back to the father. According to Apollonius Rhodius, Hypsipyle offers Jason her father’s scepter rather than her own (1.828-9). According to Strabo, Euneus inherited her scepter (1.45). Hyginus reports from an ancient tradition that the Lemnian women all had offspring from the Argonauts and named them after their fathers: *Lemniades autem quaecumque ex Argonautis conceperunt, eorum nomina filiis suis imposuerunt* (15). This observation is significant because naming a child after the father runs counter to the fundamental concept of the Amazon state that the children derive their ancestry from the mother. Amazons recognize only the mother, for a man has merely the transient function of inseminating the mother. After a successful mating, the man leaves the abode of his hostess and never returns. Apparently, the Lemnian women had overcome their Amazonianism and its sense of mother right and embraced the principle of paternity because they named their children after their fathers.

Hypsipyle's transformation as a figure from Amazonianism to motherhood is completed later in her life. As a slave to Lycurgus, king of Nemea, she is made the nurse of his son, Opheltes/Archemorus. Because an oracle proscribed letting the child touch the ground, she placed him in a lush ivy bush when she showed the Seven against Thebes a spring. However, a snake from the spring killed him. On that spot, Adrastus and the other Seven against Thebes celebrated the first Nemean Games in his honor (Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.6.4). In memory of Hypsipyle and Adrastus, the victor of the Nemean Games was crowned with a wreath of ivy. In this episode, Hypsipyle is depicted as a cereal-maternal figure. Hypsipyle of Lemnos and Hypsipyle of Nemea stand in stark contrast to each other. In Nemea, Hypsipyle is a maiden dedicated to childcare. In Lemnos, she is a queen of warrioresses. In Nemea, the figure of the warrioress is transformed into a surrogate mother. As the mother of two sons from Jason and as the nurse to Archemorus/Opheltes, Hypsipyle serves as a joyful mother figure of nature's fertility. However, her children are subject to the natural cycle of rise and fall. The names Euneus and Nebrophonus as well as Archemorus and Opheltes entail this duality of life and death in nature. Life and death are inextricable in all the creations of nature. Hypsipyle represents the transition from a man-hating Amazon to a great mother of tellurian creation.

Furthermore, this episode with Hypsipyle and Archemorus/Opheltes suggests Dionysianism. In general, Dionysian father right superseded tellurian motherhood in the ancient world. This transition is evident in the difference between the ivy plant and the earth. Opheltes may not touch the earth. Hypsipyle places him for safekeeping into the lush *apium* [celery] on the banks of the Nemean spring. The word *apium* [celery] suggests the element of water (*apa*), which is the foundation of Dionysianism. Thus, the ancients called Dionysus πάσης υγρότητος κύριος [god of all moisture] (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 34-35). A crown of ivy is a sign that male insemination is higher than female conception.

Other stories about Nemea record the downfall of mother right as well. Most important, Heracles killed the Moliones, who represented mother right.

Heracles was a solar hero and destroyer of gynecocracies. Hypsipyle initiated the transformation of mother right into father right in Nemea and Heracles completed the task. He annihilated tellurism and Amazonianism and established a celestial paternity in its stead.

We shall now return to the story of Hypsipyle and Jason on Lemnos. Most likely, Jason and the Argonauts were themselves banished for having neglected their wives much in the fashion of the Lemnian men. Ironically, the Argonauts/Minyans institute father right in Lemnos. Considerable evidence indicates that the sons of Jason and the Minyans populated Lemnos (Strabo 1. C45, Hdt. 4.145, and Pind., *Pyth.* 4.449 ff.). Thus, Lemnos became a part of the lore about the Argonauts.

It is significant in the story of the Argonauts on Lemnos that only Heracles remains onboard the *Argo* and chides his fellow Argonauts for indulging themselves with Amazonian Lemnian women for too long. The Lemnian women belong to a tradition of stories about Amazonian women, for example the Samnitian, Sarmatian, Bactrian, and Gelonian women (Euseb., *Praep. evang.* 6.10.14). In the adventure of Lemnos, Heracles performed his usual role as the relentless foe of Amazonianism. In general, Heracles was called *μισογύνης* [misogynist]. Thus, women did not sacrifice to him or invoke his name. Heracles met his demise from a cloak poisoned by his own wife. Heracles was a fitting passenger among the company of the Argonauts, who established a rule of men during the voyage of the *Argo*. As a foe of women, he did not set foot upon the island of Lemnos because it was ruled by women. He was disgusted when his shipmates yielded to their lust and slept with the Lemnian women.

According to Pindar (*Pyth.* 4 and 5) and Herodotus (4.145-67), when the Pelasgians were expelled from Attica, they captured Lemnos and drove the descendants of the Argonauts and Lemnian women off the island. This generation of Minyans sailed to Lacedaemonia and settled there. However, the Minyans had a falling out with the Lacedaemonians. Under the leadership of Theras, the Minyans along with their Laconian wives resettled on the island of Thera. From

Thera, Battus established a colony in Cyrene. Both Battus and Arcesilas were offspring of the Minyan Argonauts and Lemnian Amazons.

The story of the Pelasgians abducting Athenian women at Brauron and returning with them to Lemnos is strikingly similar to the story of the Sinties and their abduction of concubines from Thrace. According to Herodotus, the offspring of the Pelasgian men and their Athenian concubines grew large in number and maintained their Attic language and customs. Therefore, they posed a threat to the Pelasgian sons as heirs. As the Lemnian women killed the Thracian women and their children, the Pelasgian men slew the Attic women and their children. These two equivalent atrocities explain the Greek convention of calling any atrocity a “Lemnian crime” (6.137-39). Herodotus points out an important aspect of mother right in his report that the children of the Athenian women assumed their mothers’ language and customs and shunned the Pelasgians. In a maternal society, children learn the language of their mothers. For example, the Sauramatae consider themselves descendants of the Amazons because they speak a Scythian dialect derived from the Amazons (Hdt. 4.117). In general, a mother’s influence on her children’s acquisition of language and customs is profound. In particular, her influence on language and customs increases proportionately to her social status. By its very nature, mother right preserves the purity of language and customs. In this regard, mother right is a vital force of conservatism in any nation. Because Doric women wielded great social authority, the Doric language, state, and life were markedly conservative.

The murder of the Athenian mothers violated the primordial principle of tellurian motherhood. Therefore, the earth itself undertook revenge for the atrocity by withholding crops and making the wombs of animals and women sterile (Hdt. 6.139). The earth taking revenge for a violation of its rights is a common mythological motif; for example, the Erinyes take vengeance on Orestes for killing his mother and the Furies take vengeance on the Spartan youths for raping Skedastos. In *Eclogues* (8.91-93), Virgil echoes the sentiment of this ancient religious thought:

has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit, pignora cara sui: quae nunc ego limine in ipso, terra, tibi mando; debent haec pignora Daphnim

[My unfaithful love has left me these things as pledges of his love. I now commit them to you O Earth to make Daphnis honor his pledge.]

Here a jilted lover appeals to Earth to enforce the promises made to her by Daphnis. Apparently, Earth responds effectively because Daphnis returns.

The Pelasgian religion of maternal tellurism does not allow atonement for a sacrilege against motherhood. Reconciliation must come from the higher Apollonian domain. Thus, the Cadmians of Dodona were able to defeat the maternal principle only with the aid of the Apollonian tripod. Thus, the Erinyes summoned by Clytemnestra were appeased by a higher Apollonian power and won over as friends of Athens. Thus, the Italian Pelasgians appealed to Zeus, Apollo, and the Cabiri for relief from the infertility of their land and wives (Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.25.5). According to Herodotus, the Pelasgians did not appeal to their own oracle at Dodona but rather to Apollo at Delphi to atone for the sacrilege of murdering mothers. The Pelasgians considered Apollo a higher force of fire that could placate incensed Earth. The oracle stipulates that the Pelasgians should pay whatever penalty the Athenians demand. The Athenians required Lemnos itself. In other words, atonement required uniting Lemnian with Attic earth. As an autonomous Pelasgian country, Lemnos was subject to the powers and law of maternal tellurism. In order for Apollonian powers to heal Lemnos, it had to become Athenian soil. The Pelasgians agreed to Athenian demands on the condition that a ship travel from Athenian land to Lemnos with a north wind in one day. This condition was met when Miltiades sailed from Chersonesus [tributary state to Athens on the Hellespont] to Lemnos on the Etesian winds in one day (Hdt. 6.139-40). Why did the Pelasgians stipulate northern winds? At first glance, the stipulation does not make any sense except as a means of thwarting the Athenians, who lived far to the south of Lemnos. However, the stipulation makes perfect sense within the context of Apollonian religion. The cult of Apollo originated in a mythic land far in the north. The Hyperborean maidens

brought Apollo to Delos from the north. Correspondingly, yearly votive offerings came out of the north. Salvation came from the north. Apollo, the pure hero of light, assaulted tellurism from the north. The tellurian Erinyes recognized Apollo's higher authority and willingly yielded to it. As a possession of Athens, Lemnos was absolved of its crime because it came under the sway of Apollo. As Apollo stopped the Erinyes from tormenting Orestes, he stopped the Erinyes of the murdered Athenian women from punishing the Pelasgians of Lemnos. The Erinyes restored fruitfulness to the land and bequeathed offspring to the animals and women. As a part of Attica, Lemnos became blessed with bounty from the earth like the table the Athenians furnished with riches in their prytaneum as a symbol for way the Pelasgians should surrender Lemnos (Hdt., 6.139).

The Pelasgian religion of Lemnos is the opposite of the Apollonian religion of Athens. The Pelasgian religion is at the lowest level of tellurism. It is a material religious perspective ruled by corporeal earthly motherhood. In the main, chthonic waters characterize tellurian powers. In contrast, the Apollonian religion is at the highest level of paternal light. It offers atonement, reconciliation, and purification not obtainable in the more ancient cults. The Apollonian religion is dramatized in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Orestes is absolved from the murder of his mother by the higher law of Apollo. Likewise, both the priestess of Dodona and the Pelasgians receive forgiveness from Apollo for their respective murders. On Lemnos, the paternal principle of Jason undergoes refinement and fulfillment in the Apollonian cult.

XLVI. Hypsipyle's father, Thoas, plays a major role in Apollodorus' account of Lemnos. He is the son of Dionysus and Ariadne. He represents the victory of father right over mother right. Obedient to Aphrodite, Ariadne is counterpart to man-hating Amazons. Ariadne rescues Theseus, the Attic solar hero, and abandons her homeland for him because she is in love. Likewise, the power of love explains why Hypsipyle saved Thoas, Hypermestra spared Lynceus, and Electra sided with Orestes. At the behest of Athena, Theseus left

Ariadne on the island of Naxos for Dionysus. Their marriage represents the union of an Aphroditic mother figure with a god of nature ruling waters and light. In her relationships with both Theseus and Dionysus, Ariadne is portrayed as a figure of Aphrodite, who willingly subjects herself to the higher grandeur and nature of a man. In this role, Ariadne is the negation of Amazonianism. The union of Dionysus and Ariadne represents a relationship between a man and a woman that ultimately saves their son Thoas. In general, Dionysus plays a major role in the battle against Amazonianism. When Thoas becomes a victim of Amazonianism, his daughter rescues him as Ariadne rescued Theseus. Her love for her father prevails over Amazonian masculinity.

The name Thoas [Θόαζ] means “swift.” The ancients say Θόαζ was derived from the word θέω [to run]. Thus, Θόαζ is linked specifically to speed in running. In Euripides’ *Iphigenia in Taurica*, Iphigenia says that Thoas, the ruler of Taurus, earned his name because “his feet were as swift as wings of a bird” (32-33). The Dionysian conception of divinity accounts for the significance of Θόαζ. The ancients could best perceive and conceptualize the speed of running in the movement of water. The most salient characteristic of water is its continual running in the midst of stationary surroundings. Thus, water embodies the animating and procreative force of nature. Foot races and horse races represent the movement of water. Therefore, both games were held on the banks of rivers, for example the Alpheus, Tiber, Mincius (Verg., *G.* 3.19), and Euripus. Therefore, horse and chariot races are especially sacred to Neptune. However, the speed of running may also be conceived as a representation of the higher domain of celestial light. Accordingly, the moon and the sun in their orbits are the primordial models of running or racing. Furthermore, the symbolism of running or the race extends to the cycle of life itself, for life is a rapid race from living to dying in the material world. The two charioteers, the Moliones, are an example of the rapid rise and fall of human lives. The three significations of “swift running” all point to the masculine force in nature. As the god of procreative nature, water, and

light, Dionysus integrates all three aspects and manifests himself in the fruits of the earth. Thus, Dionysus could also be called Θόας.

Thoas, the father of Hypsipyle, is analogous to Achilles, for both men are portrayed as swift. Achilles' fleetness of foot is a distinguishing characteristic. *Αχιλλέως δρόμος* [Achilles' Racecourse] is a monument to his prowess in running (Plin., *HN* 83 and 93). As the son of a sea nymph, Achilles was initially considered as a force of water. His name even entails the power of water. After his death, he married Helen on Leuce, the Island of the Moon. Here Achilles is portrayed as *Deus Lunus* [Lord of the Moon], who runs around the island much like Talos marches around Crete to protect it. Finally, Achilles is portrayed as a solar hero, who defends Hemithea on Tenedos.

Both swift-footed Achilles and Dionysus are heroes of light, who conquer over Amazonianism. Even though Achilles' goddess mother is more prominent in his lineage, he promotes father right in its manifestation as a masculine force of nature. On Leuce, the Island of the Moon, he completes his battle against Amazonianism. As an Apollonian solar hero, Achilles is the fastest runner of all. His swiftness is a demonstration of his male dominance over the female principle. The various stories of Amazonian-like maidens won over as wives in races are likewise expressions of this conception of swiftness. For example, Hippodamia led an Amazonian lifestyle until Pelops won a chariot race against her father. Then, she submitted herself willingly to a man because he had proven his superiority. Marriage replaces hostility between the sexes. In the family of Pelops and Hippodamia, the father ruled. The sons of Pelops bore the paternal symbol of Neptune on their right arms and the maternal symbol on their left arms. This is the mythological and conceptual framework for the story of Thoas and Hypsipyle. His name and his parents (Dionysus and Ariadne) are signs of his antagonistic relationship to an Amazonian rule of women. The higher Dionysian principle embodied in Thoas and his family line ultimately routed the rule of women on Lemnos.

XLVII. Thoas and Achilles are linked by similar nocturnal fire festivals on their respective islands of Lemnos and Leuce. Philostratus, a native of Lemnos, describes the fire festivals on Lemnos and Leuce. In order to purify the island, Lemnians extinguished their fires for nine days once a year. In order to restore the fire, a new flame was brought over by ship from Delos. The ship sailed about the hilly island until the ritual offerings for the dead were completed. Once the ship was allowed to land, the new flame was shared among the Lemnians. In appreciation for the gift of a new life, the Lemnians celebrated with feasting and drinking wine, a gift of the Cabiri (*Her.* 51-54).

The fundamental characteristic of this festival is obvious. It is comparable to the Feast of Pitchers celebrated in Athens (Ath. 10.437c). This was a festival of atonement with Mother Earth, who bestows food and gifts upon her people. Jubilation of a new and prosperous life follows a period of sadness and repentance. In Boeotian Chaeronea, there was a rite of sacrifice to drive out famine. The people sang: “Out with famine! In with wealth and health!” (Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 6.8.1). The purpose of this traditional ritual is to regain the grace of Mother Earth. Both the festivals in Athens and in Chaeronea expiated for offenses against Mother Earth. Specifically, the festival at Athens was to atone for Orestes’ murder of his mother. In Lemnos, the festival was to atone for the Lemnian women, who violated Aphrodite’s commandments when they murdered their husbands. In both Athens and Lemnos, the concept is the same: Mother Nature has been violated; therefore, she withholds her blessings and gifts from mortals. Mother Nature imposes punishment and penalty. A male god intervenes with atonement. From the perspective of female earth right, Orestes’ murder of his mother can never be forgiven. Thus, the male god of light, Apollo, orchestrates reconciliation. Therefore, the *tabernaculum Orestis* [tabernacle of Orestes] was erected in front of the temple of Apollo in Troezen so that Orestes could purify himself there (Paus. 2.31.8). As a sign that atonement was granted, laurels grew where the sacrificial offerings were buried into the ground.

The same concept of a male god orchestrating reconciliation with mother right underlay the festival in Lemnos. Aphrodite could absolve the Lemnian women of their violation. The tellurian principle does not offer forgiveness as we can see in the cases of Cretan Gorgo and Leucocoma, who paid with their lives for hating their husbands (Plut. *Amat.* 20.766c). Thus, the higher god of light must intervene with the tellurian powers to save the offender. Apollo appeased the Erinyes and transformed them into benefactors of Athens. Hephaestus played a similar role on Lemnos. He persuaded Aphrodite to forgive the Lemnian women and assist them in their lovemaking with the Argonauts (Val. Flac. 2.315). Both Apollo and Hephaestus are male fire gods. However, the Apollonian fire is much purer. The Hephaestian fire is tellurian warmth, the volcanic fire from Mosychlus. In Athens, both Hephaestus and Prometheus were worshipped as patrons of blacksmiths and potters. Prometheus stole Hephaestian sparks of fire from the heavens and bestowed them on humankind in the stalk of a fennel. However, Apollonian fire is the purest and highest light. It maintains its divine purity even when it is exposed to matter. Therefore, Plato characterizes such fire as producing light without burning (*Tim.* 45b). Apollo is superior to Hephaestus. His lame leg is a physical symbol of his spiritual imperfection. The fire of Hephaestus is likewise defective. It must always be rekindled and augmented by Apollonian solar fire. The fire of Hephaestus becomes desecrated through its exposure to matter when used by mortals. Thus, we can see the purpose of fetching a new, pure fire from Delos every year. The ritual initiated a new flame and life on Lemnos. The ritual and flame annulled the guilt and reconciled Aphrodite. In both Athens and Lemnos, Apollo was the savior. Mother Earth willingly bowed before him and renounced her own law. As the god of the sun, Apollo quashed the ancient earth right represented by Aphrodite and her punishment. Apollo inaugurated the rule of the paternal principle. On Lemnos, Hephaestus and Aphrodite resided as a married couple. However, Hephaestus was the master of the house. The fire principle of men superseded the tellurism of women.

In summary, the story of Lemnos is about a gynecocracy that developed into Amazonianism. When the Lemnian women murdered their husbands, they initiated their own demise. In general, the sun god, Apollo, counteracts the bloody law of tellurism with reconciliation. He establishes father right and initiates a new era on earth of promise and progress.

Egypt

XLVIII. Like the Lemnian women, the Danaids are notorious for killing their husbands. Danaus ordered his fifty daughters to kill their husbands on their wedding night. My purpose is to explain how this legend belongs to the history of ancient gynecocracy.

In a gynecocratic society, a woman has a fundamental right to choose her own husband. A woman chooses a man for marriage, then rules over him. In ancient societies, the rule of women began with their right to choose a spouse. A woman initiated marriage, not a man. She could contract a marriage without permission from either her father or an agnate. The rights of choosing a spouse and of contracting a marriage led to the exclusive property rights of women in a gynecocratic society. According to mother right, a daughter could inherit property but the male offspring could not. Because a woman possessed a dowry of her own, she was in a financial position to contract a marriage without the consent of her father or brother. Herodotus' report of ancient Lydian women confirms this state of affairs: τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνέυονται πάσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι, τοῦτο ποιέουσαι. ἐκδιδούσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς [All daughters of the common people of Lydia prostitute themselves in order to accumulate a dowry so that they can offer themselves in marriage on their own.] (1.93). Herodotus calls these women ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι [“working girls”]. Because women of Lydia had their own resources, they could select their husbands and contract marriages. Plautus says much the same about the Tuscan women in his play, *Cistellaria* [*Casket Comedy*]: *ex Tusco modo tute tibi indigne dotem quaeras corpore* [in the vile Tuscan fashion you would have to earn your dowry by selling yourself] (562-63). Among the

Etruscans, we find unmistakable signs of mother right in the preeminence of the maternal lineage in their genealogies. According to Sextus Empiricus, hetaerism served as the source of a dowry for Egyptian women as well: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἑταιρεῖν παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν ἀισχρόν ἐστι καὶ ἐπονείδιστον, παρὰ δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων εὐκλεές... παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ αὐτῶν αἱ κόραι πρὸ τῶν γάμων τὴν προῖκα ἐξ ἑταιρήσεως συνάγουσαι γαμοῦνται. [Moreover, for women to prostitute themselves is considered shameful and disgraceful among us, but among many Egyptians, prostitution is highly esteemed . . . some of their girls marry after collecting a dowry before marriage by means of prostitution] (*Pyr.* 3.201). Apparently, Herodotus' observation that women ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς [offer themselves in marriage on their own] applies universally wherever women possess property. Whether women practice hetaerism or not, it is the convention in any gynecocracy for women to select their own husbands and contract marriages.

The right of a girl to select her husband is a part of other cultures as well. For example, Justin tells of this custom among the Gauls. Gyptis, the daughter of Nannus, the king of the Segobrigii, was allowed to select her own husband by passing a golden cup of water to the man of her choice at a festival. She selected a visiting Greek, Protis (*Epit.* 43.3.6-10). According to Athenaeus, Petta [Gyptis] changed her name to Aristoxene after their marriage. Her descendants are the Protiadae clan in Massilia. Plutarch reports that Protis was beloved by the Gauls along the Rhone as founder of Marseilles (*Sol.* 2.4). Perhaps the practice of Gallic women selecting a husband at a festival explains Eusebius' remark about the practice of young Gallic men selecting their wives publicly (*Praep. evang.* 6.10.277a).

The authority of women to contract marriages on their own was even more extensive among the Cantabri. Strabo reports, “. . . among the Cantabri, the husbands give dowries to their wives. Only the daughters are qualified as heirs, and sisters arrange marriages for their brothers. These customs ensue from a

gynecocracy” (3.4.18). The Cantabrian practice of the right of a daughter to choose her husband led to an extreme form of gynocracy found nowhere else.

Pausanias’ account of the Danaids is instructive for distinguishing between the principles of mother right and father right. Nobody wanted to marry the Danaids because they had murdered their husbands. Thus, Danaus gave notice that he would give away his daughters without requiring engagement presents or bridal gifts from the suitors, ἔδνων ἄνευ δώσεων. Each suitor could choose any daughter he wished. Only a few men accepted the offer. Thus, Danaus devised a new plan. He organized footraces. The winner of each race was allowed to choose a wife among the Danaids (3.12.2). This legend is an illustration of father right, for the father has the authority to grant and arrange a marriage for his daughter. His obligation is to provide her with a dowry. Bridal gifts from a fiancée and dowries from a father are absent in a system of mother right because the daughter has her own authority and dowry. . . . Father right and mother right clash over the right to contract a marriage. Accordingly, the Danaids’ aversion to a forced marriage is the central issue in their legend (Hyg., *Fab.* 168 and Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.1.4-5). The haughty sons of Aegyptus violate the right of the Danaids to select their own husbands. The Danaids would rather die than submit to a coerced marriage. They feel so violated by the imposed marriage that they avenge the violation of their rights by killing their husbands on the marriage night—a bloody marriage. In Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Maidens*, the Danaids sense a disaster ensuing from their unavoidable, inevitable marriage. Furthermore, they realize that marriage marks the end of their self-determination (Aesch., *Supp.* 1048-51):

Fate will take its course
The inexorable decree of Zeus will prevail
Marriage shall end for us all
The ancient rights of women.
Μετὰ πολλῶν δὲ γάμων ἄδε τελευτᾶ
προτερᾶν πέλοι γυναικῶν.

Apparently, the Danaids predicted accurately because women in later times enjoyed few rights and little respect. For example, Aristotle declares: “By nature, the male is better fit to rule than the female (*Pol.* 1.5.2). . . . The virtues of men

and women are different. Male and female courage, self-control, and fairness are dissimilar. Men possess courage to lead. Women are fit to follow” (*Pol.* 15.8).

In *Suppliant Maidens*, Aeschylus suggests that the Danaids were repulsed by the prospects of an incestuous marriage with their cousins. Thus, they resisted the marriage, fled, and finally killed their husbands out of desperation. However, marriage among cousins was not considered incestuous by the prehistoric world in which the legend of the Danaids occurs. Marriage laws against incest came much later. Ancient Greece offers many examples of marriage among siblings. For example, Juno is the sister and wife of Zeus. In Egypt, Isis and Osiris are likewise sister and brother. Their marriage was honored with the highest religious rites throughout the Nile region (Diod. Sic. 1.27.1-4). Furthermore, their marriage gave license to marriage between brother and sister in general (Paus. 1.7.1). As Egyptian women, the Danaids would no compunction about marrying cousins. An aversion to incest did not drive them to kill their husbands. Rather, they invoked their highest prerogative of mother right to rule over their husbands. Their right to choose their husbands is a precondition for the Danaids to rule over them. The wanton sons of Aegyptus fall as a bloody offering to this fundamental law of the ancient world. In every version of the legend of the Danaids, they are depicted as in the right and the sons of Aegyptus as violators of divine decree. Therefore, even the gods assist the Danaids and Danaus. Athena advised Danaus to build a ship and flee Egypt. Hyginus says she even built a *navis biprora* [two-prowed ship] for him and his daughters (*Fab.* 277). In gratitude, the Danaids and Danaus founded a temple in Athena’s honor on Rhodes (Apollod., *Bibl.* 2.1.4 and Hdt. 2.182). Pausanias reports that Danaus dedicated a sanctuary to Athena by the Pontinus (2.37.2). By Zeus’ command, Athena and Mercury purified the Danaids after they murdered their husbands. Pausanias reports further that Danaus placed Hypermnestra in shackles and put her on trial for sparing Lynceus (2.19.6). It was her hallowed duty to avenge the violation of her freedom and rights in house and country by killing the brazen son of Aegyptus. This duty to avenge and reaffirm mother right is the actual motive for the “bloody marriage.” Both the stories of the

Lemnian women and the Danaids depict the bloody consequences of men degrading women in ancient gynecocracies.

Aeschylus wrote his trilogy of the Danaids as a shocking tale for his contemporaries, who had long forgotten the ancient gynecocracy and its cultural perspectives and prerogatives. One can imagine the reaction of the audience when the Danaids appear on stage after the third act of the trilogy to announce proudly how they killed the sons of Aegyptus. Today, we are no more receptive or understanding of such deeds. Even though gynecocracy no longer exists in practice or thought, the “bloody marriage” of the Danaids still offers a concrete and useful theme for all times: one has the right to defend one’s heart against a loveless marriage. The sons of Aegyptus only wanted to marry the Danaids in order to enhance their political power. Aeschylus accentuates this theme in *Suppliant Maidens*. Thus, his play still evokes sympathy for the fear and despair of the Danaids as well as respect for the acts of courage when they defend their rights. We can appreciate the play even more if we place ourselves in the mindset of an ancient gynecocracy in which women enjoyed more rights. We can more easily understand and accept the Danaids’ bloody resistance and retribution. Among the Danaids, Hypermnestra is the only culpable one because she yields to her weakness and love, thus jeopardizing the undertaking of her sisters. In a gynecocracy, suicide is not an acceptable escape from shame as it was for Lucretia. However, Aeschylus has the Danaids toy with this possibility in order to shock Pelasgus. The Danaids do not indulge the outrage but punish it. They defend and preserve gynecocracy and the rights of women by murdering its foes. Had they committed suicide, the men would have remained and prevailed. In order to make the victory of mother right over father right even more dramatic, the Danaids pretended to yield to father right by marrying the sons of Aegyptus only to murder them on the wedding night. The “bloody marriage” of the Danaids matches the severity of Amazons, who do not tolerate any act of weakness or affection toward men. Here we see an aspect of female character understandable

in any period but especially salient in a gynecocracy, whose existence depends upon such attitudes.

Both the Danaids and Lemnian women murdered their husbands in order to protect and preserve mother right. Both their deeds are proof and illustrations of ancient gynecocracies. Furthermore, their deeds are historical though not in the sense of a history of Thucydides. Historicity and factuality are different matters. No account of an event in the ancient past can count as factual. We must judge an event by its own standards. The myth of Hera punishing Io and her descendants for her affair with Zeus is not factual. On the other hand, the struggle for political power between the families of Danaus and Aegyptus is historical. Furthermore, it represents a more general struggle in human history between matriarchal and patriarchal societies. One such example is the dispute between the Teleboans and Electryon. The Acarnanian Teleboans marched on Argos against Electryon, demanding that he return the property they had received from Hippothoe's mother. A battle ensues and the sons of Electryon lose. However, father right prevails because Heracles intervenes. Alcmena promises her hand and rule to the hero who avenges her murdered father and brothers. As in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, Heracles is a champion of father right. Stories about the Danaids were embellished in later times so that they would conform to the prevailing tastes and values. In general, ancient stories were muted, tempered, and polished. The bloody marriage of the Danaids is clearly an ancient legend, which makes perfect sense within the context of its time. Though the legend may seem strange and incredible to us, it fits perfectly with the spirit of the ancient world. We should not overlook or deny that human beings lived through such bloody ordeals. Many contemporary scholars scoff at these stories as mere spoofs of the ancient world. Instead, they are keys to our understanding of it.

XLIX. The stories of the Danaids, the Lemnian women, the *Oresteia*, Eriphyle and Alcmaeon, and Ariadne and Theseus share significant common characteristics. In these stories, we do not see the peaceful and fruitful aspects of a

gynecocracy but rather its perversions and bloody misuse of power leading to its demise. Furthermore, these stories depict the violent transition from mother right to father right. This violent transition remains most in the minds of people. We quickly forget times of peace and quiet but never stop thinking about impending disaster and conflict. When our world is about to collapse and change, we forget what we took for granted for hundreds of years. We remember the bloody deeds, anger, and despair of our history better than our moments of happiness. However, such compassionate and loving female characters as Ariadne, Electra, Hypsipyle, and Hypermnestra assuage the atrocities committed by other women. Furthermore, their noble spirits are signs of a new and better age.

It is apparent that women serve as vanguards in the transition from mother right to father right. Women initiate the change and heroes complete it in battle. Women conceive of the transformation in their minds long before it becomes a reality. The legend of the Danaids serves as an apt example because they initiate and complete the transition to father right. On a continuum of the transition to father right, Io is situated at the beginning, Hypermnestra at the center, and Heracles is at the end. Hypermnestra is a descendant of Io, and Heracles is a descendant of Hypermnestra from the thirteenth generation. As the figure in the middle, Hypermnestra links the legends of Io and Heracles. When Hera besets Io with a gadfly, Io flees from her home along the Inachus River and finally resides in Egypt. Her granddaughters return to Argos in a ship build by Athena. Heracles was born in Argos, and he used it as his base to liberate the world from a reign of materialism. At the top of Mt. Oeta, he is immolated and elevated to the company of the Olympian gods. Io represents the awakening of womanhood from a long serene sleep of childhood into an adult love affair, which brings her both ecstasy and agony. Io is bedazzled by Zeus' divinity and magnificence. Her love for him makes her distraught wanderings throughout the world tolerable. She pursues the higher light of Zeus that struck her soul in the sanctuary of Dodona. As Prometheus prophesied, Io finds her peace in Egypt. There, Zeus restores her to her real form and bestows her with a son, Epaphus. Like Io, Hypermnestra falls in

love with a man. She would rather love than kill. She forsakes her authority and rights for the love in her heart. Heracles completes the transition from mother right to father right. His release of Prometheus represents the liberation of all humankind and vindication of Zeus' spiritual authority.

This evolution of humankind underlies the three stages of the legend of the Danaids. Female nature is aroused in Io. Hypermnestra shows the victorious power of love in a woman. Her sisters' bloody deed serves as a foil to her glory. Heracles is her descendant. He conquers women and then liberates them. He reconciles material motherhood with the celestial authority of Zeus. In the Argive oral tradition, Io is the moon cow and Heracles is the sun. Furthermore, she represents physical womanhood whereas Heracles represents the incorporeal celestial light of man. At first, substance reigns. Then, the principle of light prevails consonant with the cosmic law that the moon follows the sun and reflects the light of the sun. Thus, the woman is secondary to the man and obtains her fulfillment from him. Male potency manifests itself in two stages. In the Nile culture, male potency is entirely physical. Like the Etruscan Tages and the Elean Sosipolis, black Epaphus represents the force of Zeus residing in the black, moist earth. Furthermore, the name Epaphus entails water. The roots *ap*, *aph* (as in *Επιάλτης* and *Εφιάλτης* [Ephialtes]) originated in a far distant time when the Semitic and Arian tribes were one people with a common language. Epaphus' dark skin indicates his earthly nature. In the famous fragments of the genealogical poet, *Asius*, *μέλαινα* [black] means *γαῖα* [earth] (Paus. 8.1.4). Anything saturated with moisture turns black. Plutarch notes this fact in his account of the Egyptian belief that moisture is the cause of the fertility of the earth (*De Is. et Os.* 33.364bc). Thus, an old Latin name for the Nile is *Melo* (from *μέλας* [black]) because the river makes the earth black when it saturates and fertilizes it. For this reason, black stone was used to depict the Nile whereas white marble was used for all other rivers. The ancients mistakenly said the Nile was depicted as black because it flowed through black Ethiopia (Paus. 8.24.12). Thus, Io's offspring is black Epaphus. However, Hypermnestra's descendants rise to a higher level of

male power. In the figure of Heracles, the power of Zeus is expressed as spiritual, Apollonian light (Ael., *VH* 2.32). Heracles' power is neither physical nor connected with the earth. Because he is free of materialism, he can ascend to heaven and acquire the immaterial, spiritual nature of light. In Egypt, the power of Zeus is material. In Hellas, Zeus is pure light. Black Epaphus is born in the swampland of the Melo whereas Heracles is born in Hellas. Egypt is the land of corporeal religion, where hetaerism is esteemed (Sext. Emp., *Pyr.* 3.201.); where even Zeus enjoys sexual services from virgin priestesses called pallades (Strabo 17.816); where πόρνης μνημα [a tomb of the courtesan] was built in honor of Rhodopis (Strabo 17.808); where Helen of Troy sought asylum; where festivals were celebrated with excessive sensuality (Strabo 17.801; Hdt. 2.60; and Diod. Sic. 1.85.3-4); where the female principle of nature played a substantial role in religious practices (Strabo 17.807 and Hdt. 2.41); and where sexual intercourse is legally required to consummate a marriage. According to the Justinian's *Codex* (5.5.8):

licet quidam Aegyptiorum idcirco mortuorum fratrum sibi coniuges matrimonio copulaverint, quod post illorum mortem mansisse virgines dicebantur, arbitrati scilicet, quod certis legum conditoribus placuit, cum corpore non convenerint, nuptias re non videri contractas, et huiusmodi conubia tunc temporis celebrata firmata sunt, tamen praesenti lege sancimus, si quae huiusmodi nuptiae contractae fuerint, earumque contractores et ex his progenitos antiquarum legum tenori subiacere nec ad exemplum Aegyptiorum, de quibus superius dictum est, eas videri fuisse firmatas vel esse firmandas.

[Although certain Egyptians have married the wives of their deceased brothers, for the reason that they were said to have remained virgins after their marriage, being of the opinion that sexual intercourse had not taken place between them (which has been held by certain legal authorities), and that, on this account, no marriage was considered to have been actually consummated; and while matrimonial unions of this description which took place under such circumstances were valid, still, We order by the present law that, if any such marriages should be celebrated, those who contract them, as well as their children, shall be subject to the provision of the ancient laws, and that the marriages shall not, according to the example of the Egyptians above referred to, be

considered to be either valid, or capable of being rendered so.
trans. S. P. Scott]

The Danaids were raised with these cultural practices in Egypt. Athena had to convey them back to Argos, the original homeland of Io, where the principle of Zeus prevailed. Therefore, the Danaids denounce the gods of the Nile and appeal to the gods of Hellas in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Maidens*. Aeschylus characterizes Egypt as a culture of decadent sensuality. Only in Hellas can the Danaids overcome the powers of sensuality through the intervention of Zeus. In Argolis, Hypermnestra spares her husband from death, and here Heracles is born. Corporeal Egyptian mother right associated with water maidens gives way to male heroes in Hellas. Even though Lynceus alone survived the revenge of the Danaids, the right of men still prevailed because Lynceus represents more than just superior male physical strength but male authority grounded in female love. Physical strength alone is a shaky foundation for authority over women. In contrast, love offers a stable foundation for a relationship between women and men. A woman yields willingly to a man's higher nature. She finds gratification in her voluntary subjection to love. Heracles represents this final development of man. His great feats are manifestations of the higher celestial powers of Zeus. The spirit of Zeus gives rise to the higher authority of man. Whereas Io felt corporeal lust for Zeus and suffered a long ordeal, her descendants experienced the spiritual beauty of man and found peace. Her descendants cherished the celestial rather than the tellurian Zeus. In a society of mother right, woman defends her material rights against the material rights of man. In a society of father right, woman embraces his spiritual rights. Equality and harmony of the genders is attained at the spiritual level consistent with the law of the cosmos. The moon follows the sun. The moon has no light of its own but only the reflection from the greater heavenly body. A woman is like the moon, a material creation. However, a man is like the sun, a spiritual force. When substance is the highest conception, the female lunar principle reigns and a man is considered unimportant. When one understands the source of lunar light, one can move beyond material to incorporeal power. Symbolically, the sun becomes primary and the moon

secondary. A woman must avail herself of the splendor of the incorporeal, spiritual principle. Heracles is the consummation of Io because the solar hero originates in the moon cow. Spiritual father right was formed from the material conceptions of mother right. The bloody wedding of the Danaids represents this transition from mother right. The murder embodies the extreme enforcement of the ancient rights of women. Hypermnestra initiates the victory of father right and Heracles completes it. Like Hypermnestra, her sisters ultimately denounced their Amazonian lifestyle and yielded to men (Paus. 7.1.6 ff.). Amymone was seduced by Poseidon (Paus. 2.37.1). Like Atalanta, the other sisters were awarded as prizes in footraces (Paus. 3.12.2). The number fifty is a leitmotif in the legend of the Danaids. Besides the number of daughters and their suitors, Danaus ruled fifty years and Athena's ship had fifty oars. The number five is at the root of this leitmotif as a symbol of marriage. Therefore, Danaus sponsored games every fifth year and the victor received a *clipeus* [shield] as a prize. The man received a weapon once used by a woman (Hyg., *Fab.* 273). Thus, the offspring of the Danaids are named after their fathers (Hyg., *Fab.* 170).

L. I will conclude my examination of the Danaids with a few comments about their mythological significance. In general, the earth is represented as a cask or vessel. Thus, the Danaids have the task of filling this cask with fecundating water. However, the cask is punctured with holes so that the water runs out. This suggests the fertile nature of the moisture ensuing from the wombs of the Danaids. Similarly, the Nile overflows its banks and inundates the swampland, making it fertile for production (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 363D). Iphimedia's love affair with Poseidon illustrates a similar case of woman gathering water for fertility. Iphimedia fell in love with Poseidon. She would go to the sea and use her hands to pour water from the waves onto her lap. Poseidon rewarded one of her visits by impregnating her with two sons, called the Aloids (Apollod., *Bibl.* 1.7.4). This conception of gathering water for impregnation underlies the religious foundation of motherhood, which the Danaids represent and protect. In this respect, the

image of Ocnus plaiting a straw rope as his donkey eats it is linked to the Danaids. Thus, we find depictions of him and the Danaids together in paintings in the Cnidian *leschē* [clubhouse] at Delphi and in Roman graves. Diodorus of Sicily reports of rituals in Egypt reenacting the myth of the Danaids and Ocnus (1.97.3). As the Danaids represent the motherhood of the swamplands, Ocnus represents the male power of procreation in the swamplands. Thus, he is shown as a swamp man on a Campanian columbarium. Kneeling in a swamp of reeds, he plaits a rope, which an ass eats away. This scene represents the futility of tellurian creation, the process of becoming then passing away (See Plate I in Bachofen's *Gräbersymbolik*.) Mother Earth provides the groundwork for both Ocnus and the Danaids. She never changes though her creations come and go. Thus, the Danaids are resplendent with youth, and Ocnus is wizened in contrast. Again, we have a depiction of the relationship between man and woman. A mother is at the head of natural existence. A woman rules material life. In mythology, the Danaids are the avengers of mother right.

LI. The Danaids have led us to the land of the Nile. Here the rule of mother right was a result and an expression of Egyptian religion. The physical environment of a swampland led to a maternal conception of nature, as is also the case along the Indus and Phasis Rivers and in the entire Peneius basin in Thessaly. The lowlands are the womb of Mother Nature fertilized yearly by the deluge of the river, the male procreative force. As a man's semen is deposited in a woman, the overflow of the river is absorbed in the earth, which soaks it up to fertilize seeds. Therefore, Plutarch says, "theologians designated the heaven as the father and the earth as the mother. The heaven is the father because the outflow of rainwater functions as semen. The earth is the mother because she is fertilized by the rainwater and bears offspring" (*De placitis philosophorum* 880b). These materials embrace and mate in the dark depths of maternal substance beyond human view. Isis is a mother figure of the fertile land. Osiris is the male stream, whose genitals make the waters surge. . . .

Isis is immortal whereas Osiris is mortal like the earthly creation in which he manifests himself. Thus, the mother is superior to the father in Egyptian culture. In the cult of Isis and Osiris, Isis dominates. Egyptians venerate the land more than the river. Accordingly, Diodorus recounts an inscription of a stele in Nysa dedicated to Isis: “I am Isis, queen of all the land . . . I am the sister and the wife of Osiris. I am the mother of Horus the king” (1.27.4). In contrast, Osiris is not mentioned as the father of Horus on his stele. Without Osiris, Isis suckling Horus is a common theme for works of art. Likewise, Hephaestus is the fatherless son of Hera (Hes., *Theog.* 927). Thus, in front of the sanctuary of the Apis bull in Memphis, there is another sanctuary consecrated to his mother (Strabo 17.1.31). Therefore, Pelasgus (Paus. 8.1.4), Tages, and Sosipolis have only a mother, the earth, but no father.

Isis served as a divine model and standard for every Egyptian mother. We have sufficient evidence for this view. Diodorus reports that the Egyptians believed that Isis was the primary source of the blessings of the land. Thus, they ordained, “a queen deserves more power and respect than a king. Likewise, a wife should have authority over her husband. Therefore, a husband must agree in a marriage contract to be obedient to his wife” (1.27.1-2.). Herodotus corroborates that the gender relationships among Egyptians clashed with the customs of the Greeks: “At the market, women buy and sell while the men stay at home and weave. . . Sons do not provide support for their parents in old age but rather the daughters” (2.35). This obligation of daughters is an extension of property rights within a gynecocracy. Because the daughter inherits all the property, she must bear the responsibility of supporting her parents, γηροβοσκία [caring for the old]. Rights and responsibilities, as well as privileges and obligations, go hand in hand. A woman’s responsibility to provide alimentation places her in the role of a surrogate Mother Earth. Γῆ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε μητέρα γαίαν [Earth sends up the harvest; therefore, praise mother Earth] (Paus. 10.12.10). Therefore, earth is called Bona Dea, κουροτρόφος [nourisher of children], and ἐλεήμων

[merciful]. In this role, Anna Perenna fed the hungry plebeians warm bread during the months of food shortage. . . .

Herodotus' report that Egyptian "women buy and sell at the market while the men stay at home and weave" is confirmed in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* when Oedipus complains of his sons:

How their thoughts and actions resemble the Egyptian ways. There the men sit at the loom while the wives work abroad to earn a living. Though my sons should help me bear my burden, they stay at home like girls. Instead, my daughters labor and toil for me. (337- 45)

. . . One purpose for this Egyptian reversal of roles may have been to maintain domestic peace by curbing aggressive male behavior and revolts. Apparently, this was a widespread practice. In order to subdue the rebellious Lydians, Croesus advised Cyrus to involve the Lydian men in activities that would turn them into women (Hdt. 1.555). Likewise, Thrasybulus corrupted the son of Gelo with feminine indulgences so that he could usurp power (Arist., *Pol.* 5.8.19). Diodorus of Sicily reports on a similar tactic among the Amazons living along the Thermodon River, who successfully waged war against their neighbors.

The queen of the Amazons was filled with pride and named herself the daughter of Ares. She made the men spin wool and perform other domestic duties suitable for women. She established laws that delegated war to women and degrading menial work to men. Furthermore, she initiated the practice of incapacitating male offspring by mutilating their arms and legs so that they would be unfit for combat. In contrast, the right breast of female offspring was removed so that they could perform better in combat. From this practice of removing a breast, the Amazons acquired their name, which means without a breast. (2.45.2-3)

In all these accounts, the common denominator is the preservation of political and social power of women. The Lemnian women slaughtered their husbands for this reason. In a gynocracy, women delegate domestic activities to men not as a tactic for social peace but as a natural consequence of their superior status. However, the degradation of men ultimately results in disaster. When a man does such woman's work as weaving, his body and soul atrophy. In contrast, a woman prospers from such work because it is consistent with her nature. One can observe

how the decline of male authority results in a proportionate increase in female authority. As a woman gains confidence and self-respect from her exercise of authority in a man's world, a man feels like a slave or servant in a woman's world. This circumstance creates conflict between men and women. . . .

LII. A gynecocracy degrades men. The ancient Orchomenians serve as a good example. In "Greek Questions," Plutarch reports on an unusual tradition:

Who are the Ψολόεις and Αιολεῖαι among the Boeotians? Minyas' daughters, Leucippe, Arsinoe, and Alcatheo went insane and developed a craving for human flesh. Thus, they drew lots to select one of their children to eat. The lot fell upon Leucippe to sacrifice her son, Hippasus. He was torn to pieces and eaten. The husbands and fathers put on dirty garments to express their grief and sorrow. Thus, they were called Ψολόεις, the "grimy" ones. The insane mothers were called Αιολεῖαι, the deadly and murderous ones. The descendants of these women are still called by this name in Orchomenus. Every year at the festival of Agrionia, a priest of Dionysus pursues these descendants with a sword in hand. The priest has the right to kill anyone of these women. I witnessed a priest, Zoilus by name, kill a woman. . . . (38)

In a later chapter, I discuss matriarchy among the Orchomenian Minyans in detail. My focus here is on the designation of the men as Ψολόεις and the women as Αιολεῖαι. Ψολόεις is derived from ψόλος, meaning sooty, smoky, or blackened from soot. (See *Od.* 23.330 and 24.539.) Plutarch claims the men wore dark clothing because they were mourning the murder of Hippasus. However, this explanation is misleading. The word Ψολόεις itself leads us in the right direction. Sooty and smoky indicates that the men were craftsmen. In the race of the Αιολεῖαι, the men were sooty blacksmiths. The designation is pejorative because women ruled the society. Thus, Minyas' three daughters have Amazonian names and sacrifice a male child. Many scholars derive Αιολεῖαι from ὀλοός, meaning "deadly" or "murderous." However, the tribal name Αιολεύς [Aeolian] as well as Αιολεῖαι are actually derived from αἶα [earth]. Accordingly, the Aeolian people are named after their mother, the earth. (Cf. Hyg., *Fab.* 220.) In other words,

Aeolians had a gynecocratic society, and the designation of the men as $\Psi\omicron\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ indicates their inferior role.

Previously, I described a similar occurrence among the Lemnians. Smithcraft was delegated to men in the Lemnian gynecocracy. The Lemnian Sinties were devotees to the fire cults of Hephaestus and the Cabiri. Supposedly, they were the first to make weapons because of this cult knowledge. In this context, we should mention the Cyclopes because they were craftsmen as well. Furthermore, they are connected with Lycia, a gynecocratic country, as well as Crete. According to Strabo, Proteus invited them to Tiryns from Lycia in order to build the city walls (8.6.11). Apparently, the Cyclopes, who built the walls of Tiryns and Mycenae, belonged to a guild from the East. From there, they moved on to Greece, Thrace, and Sicily. Besides constructing walls, they performed metalwork. In this respect, Lycia served as cultural link between Assyria/Asia and Greece.

In this context, we should also consider the Greek tribal name, $\omicron\zeta\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota$ [foul smell], because it entails disrespect for the occupation of the Locrian men. Summarized by Plutarch in “Greek Questions” (15), the ancients provided various explanations for the name. Because the men herded goats and wore the fleece of goats, they smelled foul. This depiction shows obvious contempt for male work, as one would expect in a gynecocracy. Within this context, we should recall the reports of the ancients about Egyptian men working the looms at home while the women conducted business at the market because women dominated the household. In a gynecocracy, men do the servile chores because women enjoy a higher status.

LIII. Herodotus (2.102-11), Strabo (15.687; 16.769; and 17.790 and 804), Diodorus of Sicily (1.53.1 ff.) and Pliny (*HN* 6.165 and 174; 33.52) attribute the strange collection of steles and victory monuments in Asia and Africa to an Egyptian king called variously, Sesostris or Sesoosis. Sesostris began his military conquests in Ethiopia, then campaigned up to Phasis and Scythia. However,

Tacitus claims that Sesostris was actually Ramses II (*Ann.* 2.60.3). All these writers concur that Ramses, Sesostris, or Sesosis reigned during the 12th Dynasty of the New Kingdom. However, recent research maintains that an older Sesostris, Sesortosis, or Sesonchosis reigned during the 3rd Dynasty of the Old Kingdom. He was the great lawgiver. Furthermore, the Egyptians honored him as the founder of the art of healing. In addition, he initiated the use of blocks of stone in building. Dionysius of Halicarnassus attributes this practice to the Tarquinians (*Ant. Rom.* 3.67.4) as a major innovation in the history of Roman civilization. This same Sesostris also cultivated writing, especially in his function as lawgiver. One law was that a man could not change his trade because it would make him ambitious. This law established the caste system in Egypt. Sesostris is also credited with domesticating horses for riding. However, Plutarch credits Horus with this accomplishment (*De Is. et Os.* 358C). Sesostris or Sesonchosis was the successor to Horus, the son of Isis. Aristotle names Sesostris as the originator of the caste system in Egypt. Aristotle notes that Sesostris lived before Minos, whom the Greek chronographers date at about 400 years before the fall of Troy (*Pol.* 7.9.1 and 7.9.4). Thus, we can conclude that Sesonchosis is the same as Sesostris and the first and oldest of all those bearing the name Sesostris. However, he is not the same as the great conqueror of the 12th Dynasty, Ramses-Sesostris. Sesonchosis-Sesostris was the original lawgiver, who organized a civil society among the Egyptians. . . .

We can conclude that Herodotus' account of mother right in Egypt stems from its first king and founder, Sesostris. Mother right and the caste system developed hand in hand. Their relationship is not coincidental but causal. Mother right serves as a secure foundation for the caste system. . . .

Diodorus of Sicily reports the conquests of the Libyan Amazons and their alliance with Egypt (3.52.1-55.11). Their queen, Myrina, made an alliance with Horus, the son of Isis and the ruler of Egypt. Sesostris was the first successor of Horus to the Egyptian throne. The relationship between Myrina and Horus had its impact on Sesostris as the original lawgiver and the initiator of mother right in

Egypt. According to Diodorus of Sicily, there were many tribes of women in Africa in ancient times. These tribes were warlike and valiant, much like the later Amazons of Thermodon, who came to power and flourished shortly before the Trojan Wars. Diodorus' description of the customs of the Libyan Amazons is strikingly similar to the descriptions of the Egyptians by Herodotus and Sophocles:

The women conducted the affairs of state. The men were like our married women. They spent their days at home, fulfilling the commands of their wives. They did not participate in military campaigns. They could not hold office or even express their opinions as free citizens because the women feared they might revolt should they ever gain power and authority. Immediately after birth, children were given to the care of the men, who fed them milk and other cooked foods suited for infants. . . (3.53.1-3)

The Libyan Amazons conducted a successful military campaign through Egypt to the Caicus River in Asia. According to Diodorus, "Myrina made a treaty of friendship with Horus, the son of Isis, who was king of Egypt" (3.55.4). We may well surmise that Myrina and Horus were able to make a treaty of friendship because Amazonianism was a feature of Egyptian life. . . .

LVI. Diodorus of Sicily writes that brothers and sisters were allowed to marry in Egypt because of the divine model of Isis and Osiris. When Osiris died, Isis ruled alone. Thus, the Egyptians considered the queen more important than the king. Likewise, wives were considered superior to their husbands (1.27.1). The superiority of the Egyptian queen is obvious in the case of Cleopatra, who called herself Isis and treated Antony as Osiris. Dio Cassius reports "Antony and Cleopatra are depicted together in painting and sculpture. Antony is named Dionysus and Osiris. Cleopatra is named Selene and Isis" (50.5.3). (Cf. Plut., *Ant.* 60; Ath. 4.148; and Vell. Pat. 2.82.4.) The twin children of Antony and Cleopatra were called the sun and moon (Dio Cass. 50.24.4 and Plut., *Ant.* 36.3). Cleopatra wore the holy robe of Isis regularly in public (Plut., *Ant.* 54). The royal family represents the earthly counterpart of the divine family.

The Peruvian Incas had a similar concept of the royal family. The king was the incarnated sun god, and the queen was the moon at his side. Their spirits returned to their respective sources at death. The king resided in the temple of the sun and the queen in the temple of the moon. The earthly royal couple embodied religious conceptions derived from the relationship of the sun and moon. As nature requires both male and female to promulgate life, the king had to rule with a mate. Both king and queen had to be present on the earthy throne in order to reign. The inherent unity of material life is expressed in the marriage of man and woman. However, twins represent the highest unification of nature because they come from one mother. Isis and Osiris came from Rhea's womb. Twins show the duality of unity. In order to achieve perfect unity, a king has the duty to marry his sister. The Incas and Egyptians share this belief. The marriage of siblings comes closest to matching the heavenly model of divine majesty.

However, the status of the sexes differed in Incan and Egyptian societies. In Egypt, the female principle was superior. In contrast, the Incas served a masculine sun god. Diodorus of Sicily says the Egyptian queen enjoyed more powers and honors than the king (1.27.2). This relationship ensued from the model of the relationship between Isis and her brother-husband, Osiris. The Egyptians worshipped Isis above Osiris because the female principle of nature was regarded as first and primary. A man was regarded as a son or product of the female principle. Isis had the honors and designation of a mother (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 374b). As a mother has more authority than her son, Isis had more authority than Osiris. Osiris was even called Hysiris, the son of Isis (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 364d). Osiris obtains his life and authority from his mother. The Egyptian king and queen replicate this relationship. The Egyptian queen is the earthly surrogate of the divine mother, whom the king and the people owe their lives. Thus, the people worship the queen. The king himself obeys the dictates of her divinity. However, the queen does not preside over the government herself. Instead, she delegates her power to her son. This explains why the queen is worshipped more than the king even though the king leads the government and appears to be the

primary ruler of the land. The queen possesses the fundamental rights of the Egyptian throne, and the king executes her commands. In short, female royalty ruled Egypt. . . .

Nitocris is an important example of Egyptian female royalty. Herodotus says she ruled during the 6th Dynasty of the Old Kingdom. Consistent with Egyptian tradition, she was the wife of her brother, the king. Like Osiris, her brother was murdered, and like Isis, she avenged his death (2.100). In *Against Apion*, Josephus provides examples [from Manetho] of two other women who ruled the Egyptian throne:

After the pastoral people left Egypt for Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king who expelled them, reigned 25 years and 4 months until he died. His son, Chebron, reigned 13 years. Afterwards, Amenophis reigned 20 years and 7 months; then his sister, Amesses, ruled 21 years and 9 months; her son, Mephres, ruled 12 years and 9 months; then his son, Mephramouthosis, ruled 25 years and 10 months; his son, Thmosis, ruled 9 years and 8 months; then Amenophis ruled 30 years and 10 months; then Orus ruled 36 years and 5 months; his daughter, Akenchres, ruled 12 years and 3 months; then her brother, Rathotis, ruled 9 years; his son, Acencheres, ruled 12 years and 5 months. . . . (1.93 ff.)

Josephus' account in *Against Apion* of the brothers Sethos-Ramesses and Harmais likewise illustrates the importance of women in Egyptian rule:

Sethos had a mighty army of cavalry and ships. He designated his brother, Harmais, viceroy and conferred upon him all the royal prerogatives with provisos not to wear a diadem, and not to violate the queen, the mother of his children, and the royal concubines. Sethos campaigned against Cyprus and Phoenicia, and later against the Assyrians and Medes. He reduced all these nations to submission because of his mighty army. He continued his advance into the east. In Egypt, Harmais defied his brother's injunctions. He violated the queen and concubines. Furthermore, he put on a diadem and staged a revolt against his brother. The high priest of the Egyptian temples wrote Sethos of these misdeeds. Sethos returned to Pelusium and regained his kingdom, which was called Aegyptus after him. Manetho states that Sethos was called Aegyptus and Harmais, Danaus. (1.98 ff.) . . .

Both these reports from Josephus indicate the importance of the mother in the legitimacy of royalty and rule. The man who marries the queen becomes the king. Even though the queen does not rule herself, she is the source of legitimate regal power. Thus, she is honored more than the king and she is his superior. The role of the earthly queen squares perfectly with the cult of Isis. Thus, it was a crime against divine law to harm the queen. We now have the proper context for understanding the legend of the Danaids. The right to reign was invested in the daughters of Danaus because they inherited divine authority from their mother. They had the right to choose a spouse and bestow him with regal power. The Danaids were less concerned about a violation of their political authority than of their bodies. The dread of sexual intercourse explains their behavior. The fundamental rights of the Danaids were neglected when they were allotted to the sons of Aegyptus without ceremony or engagement presents. They were exploited for their bodies and the power they could bestow upon their suitors. Egyptian law required sexual intercourse to consummate a marriage. The bloody marriage of the Danaids was an act against involuntary consummation of the marriages. Furthermore, the Egyptian requirement of *seminis immissio* [insemination] to consummate a marriage demonstrates the physical basis of mother right. The spiritual nature of father right does not require copulation. Thus, it is not grounds for divorce if a woman does not produce children. In contrast, bearing children is an essential feature and requirement of mother right because it is corporeal in nature. A woman rules by virtue of motherhood, which requires sexual intercourse. The mother serves as the source of life and power for man. Taking possession of a woman requires copulation. Therefore, Absalom makes love to the concubines in a tent on top of his father's house in clear sight of all Israel to declare his claim as new king (2 Sam. 16.22). For the same reason, Phoenix slept with his father's concubine (*Il.* 9.451 ff.). The underlying thought in all these examples is that mother right is vested in the body and passes to the man through copulation.

LVII. According to Manetho, the pharaoh, Binothis, decreed that women qualify as royalty to rule Egypt (fr. 8). However, the instances cited above involve women serving as monarchs in place of a man. The women served as regents. The law of Binothis did not place daughters in the line of royal succession with their brothers. The law restricted and expanded the rights of women. As the lists of succession show, men and male lines predominate. The rights of women to rule in Egypt were vested in their higher spiritual nature. The rights of women were derived from Isis, who deferred to her son, Osiris, as long as he lived. However, after his death, she ruled alone. In other words, the royal power returned to its source. The murder of Isis' son and spouse violated her rights as a mother, for her son obtained his life and power from her. Thus, she sought revenge. As the female principle of nature, Isis received what her husband lost. In this sense, an Egyptian queen was the regent of her husband. She maintained the kingdom as it was until a new man replaced her lost husband. The reign of a queen was not a hereditary succession but rather a transitional regime. The legend of Nitocris fits this pattern perfectly. Like Isis, her primary concern was to avenge the murder of her brother-husband because she regarded the murder as violation of her motherhood. According to Herodotus, Nitocris built a large underground chamber and drowned her enemies there while they dined at a banquet. Afterwards, she threw herself into a pit of ashes (2.100). In this account, she plays the role of the Erinyes or Poina. She avenged the murder of her husband, then protected his rights and throne. Therefore, the 6th Dynasty dates from Nitocris' death, not from the death of her brother king. The brother lives on his sister because she is the source of power, the female principle of life.

The Egyptian queens of the 18th and 19th Dynasties performed similar roles. Amessis ruled for Tuthmosis I. Mephre ruled for both her older brother Tuthmosis II and for her younger brother, Tuthmosis III. Mephre is called Queen Tuthmosis. Both Amessis and Mephre served as regents. As with Nitocris, they represent the protective and preserving female principle. Whenever an Egyptian king died or became incapable of rule, his wife assumed leadership as the proxy

of Isis and her power. In this capacity, Acenchres served for Amenophis IV after his death and Athothis served after Horus after he died childless. . .

LIX. In general, Egyptian marriage and law were at the lunar level, which lies between the tellurian and solar stages. The tellurian centers on natural procreation as represented in swamp life. It is wild, sexual copulation with exclusive concern for material motherhood without marriage. In contrast, the highest human condition is solar. It centers on the father and marriage. The mother is subordinate to the father. It is a stage represented by the pure, immutable light of Apollo and the spiritual virgin, Athena. At the tellurian stage, life is transient and material. At the solar level, being is incorporeal and transcendent over death and change. At the lunar stage, being is a combination of the tellurian and solar elements. The moon orbits between the earth and sun, symbolizing the relationship of the ψυχή [soul] between σῶμα [body] and νοῦς [mind].

Egyptian family law was at the lunar level with traces of tellurian elements but no trace of the solar principle. The tellurian is elevated to the lunar stage whereas the solar principle is degraded. The chthonic earth is elevated to αἰθερίη γῆ [heavenly earth]. However, Osiris plunges from his celestial heights to the moon. Accordingly, the earth mother, Isis, became Luna, and Osiris became Lunus. This religious level acknowledges marriage as its foundation. However, the woman is superior to the man because she represents the vital substance of corporeal life. At this level, the children are no longer *unilaterales* or children solely of the mother like swamp plants but rather διφθεῖς [of dual substance and origin], *bilaterales*, *tam patris quam matris* [children of two parents, as much of the father as of the mother]. The concept of legitimate birth emerges at the lunar level and renounces tellurian motherhood. The myth of Isis illustrates the opposition between tellurian and lunar birth. When Osiris dies, Typhon contests Horus' paternal origin until the heavenly gods confirm it. From Typhon's tellurian

perspective, there is no paternal origin. From the celestial perspective, Horus is a legitimate offspring because Isis bore him not from the earth as a swamp mother but from her husband, celestial Osiris. Because of the lunar nature of the mother, the son becomes διφύης [of dual nature] and the lawful, legitimate offspring. Because of the mother's *matrimonium* [marriage], the son has a definite father. However, the mother is the nexus between father and son. Horus is foremost Isis' son and secondarily Osiris' offspring. Even though the father is spiritually higher, the mother is the immediate and obvious parent. On the one hand, the lunar level is superior to the tellurian because it brings about *matrimonium* and the lawful, legitimate birth of a son. On the other hand, it is inferior to the solar level because it makes the mother the primary and the father the secondary figure in the relationship. Osiris is incorporated into the moon and becomes Lunus as the son of Luna. Apollo and Athena represent fatherhood without a mother whereas Isis and Osiris represent fatherhood derived from motherhood. In summary, we have discussed three levels: tellurian motherhood without marriage; lunar motherhood with marriage and legitimate, lawful birth; and solar father right.

Within this context, we can now understand the significance of individual names and myths, in which the concept of legitimate birth arises. The name Eteocles is a prime example because the notion of legitimate, legal birth is inherent in it. Ἐτέος means true, genuine, authentic. As the legitimate son of Osiris, Horus is an Eteocles, ἰθαγενής [born in lawful wedlock] or γνήσιος [lawfully begotten], *tam matris quam patris* [as much of the mother as of the father]. He is the same as Cecrops, who had the attributes of both sexes and established the practice of monogamy in Athens (Ath. 13.555d and Just. *Epit.* 2.6.7). The dominancy of motherhood is contingent on legal birth. Eteocles is at the lunar, not the solar level of marriage. Two versions of Eteocles in mythology illustrate the difference between the lunar and solar levels. The Orchomenian Eteocles is the offspring of Evippe and Andreas (son of the River Peneius). As the daughter of Leucon, Evippe is the shining goddess of the night, who borrows her light from the sun. The evidence for Eteocles' legitimacy comes from the lunar

nature of his mother. His father's name, Andreas, indicates a general procreative masculinity, i.e. not a particular father. Andreas is derived from ἀνὴρ [man] as Peneius is derived from πέος [penis]. Andreas as the son of Peneius indicates that masculinity is at the tellurian level represented by the power of water. The mother possesses the higher lunar nature and hence the legitimacy of birth ensues from her.

The legend of Eteocles as the son of Oedipus is especially instructive about the different stages of motherhood. In this legend, the maternal principle rises from the level of the earth to the moon or in other words from tellurian promiscuity to lunar wedlock. Jocasta embodies the lower tellurian level whereas Euryganeia, the daughter of Hyperphas, embodies the higher lunar principle. According to Pausanias, Euryganeia was the mother of Eteocles and Polyneices (9.5.11-12). Jocasta's relationship to Oedipus and his sons is a manifestation of motherhood entirely in the tellurian realm of promiscuity. In contrast, Euryganeia is the daughter of Hyperphas, the heavenly light god. Like Evippe and Molione, she is a lunar woman and the chaste wife of the sun. Euryganeia's sons are both legitimate children of a marriage. As twins or pairs, the sons embody the duality of becoming and declining in material life, or simply life and death. These aspects of life go hand in hand like the Moliones and Dioscuri. Polyneices embodies the gloomy aspect of death and the destructiveness of Typhon. The relationship of Polyneices and Eteocles symbolizes the eternal conflict between life and death as well as between the forces of creation and destruction. Since these forces are equivalent, Eteocles and Polyneices slay each other on the battlefield. Their shared rule of Thebes represents the transition and change of the seasons. Hyginus claims that the flames from the common funeral pyre of Eteocles and Polyneices separated into two strands (*Fab.* 68).

Pausanias points out yet another antithesis between Polyneices and Eteocles (5.19.6). Accordingly, Polyneices succumbs to the eternal law of nature ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπρωμένου [by fate] whereas Eteocles succumbs to the law καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ [and with justice]. The doom or night side of earthly creation is depicted

in the different misfortunes of the brothers. On the one hand, Polyneices succumbs to the law of nature that leads all creation into death. On the other hand, Eteocles succumbs to the execution of justice. Thus, Polyneices simply dies whereas Eteocles pays the penalty for his error. Why does Polyneices merely succumb to death as the common fate of all creatures whereas Eteocles suffers punishment? Eteocles is punished because he violated his vow when he failed to yield his rule of Thebes to Polyneices at the appointed time. In other words, Eteocles failed to acknowledge that life and death have equal status and rights as aspects of an eternal process of death and rejuvenation. . . .

We have now examined the full context and extent of the Oedipus legend. The lunar stage of a nature religion centers on transience and mortality. Thus, Osiris and Zeus of Crete are mortal. As a material being, the mother is the center of life, and the solar principle is peripheral. However, the wife has sexual relations with only one husband in marriage as the moon has an exclusive marriage with the sun. In this sense, offspring are legitimate. In this relationship, mother right is contingent on an indisputable father. Marriage and mother right are intricately coupled. The main feature of the lunar religious level is the combination of marriage and mother right. The lunar level conceives of life only as a transient manifestation, and it serves as an intermediate stage in the progression toward the Apollonian stage of permanence. . . .

The Eteo-Cretans [authentic Cretans] are likewise at the lunar level of mother right. They were the legitimate sons of Mother Crete and Zeus. This Zeus was native to Crete. His grave there proves that his masculine fecundating power is a transient aspect of tellurian creation. Cretan Zeus is not an immutable, primordial solar power. Thus, the Eteo-Cretans are properly of the earth or autochthons (Strabo 10.4.6 and Diod. Sic. 5.64.1). However, Eteo-Cretans are not exactly autochthons because they have an identifiable and indisputable father. Even though the Cydonians of Crete are likewise called autochthons, they are not Eteo-Cretans (*Od.* 19.176 and Strabo 10.4.6). Indeed, the concept of Ἐτεόκρητες [Eteo-Cretans] is not completely rendered in Κρήτες ἀυτόχθονες [autochthonous

Cretans]. In the latter term, motherhood is central and the legitimacy of birth is not even a consideration because legitimacy is contingent on male authority. In contrast, the Eteo-Cretans have two identifiable and married parents. All Eteo-Cretans are autochthons but not all autochthons are Eteo-Cretans. Pure autochthons belong to a lower religious level of tellurism, where the mother is the only known parent. In contrast, the Eteo-Cretans are at the lunar religious level, which recognizes both mother and father. Their children are considered διφυεῖς [of dual substance and origin], or *bilaterales* [children of two parents]. Their legitimacy is derived from the conjugal and exclusive union of their parents. Autochthons are sons of Mother Crete whereas Eteo-Cretans are legitimate children of Zeus of Mount Ida and Mother Crete. Thus, the Eteo-Cretans honor the Idaean and Dictaeon mountains (Ar., *Ran.* 1356-57). Their major city, Prasus, lies at the intersection of these two mountains (Strabo 10.4.6). As the Eteo-Cretans demonstrate, mother right at the lunar stage of the female nature principle is ultimately material. Even the father figure of the Eteo-Cretans is a fecundating tellurian power, viz. the combined force of earthly fire and water. Thus, Minos proves he is the earthly proxy of Idaean Zeus by lightning and Theseus proves he is the legitimate son of Poseidon by diving into the sea to retrieve a ring. Water and fire join forces at the lunar stage. Hence, Cretan Talos forged with fire bathed himself nightly in the sea. In contrast to the Eteo-Cretans and autochthons of Crete, Strabo tells of the ἐπήλυδες, foreigners in Crete from Hestiaotis in Thessaly (10.4.6). These immigrants were not considered genuine children of Crete because they were from foreign mothers and fathers. The designation of Eteo-Cretans entails two considerations: 1) the historical difference between the native Cretans and the Hellenic immigrants as reported by Strabo, Scymnus, Diodorus of Sicily, and Eustathius; and 2) the religious and legal concept of legitimate birth, which reflects the cultural status of matrimonial mother right located between the lowest level of tellurism and the highest level of solar father right. In this respect, the ancient Cretans, Lycians, Egyptians, Athenians, and

Orchomenians were at the same cultural level because they were mother right cultures based on marriage and legitimate birth.

LXIX. The Danaids belong to the world of Libyan Amazons. They are courageous warrioresses, who defend mother right against their belligerent cousins by slaughtering them on their marriage night. The Danaids' hate and violence toward men is entirely in the spirit and tradition of Amazonianism. In this light, Hypermnestra behaves cowardly when she betrays her sex by sparing her husband's life. This betrayal explains why Hypermnestra is placed in chains in Ovid's *Heroides* (14.3-84) and why she is placed on trial (Paus. 2.19.6). However, it does not explain why she was found innocent for her failure to kill Lynceus. Both Hypermnestra and Hypsipyle play the role of merciful women among ruthless Amazons. In both cases, these women reject the excessiveness of Amazonianism and accept the bounds of nature that prohibit murdering one's husband or father. Tenderness and love motivate Hypermnestra and Hypsipyle. Plutarch relates a similar situation with the Carian maiden, Caphene (*De mul. vir.* 7.246e). Love overcomes Amazonian hate against men. Eros reconciles the contesting elements of the material world. Therefore, Aphrodite defends Hypermnestra. A fragment from Aeschylus' *Danaids* explains and justifies Hypermnestra's sensuous and corporeal love. Aphrodite herself claims:

Desire incites even chaste Heaven to embrace the Earth,
Desire arouses the Earth to marry Heaven.
Rain gushes from Heaven bedded with Earth,
The Earth conceives and bears for human beings
Grass for sheep and Demeter's abundant fruit;
The rainy wedding night makes the forest bloom in spring.
All this comes from me.
(Ath. 13.600b)

Hypermnestra embodies earth awakened by the force of love. γάμος [marriage] is etymologically related to γυνή [woman] as well as γῆ, γᾶ [earth, land]. Likewise, Gaius, Gaia, Gatte and Gattin [German for husband and wife in union] are derived from earthly substance quickened by Eros. Mother right is rooted in this great law

of substance. The Amazonian world violates it. Alone among the Danaids, Hypermnestra reaffirms her commitment to Eros. Ironically, mother right undermines itself in the case of the Danaids. On the one hand, mother right manifests itself as Amazonianism, which rejects men. On the other hand, mother right is the unifying force of corporeal love, which intimately involves men. In other words, mother right is in conflict with itself. When Hypermnestra embraces Eros, she defies and undermines Amazonianism. Thus, mother right itself is weakened and ultimately disintegrates. In the *Aeneid*, the Danaids are decorative figures on Pallas' belt (10.497 ff.). They have just murdered their husbands. Turnus kills Pallas and takes the belt. Symbolically, this incident suggests that the victory of the Danaids is tenuous. Female power cannot maintain itself on the battlefield of men. The power of the Danaids failed Pallas. Love not war is the power of women. A woman should serve a man because she loves him. She should be tender rather than combative. For this reason, Hypermnestra spares Lynceus, she is acquitted at her trial, and she dedicates a statue to Ἀφροδίτη νικηφόρος, Aphrodite, the Bringer of Victory, in Argos (Paus. 2.19.6, 2.20.7, and 2.21.1). Furthermore, Hypermnestra is called the first-born daughter of Danaus and the noble lady. As her prestige increased so did the societal rights of men. Ironically, Hypermnestra should have preserved the old regime of mother right, yet she becomes the harbinger of a new male order. Perseus and Heracles emerge from the line of Hypermnestra and from the ruins of gynecocracy. Hypermnestra's descendants battle and defeat the rule of women in Libya. According to Pausanias, the Argive statues at Delphi include Danaus, Hypermnestra, and Lynceus because their whole nation comes from Heracles and Perseus: καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ἐφεξῆς αὐτῶν γένος τό ἐς Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ ἔτι πρότερον καθῆκον ἐς Περσέα (10.10.5). In *Art of Love*, Ovid describes a similar grouping at the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (1.73-74). This grouping of personages and its location at an Apollonian shrine suggest that the Apollonian reign of light and spiritual fatherhood comes from Hypermnestra's stock. According to Pausanias, Lynceus succeeded Danaus (2.16.1). In other words, the Apollonian

principle proceeds from Danaus to Hypermnestra to Lynceus. Danaus was a devotee of Apollo. He founded the most famous building in Argos, the sanctuary of Apollo Lycius [wolf god] (2.19.4) to commemorate his ascension to the throne. According to Pausanias, Danaus and Gelanor, the Pelasgian prince, both claimed the Argive throne. The Argive people were to select their ruler. On the day of their decision, a wolf attacked a bull and killed it. The people associated Danaus with the wolf, and Gelanor, with the bull. Therefore, Danaus was awarded the throne of Argos. Danaus attributed this propitious event to Apollo (2.19.3). The wolf and bull represent different levels of masculine power. The bull represents the chthonic water power of Neptune (Paus. 2.38.4) whereas the wolf represents the solar power of light. The bull represents the Pelasgian religious level, and the wolf represents the higher Apollonian religion. The battle between the wolf and bull has allegorical significance. At daybreak, the wolf attacks the bull and kills him. This signifies that the sun is stronger than water. In arid Argolis, this view of nature is understandable, for the hot sun dries out the water. Furthermore, the sun's power is incorporeal. An example is the precinct of Lycaean Zeus in Arcadia, where neither man nor animal casts a shadow (Paus. 8.38.6 and Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 300c). Danaus embodies the principle of light and the victory of male spiritual rights. On front of the same temple, where Hypermnestra erected a statue of Aphrodite, there is a relief depicting a fight between a bull and a wolf with a maiden throwing rocks at the bull (Paus. 2.19.7). In this scene, a woman (probably Hypermnestra) sides with the Apollonian principle in order to find atonement. The victory of father right is identified with the incorporeal principle of light. The story of Aegyptus' sons illustrates the cultural progression from the earth to the sun. Their bodies are interred in the swamp at Lerna, where Demeter rules as tellurian mother (Paus. 2.24.2 and 2.36.7). The heads of Aegyptus' sons are buried in a tomb located on the left side of the road to the citadel of Larisa (Paus. 2.24.2). Their burial on the left side has religious significance because Olympian gods are associated with the right side whereas the demigods are associated with the left side (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 361a and Pl., *Leg.* 717a). Lynceus

is spiritually higher than his brothers. He is not associated with the left side but rather with Apollo, the highest incorporeal solar power.

LXX. According to Diodorus of Sicily, Perseus battled with the Gorgons, in particular with the youngest sister and queen, Medusa, who was mortal (3.55.3). The Gorgons were a major tribe of Libyan Amazons (3.52.4). The Gorgons represent the lunar principle defeated by the higher solar power, Perseus. The Gorgons are lunar women. Likewise, Athena is called Γοργώ [Gorgon] and Γοργώπις [Gorgopis] in her function as a lunar maternal deity. In contrast, Perseus is a solar figure, representing the lineage of Zeus that conquers and surpasses material motherhood. Danaë represents material motherhood as the dismal alternative to spiritual fatherhood. Her father imprisons her in a brass tower to keep her chaste. However, Zeus impregnates her. Once her father discovers a child, he places Danaë and Perseus into a large wooden box, then launches them out to sea. The waves wash the wooden box onto the island of Seriphos. Danaë's life is symbolic of the life of a girl and mother. As the son of Zeus, Perseus liberates his mother from her bondage as a woman. To prove himself, Perseus takes on the challenge of King Polydectes to fetch the head of Medusa at the western ends of the earth as a wedding present for Hippodamia. Her marriage to Pelops is yet another instance of the demise of mother right. As with Heracles, the Danaids, Orestes, and Theseus, Athena becomes Perseus' guardian. In this role, Athena is called Γοργοφόνη [Gorgon killer] (*Orphic Hymns* 32.8). Originally, Athena was depicted as a lunar woman. As the motherless daughter of Zeus, she opposes all material, maternal, earthly, and lunar existence and promotes a spiritual life. Therefore, she comes to the aid of Perseus and other spiritual heroes. The Gorgons and the Graeae are the maternal opposites of Athena. Motherhood is entailed in their names. Γραῖαι [Graeae] means crones. From the perspective of children, mothers appear old. Therefore, Anna Perenna is portrayed as γράως, a wrinkled old mother. Another example of a legendary aged woman is Hecale or Heraline, who serves as Theseus' nurse. Medusa possesses the power of the moon

to turn creatures into stone. Her power extends only over corporeal life, which is doomed to death at birth. Life is brought into the light only to return to the darkness of the womb. A mother gives both life and death. Therefore, the face of the moon is said to have the grimace of death and to embody evil. The moon has transitory phases because it is a part of material existence. Like the moon, Medusa has great sinister powers and she is mortal. As a heavenly solar hero, Perseus conquers the material and ephemeral moon. He liberates material life from transience and death. In this symbolic context, he releases Andromeda from her bondage on a sea cliff and saves her from the jaws of a sea monster. As a figure of Hades, Polydeuces is no match for Perseus, a solar hero. Perseus also kills his grandfather, Acrisius, a figure from the swamplands around the Peneius River. Symbolically, Acrisius is an earthly power killed by a solar discus. Perseus initiates a new age. Helios brings humankind a more merciful, higher law of spiritual fatherhood with the sanction of Zeus. In contrast, ancient mother right has its foundation in Mother Earth. Like Perseus, Heracles is a descendant of Hypermnestra. According to Diodorus of Sicily, Heracles destroyed the Gorgons and the remaining Amazons, then set up his pillars in Africa. Heracles did not consider it in the interest of the human race to allow the rule of women anywhere on the face of the earth (3.55.3). As in the legend of Perseus, Libya and the lands of the West are Amazonian domains. Heracles' annihilation of the rule of women concludes the legend of Hypermnestra's legacy. Ironically, the story of the Danaids' murdering their husbands ends with the destruction of the rule of women and the establishment of a rule of men. As a result, humanity is rescued from material bonds and elevated to a higher existence. Both Greeks and Romans emphasized Heracles' contempt for female authority. Silius Italicus reports on the continuation of the cult of Heracles in the Roman period. When Hannibal goes to Gades, he visits the temple of Heracles, where *femineos prohibent gressus ac limine curant* [women are forbidden access to the inner shrine] (3.22 ff). Pausanias has a similar report about a temple dedicated to Heracles at Erythrae in Asia. In this temple is an image of a Heracles in Egyptian style. The image is

located in a boat in commemoration of his journey from Tyre. According to the Erythaeans, the boat anchored offshore between the territories of the Erythaeans and Chians. Both peoples wanted the image. A blind Erythraean fisherman, Phormio, had a vision in a dream about a way to get the boat. The women of Erythrae should cut off their hair and the men should plait the hair into a rope for towing in the boat. The Erythraean female citizens, ἀσται τῶν γυναικῶν, refused to obey the directives of the dream. However, the Thracian women living in Erythrae submitted to the dream. With their hair, the men towed the boat ashore. The magical rope was housed in the temple of Heracles. Because the Thracian women demonstrated their obedience, they alone are allowed to enter the sanctuary (7.5.5-8). This narrative indicates the gynocratic status of the Ionian women of Erythrae. They were independent, ἀσταί [free female citizens]. Thus, they could refuse their husbands' commands. Heracles countermanded the rule of women by demanding the submission of women. Thracian women served the god willingly and gained his favor. Heracles broke the rule of women in Erythrae and liberated the women of the underclass.

Pausanias' story concludes symbolically. Phormio's sight is restored for the rest of his life. He embodies the transition from tellurian mother right to the paternal solar principle. Darkness and blindness are attributes of chthonian substance. Light and vision are the attributes of masculinity conceived as a solar power. As the opponent of female rule, Heracles brings the light of a higher human condition to the blind Erythraeans. This enlightenment ensues from the submission of woman to man.

LXXI. We shall now return to the legend of the Danaids because their symbolic representation changes after the collapse of female rule. At the dark bottom of the underworld, the Danaids are condemned to carry water in perforated jugs as punishment for killing their husbands. Other mythical characters in the same realm of the underworld have similar endless and futile ordeals. Ocnus braids a rope that his ass eats away at the same pace. Sisyphus

rolls a stone up a hill only for it to roll back down again. Tityus lies sprawled on the ground while a vulture eats his liver, which grows back again and again (*Ov., Ib.* 175-78). Thus, he suffers interminable pain. The legend of the Danaids was transformed by the attitudes of a different culture, which no longer understood gynecocracy and Amazonianism. Thus, the Danaids and other ancient characters became offenders and worthy of punishment. Though the concept of punishment or atonement for the Danaids is a later development in the legend, the perforated jug belongs to the earliest version of the legend. The ordeal of the Danaids with their jugs is one of the most ancient nature symbols of humankind. The symbol of the perforated jugs is primordial whereas its association with punishment and just retribution is a later emendation. Homer does not mention the Danaids among his offenders in the underworld (*Od.* 11.568 ff.) nor do Hesiod and Pindar. Rather than offenders, the Danaids with their perforated jugs are a nature symbol. In order to understand the content of the symbol, we must examine it within the context of the myth of the Aloadae. According to Apollodorus, Aloeus married Iphimedia [jug], daughter of Triops. However, Iphimedia fell in love with Poseidon. Therefore, she often went to the sea where she scooped up water from the waves onto her lap. She became pregnant from Poseidon and bore two sons, Otus and Ephialtes, the so-called Aloads” (*Bibl.* 1.7.4). Obviously, water represents the fecundating element of male potency. Iphimedia represents earthly substance seeking fertilization. Thus, she scooped the water incessantly onto her lap. Like a bee that flies from flower to flower to get pollen for making honey, Iphimedia goes to the sea and gathers water. Iphimedia is like Plato’s Penia, who pursues Pluto and conceives Eros. Penia represents substance or raw material as Plutarch depicts it: “Because substance is insufficient in itself, it seeks fulfillment from the Good and yearns for involvement with it” (*De Is. et Os.* 374d). In this context, Iphimedia embodies the earth, yearning for Neptune’s fecundating moisture. The Danaids serve the same role as Iphimedia. The big-bellied hydria represents the earth. The water gushing out of its holes illustrates why substance requires perpetual fertilization. As soon as the Danaids pour water into the hydria,

they must replenish it because the earth as hydria cannot contain the element that makes it productive. As Iphimedia incessantly scoops water from the sea onto her lap, the Danaids pour water into a huge hydria. However, the earth can never quench its thirst for fresh fertilization. Likewise, Penia is relentless in her pursuit of Pluto. Therefore, Iphimedia goes to the sea. In this role, the Danaids are a primordial nature symbol. In the most ancient times, they served as sacred water maidens. Their original depiction does not involve the slightest notion of punishment or atonement. Furthermore, the Danaids are a nature symbol of the Nile religion. As Plutarch says, Osiris is the Nile overflowing its banks. Isis is the land along the Nile, absorbing and containing the fecundating waters (*De Is. et Os.* 363d). As a symbol of this relationship between water and thirsty earth, the Egyptian priests carry a golden casket at the annual ritual of mourning for the loss of Osiris. The priests pour potable water into the casket, and then mix in soil (*De Is. et Os.* 366f). Once the water is absorbed into the soil, Osiris has disappeared but Isis is made fertile. Like Isis and Osiris, the Danaids are an Egyptian nature symbol of the Nile and Nile lands. The Danaids embody the fundamental Egyptian religious notion that the Nile waters fertilize the earth, then leave it. The ancient Egyptians explained the mystery of physical generation in this fashion. Both Homer and Thales claim that water is the central principle of Egyptian religion. The Danaids initiated the Argive women into the mysteries of Egyptian religion. The Egyptian religion or cult of water underlies the story of how the Danaids furnished the barren lands of Argos by discovering the springs at Lerna.

Ocnus is likewise a nature symbol of water fecundating the earth. Thus, we find him and the Danaids together in works of art, especially mortuary art, because these characters reveal the dark secrets of the earth. Ocnus' task of plaiting a straw rope represents visible creation of substance from the combination of water and earth and the rapid destruction of the same substance. As a river returns water to the sea, life quickly returns to death. Understandably, the Ocnus symbol originated along the Nile. Diodorus of Sicily reports: "In the city of Acanthi, 120 stades from Memphis in the direction of Libya, 360 priests

share the daily task of fetching water from the Nile in a perforated jug. In the vicinity, one can observe the ritual performance of the myth of Ocnus. One man weaves a rope at one end while several other men unravel it at the other end” (1.97.2-3). In the land of the Nile, we find ritual reenactments of both the Danaids’ filling perforated jug and Ocnus plaiting a rope. These performances provide solid evidence that these nature symbols are fundamental expressions of the Nile religion and are indigenous to Egypt. In the reenactment of the myth of Ocnus, a single person weaves the rope and several people unravel it. This situation illustrates that the source of physical life is singular whereas the means of death are many. In the *leschē* at Delphi, a gnawing ass takes the place of the men unraveling the rope. Later works of art have continued this depiction. However, even the ass points to Egypt because Typhon is pictured under the ass. Typhon is the Egyptian symbol of the natural force of deterioration and destruction. Death is ravenous. Therefore, Erysichthon, cursed with insatiable hunger, is called κάλυθων, a large ass, (Ael., *VH* 1.27). Pausanias depicts the ass as a consuming female and Ocnus as a productive man (10.29.1). This polarity deserves examination. Ocnus or man is associated with production whereas the ass or woman is associated with annihilation. A man creates whereas a woman destroys through death. The Danaids’ task of pouring water lasts eternally because the substance of the earth creates new life from itself eternally. Whatever death devours becomes fresh blood in the cycle of life. As the ass eats more and more rope, death devours more and more of the living. Life feeds death as Ocnus feeds his ass, which gnaws contentedly. Hindu wise men say, “fire never has enough wood, the sea enough water, death enough life, and the beautiful woman enough lovers.” Therefore, the ancients called the dead τοὺς πλείονας, the multitude. The Romans referred to death as *ad plures ire*, to go to the many. Pausanias tells of Megarians consulting the oracle about how to prosper when they disbanded the kingship and established elected magistrates. The oracle advised them to take counsel with the multitude, ἦν μετὰ τῶν πλείονων βουλευέσωνται. The Megarians interpreted the “multitude” to mean the dead and built a tomb for heroes in the

middle of their council building (1.43.3). Our democracy today does not accept votes from the dead. However, the wisdom of the dead provides the most reliable foundation for the welfare of the people and the best solutions to the legal questions of our times. . . .

In summary, the symbol of the Danaids expresses the fundamental idea of the Isis cult and of mother right. Woman is the proxy of Mother Earth for the propagation of physical life. Woman is responsible for the functions of material. Woman, γυνή, comes from γῆ the earth. Because of this materialistic outlook, woman was revered above man in primordial times. The Danaids serve as a symbol of mother right in both its manifestations as Amazonianism and as a religious concept. In the former case, the Danaids are legal and civic figures. In the latter case, they are religious figures. Ancient myths have a dual nature and function. An earthly character is transformed into the god it serves. Other examples of such deification through service to a tribal god include Aristaeus to Zeus Aristaeus; Romulus to Mars or Quirinus; and Alexander to Ammon. In short, a god takes on the flesh and blood of an exceptional human being. As both Plato and Plutarch argue, gods take on human forms to represent their essence. Thus, the Danaids have embodied various forms of religious beliefs over time. They were mortal beings who became goddesses. They were real women, who defended mother right, as well as divine figures, who embody the ideas of Amazonian religion.

LXXXI. We shall now return to the legend of Oedipus. The most important classical sources are Hyginus (*Fab.* 66 and 67), Diodorus of Sicily (4.64.1 ff.), Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.5.7-9), Homer (*Il.* 23.679 and *Od.* 11.271-79), Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* and *Oedipus at Colonus*, Seneca's *Oedipus*, Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, and Hesiod's *Works and Days*. The Sphinx plays a crucial role in the legend of Oedipus and it directs us to Egypt, one of its sources. Likewise, Diodorus (1.23.4) claims that Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, was originally a citizen of Egyptian Thebes. In this context, it is understandable

that Oedipus accurately mentions Egyptian customs in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonos* (337-45).

Oedipus represents the male procreative power of nature associated with Poseidon. His swollen foot connects him with the cult of tellurian Poseidon. Other examples are Aetes' iron-footed bulls, Dionysus' bull foot, Mars Gradivus, Jason's and Perseus' sandals (Hyg., *Fab.* 12 and Hdt. 2.91), and Heracles' footprint stamped on a rock (Hdt. 4.82). Laius' chariot is like Poseidon's chariot. According to Hyginus, the wheel grazed Oedipus' foot (67). Another association with Poseidon is Periboea's discovery of the infant Oedipus on the shores of the sea as she is washing clothes (Hyg., *Fab.* 66). The name Laius is likewise associated with Poseidon because *la* means the procreative power of water. One could surmise that Oedipus' swollen foot is a suggestion of Laius' swollen part that produced Oedipus. Oedipus was the child of sensual lust, characteristic of the wild tellurian life and propagation in the swamp. At this crude level of human existence, a mother may be the wife or even the daughter of the man who inseminates her. As maternal earthly substance, a woman may breed with any man including her father and son. Jocasta is a woman at this level of human existence.

In this environment, Oedipus belongs to the race of Σπαρτοί [Spartoi] and of the *genus draconteum* [race sown from the teeth of the dragon]. The Σπαρτοί have no identifiable father but only a mother because they are the offspring of a procreative dragon of the springs and swamps (Hyg., *Fab.* 178 and Paus. 9.10.1). The *spurii* [illegitimate offspring], whose name comes from σπείρειν [to sow], are similar creatures. In this situation, a son could kill his father and not even know it. Jocasta (also called Epicasta) is the daughter of Menoeceus, a descendant of the *genus draconteum* or Σπαρτοί. In the race of the Σπαρτοί, mother right rules, in particular matrilineage. For example, Creon offers his sister, Jocasta, in marriage and the Theban throne to the person who can rid Thebes of the Sphinx. In other words, the right to rule comes from a marriage with the queen. Creon of Corinth obeys a similar principle of mother right when he offers his youngest daughter,

Glauce, to Jason (Hyg., *Fab.* 25). Likewise, regal power ensues from a woman. The authority of the sister also underlies the myth of Europa, whose brothers Cilix and Phoenix were sent to find her when Zeus took her.

The Sphinx represents tellurian motherhood and earthly mother right in the domain of inevitable death (Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.5.8). Her power is contingent on her riddle, which entails the plight of human beings to wither away and die. Tellurian motherhood rules this level of religion and human existence. Because there is no father, there is only Mother Earth and her transience. The riddle of the Sphinx represents the life of *genus draconteum*. Oedipus destroys the Sphinx and the life she represents when he discloses the hopeless predicament of human beings. The Σπαρτοί recognize the Sphinx as their ruler. Their bodies took them out of darkness into the light, but their bodies will plunge them into the darkness again. Their fate is like that of any creature from the swamp. It is born, it matures, and it fades away without notice. Tellurian procreation is the lowest stage of human development. Oedipus initiates progress toward a higher level of existence. He is a mythical figure whose suffering and torment lead to a higher culture. He is a figure from an older culture. His great personal sacrifice initiates a new era. Like the Sphinx, Jocasta's father, the last of the *genus draconteum*, jumps off the city wall to his death. A plunge from a wall is symbolic of the demise of maternal tellurism because a wall is a symbol of the production and extension of the earth. Thus, a wall is chthonic *sanctitas* [sacredness]. The Sphinx and Menoeceus, the last of the Σπαρτοί, share the same principles of existence and destroy themselves in a similar fashion. Both figures form the background for the emergence of Oedipus.

In the figure of Oedipus, male power differentiates itself from female substance. Masculinity is inherent in the name Oedipus. Thus, his legend focuses on his paternal lineage. He mourns the death of his supposed father, Polybus. His swollen foot comes from his real father, Laius. Oedipus establishes a patrilineal family with his sons, Eteocles and Polyneices. Castor/Pollux and Remus/Romulus are other examples of such paternal lineage among pairs of brothers. In the

paternal system, children become διφυεῖς [of dual origin] instead of *unilaterales* [from one parent]. In this respect, Oedipus plays much the same role as Cecrops of Athens in the transformation from a matrilineal to a patrilineal society as documented by Athenaeus and Justin. This new race of people are no longer Σπαρτοί or *spurii* [illegitimate offspring] but διφυεῖς [of dual origin], the sons of Oedipus, or the sons of Cadmus and Labdacus if we look further back into their lineage. The paternal line underlies the familial relationship between the Spartans and Laconians or Lacedaemonians (Λαας-δαίμων). In the *Iliad*, Homer tells of the sons of Cadmus feasting in the house of Eteocles (4.386). Swamp propagation symbolizes the earliest human condition in which motherhood alone was understood. The Ioxids are an example of a people who knew and respected only female substance. The new human condition was founded on the institution of marriage. Demeter represents this stage of life. In fact, Demeter and Oedipus are closely connected. He lies buried in one of her sanctuaries. The temple there is named after him, Οἰδιποδείον [temple of Oedipus]. The oracle prohibited the removal of his body from the spot: ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἱκέτην τῆς θεοῦ [But the god said not to move the suppliant of the goddess]. This locality is called Ἐτεωνός [Eteonus] (*Il.* 2.497), though its original name was Κεός [Ceos] before it became associated with Oedipus and Demeter (Müller 220 and 223). The name Eteonus entails the purity of Demeter, whereas Κεός (or its variant forms Κεῖος, Κήη, Κέος, Κία) indicates its relationship to Aphrodite of Iulis (*Ant. Lib., Met.* 1). Oedipus emerges from this hetaeristic environment and enters into the domain of Demeter in order to find peace. In the Athenian and Aeginetan tradition, a brooch is a sign of sexual intercourse and Aphrodite. Symbolically, Oedipus tears the brooch from his mother's clothing and blinds himself with it (*Hyg., Fab.* 67) because he violated the higher powers of light by copulating with his mother. According to Apollodorus, Laius pierced the ankles of baby Oedipus with Jocasta's brooches (*Bibl.* 3.5.7). Oedipus condemns impure hetaeristic and tellurian motherhood as the source of all his suffering. After he rejects it, he embraces the higher law of Demeter. Thus, the people considered Oedipus to be a

benevolent daemon capable of warding off evil. At Colonus and Eteonus, his grave was revered as protection against attacks by neighboring marauders. Likewise, the oracle declared that the victor in the bloody civil war between Polyneices and Eteocles must have the blessing and involvement of Oedipus. Theseus becomes a part of the Oedipus legend because both men represent patriarchal authority. For this reason, Oedipus was honored in Athens (Paus. 1.28.7 and 30.4), the city of Apollonian light. Women worshipped Oedipus most of all because he elevated their status by establishing a higher practice of marriage. Oedipus terminates the curse of a hetaeristic life devoted to Aphrodite and installs in its place a life of peace and reconciliation through exclusive marriage modeled after the mother figure, Demeter. Antigone and Ismene's devotion to their father after his expulsion from Thebes is a reflection of this new patriarchal stage. Whereas woman is the source of the curse upon mankind in the earliest stage and conception of human existence, she becomes a blessing and succor in the patriarchal stage. Aphrodite ruled the earlier age of hetaerism and sensual lust. Laius is an example of a victim of the sensual curse. He abducts and violates young Chrysippus, son of Pelops, and earns a curse upon his house and Thebes. In the new age of Demeter, love is an act of sacrifice, a means of nurture, and a way to eliminate the strife among men. The transformation of the Erinyes into the Eumenides is symbolic of a transformation for women in general. Thus, the Eumenides open their sacred grove to suffering Oedipus and offer him peace from the curse of his race.

Aeschylus' trilogy about Oedipus centers on *lex talionis*: a murder begets another murder of revenge, and one crime begets another. It is a world without atonement. Entire generations succumb to the riddle of the man-eating Sphinx until Apollo proclaims a new, lenient law as he does in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. The Erinyes take Oedipus under their protection after they have tormented him (*Il.* 23.679 ff.). In a similar fashion, the earth goddesses, whose function was to avenge crimes against mothers, became goddesses of blessings for all human beings in *Oresteia*. Oedipus is worshipped in conjunction with both Demeter and

the Erinyes. Following the oracle, the Aegidae of Thebes erected a common shrine to Oedipus and the Erinyes so that they would no longer lose their children (Hdt. 4.149). Among the Aegidae, Apollo is the main god, and the mother is subordinated to his laws. The Carnean festival of Apollo encompassed Thebes, Sparta, Thera, and Cyrene (Müller 327 ff.). Apollo brings salvation. The Erinyes willingly submit to his higher law. They yield their duties of blood revenge to his justice. Apollo ordered the Aegidae to placate Oedipus and the Erinyes of Laius. In this instance, the Erinyes revenge the death of a father. In the *Oresteia*, the Erinyes revenge the death of a mother. However, this difference does not constitute a contradiction but rather an extension of the maternal spirits under the guidance of Apollo. Until Apollo intervened, the Erinyes did not avenge a crime against a father. In *Olympian Odes*, Pindar writes that the oracle of Apollo and the cult of the Erinyes is involved in the entire legend of Oedipus from the murder of his father to the fratricide of his sons, Eteocles and Polyneices (2.43 ff.). In the most ancient system, the Erinyes did not come to avenge the death of Agamemnon. In the service of Apollo, the Erinyes defend the rights of the father as well. The irreconcilable, bloodthirsty mothers of the earth become conciliatory, benevolent powers of spiritual atonement. The Aegidae erect a shrine to the Erinyes in their new role as Eumenides.

Both Aeschylus' trilogy of Oedipus and the *Oresteia* depict the transformation of the Erinyes under the command of Apollo. The trilogy of Oedipus is probably a complement to the *Oresteia*. Apollo makes the maternal Erinyes forgive a crime against a mother in *Oresteia*. In the trilogy of Oedipus, Apollo makes the Erinyes forgive a crime against a father. The higher law of Apollo prevails in both domains, of woman and man. Oedipus is only able to appease the Erinyes because of Apollo's benevolent authority. In the *Oresteia*, the *Semnai Theai* [Erinyes] remain agents of motherhood. Thus, they are fundamentally different from Apollo. In the trilogy of Oedipus, the Erinyes work hand in hand with Apollo, the paternal god. On the holy ground of the Erinyes, Apollo tells Oedipus his destiny and relieves his woes. The Apollonian Aegidae

serve as disseminators of the new cult of the Erinyes. Oedipus and the paternal Erinyes are included with the Apollonian circle. Thus, they are elevated in their nature. They serve father right and celestial light in contrast to their previous function as maternal Erinyes. In the trilogy of Oedipus, both Oedipus and the Erinyes reach their highest level of transcendence.

The legend of Oedipus entails the three levels of cultural development. The transition from hetaeristic, corporeal motherhood to Demetrian marriage law belongs to the original version of the legend. Demetrian marriage law gives a child a definite father and a legitimate birth. It ends an age when a son could unwittingly kill his father and commit incest with his mother. In general, Demetrian marriage law provides the foundation for a higher level of human existence. Because of Oedipus, a new paternal principle associated with Apollo prevails over Demetrian marriage law. Because of Apollo, the paternal principle enjoys the highest degree of spiritual purity. Thus, the legend of Oedipus opposes and entails two radically different stages of human life: exclusive motherhood of dark doom and exclusive father right of light, as represented by Apollo, with all his glory, purity, mercifulness, and reconciliation as the summit of human development. In the Oedipus legend, ancient mother right provides a foil for Apollo and father right. Ancient mother right presents an inescapable life of doom for Oedipus because of the curse upon the descendants of Labdacus. In contrast to this period of darkness and materiality is the star of Apollo, the god who rescues the human race from the slime of earthy life and animal existence. Instead, Apollo offers a merciful, orderly, spiritual, enlightened life. The final and most sublime statement of both the *Oresteia* and the trilogy of Oedipus is when the Erinyes give up their terrible mission of punishment to become guardians of the Apollonian, celestial law of reconciliation and peace.

This progression in the legend of Oedipus has its counterpart in the historical advancement of the human condition. The stories of Oedipus and Orestes are literary memories of the transition from the ancient religious stage to more refined conditions. These stories record the suffering and turmoil that

caused and accompanied this religious revolution. Furthermore, these stories yield invaluable information about the original religious beliefs of these early nations. Historical events provide the material for religious ideas and expression. Memory imparts religious form to events. In ancient times, religious belief dominated human thinking. The stories and heroes of old are representations of religious beliefs. The myths reflect both cultic and historical facts, which are integrated and consistent with each other. Oedipus and Orestes are religious stories as well as history. Every great advance in the development of humankind comes from religion, which is always the most powerful force in civilization and the only force in ancient societies. Thus, I have elucidated the religious thought of the descendants of Labdacus. In order to understand the history of these people, we must use their stories, legends, and myths as keys to unlock the secrets of their ancient consciousness. The picture of the past and our heritage may not be attractive. Nonetheless, we should take pride in the gradual progress of humankind in transcending the brutishness of nature. Human beings are capable of escaping from the night of crude material existence into the light of heavenly, spiritual eternal life.

LXXXIII. We should carefully examine the lines from the historical encyclopedia, *Suidas*, concerning Κανδάκη [Candace]. Under the heading Αλέξανδρος [Alexander], Candace is portrayed as the Indian queen who recognized Alexander the Great despite his disguise. As a reward for her perspicacity, Alexander promised to leave her in charge of her kingdom and live in peace with her. Other writers mention this legend as well. In *Chiliades*, Tzetzes says:

ἔω τὴν Μερωήτιδα Κανδάκη διαγράφειν,
 ἣν κατασκεῖν Αλέξανδρον ὁ Καλλισθένης γράφει,
 δοῦσαν δε δῶρα περισσὰ τοῦτον ἔξαποπέμψαι,
 ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὐτῆς φίλους ποιεῖ ἀλλήλοις,
 τὴν ἔχθραν ἀπορρίψαντας, ἣν κατ' ἀλλήλων εἶχον. (3.885-89)
 [Callisthenes writes that Candace sent great gifts of gold to
 Alexander so that he would make her sons friends of one another.]

Similarly, Georgius Cedrenus reports in *Compendium Historiarum* (267) that after defeating Porus, Alexander continued his campaign into the most remote parts of India and into the kingdom of the widow Candace. He dispatched a legation to her court and disguised himself as one of the emissaries. Recognizing him in his disguise, she said, Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλεῦ, τὸν κόσμον παρέλαβες, καὶ γυνή σε ἐχπάτησεν. [O King Alexander, you have conquered the world but a woman has outwitted you]. Flabbergasted, Alexander made peace with Candace and her kingdom. In *The Chronicle* (8.194-95), Malalas reports the same event. Candace was an intelligent Indian queen and widow, who saw through Alexander's disguise of a common soldier's clothing. However, the story ends differently. Alexander claimed Candace as his wife and saved her sons from harm. As his wife, Candace accompanied Alexander back to Ethiopia and other countries.

According to Julius Valerius, Alexander hastened to the empire of Semiramis after his conquest of Persia. At the time, the scepter was in the hands of Candace, who was the great granddaughter of Semiramis. Candace was the widowed mother of three children. Valerius' version in *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis* (3.28-44) begins with an exchange of letters between Alexander and Candace. With the ancient alliance between India and Egypt in mind, Alexander invites Candace to join him in a pilgrimage to the oracle of Ammon, a god they both honor. According to Curtius, the cult was maintained by matrons and maidens (4.7.24). Candace declines his invitation because of a prohibition of the oracle of Ammon. Instead, she bestows lavish presents on both Alexander and Ammon. However, Alexander still desires to meet her. When Candace learns of Alexander's intention to visit her, she has one of her followers secretly draw a picture of him so that she will be able to recognize him. As a windfall for Alexander, one of Candace's sons, Candaules, rides into the Macedonian camp escorted by only few horsemen. He is arrested and brought before Ptolemy Soter, a general of the army. Candaules thinks Ptolemy is Alexander and reveals his identity and explains the purpose of his enterprise. A short while ago, his wife had

been abducted by Amazonians in the service of a Bebrycian chieftain. Thus, he is underway to avenge the offense. Alexander immediately perceives how he can exploit Candaules' mistaken identity. Alexander instructs Ptolemy to wear his royal regalia. Alexander plays the part of Antigonus, a general who serves under Ptolemy. As Antigonus, Alexander advises Ptolemy to assist Candaules in his undertaking with armed men. Alexander believes he can win honor for his mother Olympias as well. As Antigonus, Alexander recommends a night attack upon the Bebrycians. Candaules marvels at the ingenious military strategy. Candaules regains his wife, and Alexander gets his opportunity to meet Candace secretly. Candaules invites the liberators of his wife to the royal city in order to receive their reward from the hand of Candace. Alexander is clever, but Candace outwits him. While Candace leads Alexander disguised as Antigonus through her splendid royal chambers, she calls him by his real name. The great warrior, Alexander, is defeated by a woman in a contest of wits. However, Candace promises to keep her victory a secret. Then, Alexander encounters another menacing complication. Candace's younger son, Choragus demands the life of the emissary, Antigonus, as reprisal for the murder of Porus, his father-and-law, at the hands of the Macedonians. The two brothers, Candaules and Choragus, call for weapons to resolve their quarrel about the treatment of Alexander disguised as Antigonus. Candaules considers only the good deed of the Macedonians whereas Choragus considers only the loss of a family member. Candace is startled by her sons' quarrel. Since she is unable to resolve their differences, she turns to Alexander for a solution. Alexander meets the challenge and confirms his reputation. Alexander disguised as Antigonus promises that he will get Alexander to appear before them to receive the gifts. Choragus is especially pleased with this plan since it will put Alexander into his vengeful hands. Both Choragus and Candaules praise the man they do not yet recognize for his brilliant solution to their quarrel. Candace realizes that Alexander has proven himself even craftier. She realizes that Alexander rules the world because of his intelligence as well as his military bravery. She wishes to bear him a son, for then she could rule the world. Secretly,

Candace bestows Alexander with the crown and all the trappings of kingship. Under escort from Candace's satraps, Alexander starts on his journey home. However, an even greater tribute awaits him. In the Temple of the Gods, the celestial deities recognize him as one of their own. Sesonchosis-Sesostris promises him immortality. Likewise, he is honored in Alexandria as the god, Serapis. With the crown from Candace and the promise of immortality from the gods of heavenly light, Alexander returns to his army and marches on to wage war against the Amazons. . . .

India and Central Asia

XCIII. We have now completed our analysis of the story of Candace. The story consists of various complementary components: historical facts, native African traditions, and primordial myths. All in all, Pseudo-Callisthenes' story of Candace and Alexander is more than a mere fable. In this light, we shall consider one other point about the story of Candace.

Tzetzes considers Candace a Meroitic queen. In contrast, Pseudo-Callisthenes regards Candace as an empress of India. Valerius, Malalas, Cedrenus, and Glycas follow suit with Pseudo-Callisthenes. In general, scholars today dispute that Alexander ever met Candace. Hence, they discredit the third part of Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Greek Alexander Romance: Life and Deeds of Alexander of Macedon* as mere fiction and fantasy. One could simply explain the appearance of Candace in India as yet another example of the literary practice among the ancients of utilizing distant lands as the stage for their incredible stories. However, Pseudo-Callisthenes presents another possibility that lends credibility to his work. Alexander reminds Queen Candace of a primordial affiliation between India and Meroe in their worship of Ammon. In this detail, Pseudo-Callisthenes corroborates a native African tradition. Furthermore, there is historical evidence of a link between India and Meroe. More important, there are numerous myths about Candace in both India and Meroe (Philostr., *V A* 6.6 and Phylarchus in Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 29). Thus, Candace may be called either a Meroitic or an Indian Queen. Even though Tzetzes considers Candace strictly Meroitic, Pseudo-Callisthenes considers her both. Pseudo-Callisthenes also diverges from such historians as Quintus Curtius (8.14.40) and Arrian (6.2) in his account of Porus, in which he and Alexander engage in man-to-man combat.

Nonetheless, Pseudo-Callisthenes' version that Alexander kills Porus in man-to-man combat has significant historical support. In "How to Write History" (12), Lucian names Aristobulus, Alexander's companion, as the author of this story (Cf. Arr., *Anab.* "Preface").

Besides all the above evidence, the gynecocratic environment in India explains the presence of Candace. The status of women in India was the same as in Central Asia, Africa, and Caria. Both Justin (12.7.9) and Quintus Curtius mention Queen Cleophis. Quintus Curtius tells of Beira, a city beyond the Choaspes River, well-fortified and defended by an army of 38,000 soldiers:

Nuper Assacano, cuius regnum fuerat, demortuo regioni urbique praeerat mater eius Cleophis . . . Qua impetrata, regina venit cum magno nobilium feminarum grege aureis pateris vina libantium, ipsa genibus regis parvo filio admoto non veniam modo, sed etiam pristinae fortunae impetravit decus: quippe appellata regina est. . .
[Assacenus had recently died, and his mother Cleophis ruled the city and the region . . . The queen came with a great train of noble ladies, who were making libations of wine from golden cups. Placing her little son at the king's knees, she obtained not only a pardon but also the splendor of her former fortune. Indeed, she was addressed as queen.] (8.10.22-23 and 34-35).

Diodorus Siculus reports ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις γενομένων τῶν ὄρκων, ἡ μὲν βασίλισσα τὴν μεγαλοφυχίαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου θαυμάσασα δῶρά τε κράτιστα ἐξέπεμψε καὶ πᾶν τὸ προστατόμενον ποιήσῃν ἐπηγγείλατο. [when the truce had been concluded on these terms, the queen, impressed by Alexander's magnanimity, sent him valuable gifts and promised to follow his orders in everything] (17.84.1). Though Diodorus Siculus does not specify which people and which queen in this context, it is apparent from the Greek table of contents that the city is Massaca. In corroboration, Arrian names the city Massaga, the capital of the Assaceni (Anab. 4.26.1). Arrian adds that Alexander took Assacenus' mother and daughter captive during the conquest (Anab. 4.27.4). There is no doubt that Diodorus Siculus means Cleophis as the queen who bestowed him with gifts. His account is consistent with those of other historical writers. In this context, we should consider the remarks of the Persian Orsines

just before Bagoas was about to slay him: *Non contentus supplicio insontis, spado ipse morituro manum iniecit. Quem Orsines intuens: 'Audieram', inquit, 'in Asia olim regnasse feminas; hoc vero novum est, regnare castratum* [I have heard that women once reigned in Asia; I am surprised however that a eunuch now rules] (Curt.10.1.37). In *Indica*, Arrian reports on Nearchus's trip to India: ὁ δὲ ἔσπλους (εἰς λιμένα ἐν Μοροντοβάροις) στεινός · τοῦτον τῇ γλώσση τῇ ἐπιχορή Γυναικῶν λιμένα ἐκάλουν, ὅτι γυνή τοῦ χώρου τούτου πρώτη ἐπῆρξεν. [And he sailed through the straights (to a harbor at Morontobara). It was called in the local language "Woman's Harbor" since a woman was the first sovereign of this area] (22.5). Likewise, Ammianus Marcellinus says an important city of the Gedrosians, a Persian people next to India, was called *Gynaecon limen* [Women's Port] (23.6.73)

There are several accounts about a rule of women among the Pandyan people, in particular about the rule of Pandaea, the Indian daughter of Heracles. In *Natural History*, Pliny writes: *ab his gens Pandae, sola Indorum regnata feminis. unam Herculi sexus eius genitam ferunt ob idque gratiorem, praecipuo regno donatam. ab ea deducentes originem imperitant CCC oppidis; peditum CL, elephantas D . . .* [The Pandae were the only people in India ruled by queens. Reputedly, Heracles had only one female child among the Pandae, and she was his favorite. Consequently, Hercules granted her an exceptionally large realm. Later queens in her lineage ruled over 300 towns, an army of 150,000 foot soldiers, and 500 elephants . . .] (6.76).

In *Indica*, Arrian quotes Megasthenes about the legend of Pandaea:

πολλῆσι γάρ δὴ γυναξιν ἐς γάμον ἐλθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἑρακλέα, θυγατέρα δὲ μουνογενέην. ὄνομα δὲ εἶναι τῇ παιδί Πανδαίην, καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἵνα τε ἐγενετο καὶ ἡστινος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῇ ἄρχειν Ἑρακλεῆς, Πανδαίην, τῆς παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον. καὶ ταύτη ἐλέφαντας μὲν γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς πεντακοσίους, ἵππον δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίην, πειζῶν δὲ ἐς τὰς τρεῖς καὶ δέκα μυριάδας.

[Heracles had many wives but only one daughter. Her name was Pandaea, and the country in which she was born was named Pandaea after her. Heracles made her the ruler of the country. He

gave her five hundred elephants, a cavalry of four thousand, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot soldiers.] (8.6-8)

ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, ἵνα ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἑπταέτεις ἐούσας ἐς ὥρην γάμου ἵέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα τὰ πλεῖστα βιώσκεσθαι. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου λεγόμενον λόγον εἶναι παρ' Ἰνδοῖσιν. Ἡρακλέα, ὀψιγόνου οἱ γενομένης τῆς παιδός, ἐπεὶ τε δὴ ἐγγὺς ἔμαθεν ἑαυτῷ ἐούσαν τὴν τελευταίην, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὄτω ἀνδρὶ ἐκδῶ τὴν παῖδα ἐωυτοῦ ἐπαξίῳ αὐτὸν μιγῆναι τῇ παιδί ἑπταέτει ἐούσῃ, ὡς γένος ἐξ οὗ τε κἀκείνης ὑπολείπεσθαι Ἰνδῶν βασιλέας. ποιῆσαι ὦν αὐτὴν Ἡρακλέα ὡραίην γάμου • καὶ ἐκ τούδε ἅπαν τὸ γένος τοῦτο, ὅτου ἡ Πανδαίη ἐπῆρξε, ταύτων τοῦτο γέρας ἔχειν παρὰ Ἡρακλέος

[In the country where Heracles' daughter was queen, the girls may marry when they are seven, and the men do not live longer than forty years. There is a story among the Indians that Heracles had his daughter late in his life. When he realized that his own death was near, he could find no man worthy of his daughter. Therefore, he had sex with her himself when she was seven so that their offspring might become the Indian kings. Thus, Heracles set a precedence with Pandaea and established a tradition of a marriageable age] (9.1-3).

Furthermore, these lines explain how a gynecocracy became the custom of the land. Pandaea was the source of regal authority.

Pandaea is a central figure in another event in the legend of Heracles. While at sea, Hercules discovered a new ornament for women — a pearl. He was so impressed with it that he collected pearls from all the seas, then brought the pearls to India as a present for his daughter. It is relevant to our discussion of a matriarchy that oysters form colonies and serve their queen like bees (Arr., *Indica* 8.8-11 and Philostr., *VA* 3.46). This story serves to ascertain the locality of the Pandaeon gynecocracy, viz. Taprobane and the southern point of the Deccan peninsula on the other side of Ceylon. Even today, the Indian Colchians fish for pearls in the Gulf of Manar.

According to Polyaeus' *Strategemata* (1.3.4):

Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Ἰνδικῇ θυγατέρα ἐποίησατο, ἣν ἐκάλεσε Πανδαίην. ταύτη νείμας μοῖραν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καθήκουσαν εἰς θάλασσαν, διένειμε τοὺς ἀρχομένους εἰς κώμας τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα πέντε, προστάξας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν μίαν κώμην

ἀναφέρειν τὸν βασιλείον φόρον ἵνα τοὺς ἤδη δόντας ἔχοι
συμμάχους ἢ βασιλεύουσα, καταπονοῦσα ἀεὶ τοὺς δοῦναι
ὀφείλοντας. [In India, Heracles fathered a daughter, whom he
named Pandaea. He granted her the southern part of India
extending down to the sea. He divided her subjects into 365
villages. Each day, one village would pay the royal tax. Those
villages that had paid were considered in league against those that
still owed].

According to Diodorus Siculus:

γῆμαντα δὲ πλείους γυναικας (τὸν Ἡρακλέα) υἱοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς
θυγατέρα δὲ μίαν γεννήσαι. καὶ τούτων ἐνηλίκων γενομένων
πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν διελόμενον εἰς ἴσας τοῖς τέκνοις μερίδας
ἅπαντας τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέας, μίαν δὲ θυγατέρα
θπέψαντα καὶ ταύτην βασίλισσαν ἀπαδεῖξαι. [He married several
wives and had many sons but only one daughter. When his sons
reached manhood, he divided India among his male children and
made them kings. Heracles raised his only daughter and made her a
queen] (2.39.2).

According to Solinus: *Pandaea gens a feminis regitur, cui reginam
primum assignant Herculis filiam. et Nysa urbs regioni isti datur.* [The Pandean
race was ruled by females; their first queen was the daughter of Hercules. The city
of Nysa is in this region.] (52.15).

According to Martianus Capella: *Pandaeam gentem feminae tenent.*
[Women rule the Pandean race] (6.695).

XCIV. We shall now turn our attention to the 100,000 couplets of
Mahabharata and *Ramayana*, epics depicting the battle between the Kurus and
the Pandus over the throne at Hastinapura (a city once located along the Ganges in
the vicinity of Delhi). Both clans came from the same forefather, Bharata, whose
children were called the Sun and the Moon (Chondro). The five Pandavas are the
children of Pandu and his wife, Kunti. Consistent with the practice of polyandry,
the Pandavas married the same woman, Draupadi, the daughter of Drupada, the
Raja of the Pāñchāla. Draupadi became the mother of the next generation of
Pandavas. Marrying Draupadi is the turning point in the destiny of the Pandavas
because their union with her makes the Pāñchāla their allies and tips the balance
of power in their favor in their battle against the Kurus. Draupadi's sons are

maternal in the sense that only the mother is known because there are five possible fathers. Nonetheless, the children of Draupadi are called Pandavas. Draupadi acquires the name Pandaea to signify that she is the wife of the Pandavas and the mother of their children. The identity of both names is obvious especially when they are compared with the form pandavja.

Through Draupadi, Heracles is also associated with Krishna, the champion of Pāñchāla. Both carry a club (Arr., *Anab.* 5.3.4). The Indian Heracles-Dosares had many wives and numerous sons. Most important, Krishna has the same name as Draupadi, “the black one.” Heracles’ dark complexion may explain why Arrian reports that the Indians considered him to be γηγενής [earthborn or aboriginal] and the father of Pandae (*Indica* 8.4 ff.). In general, Krishna appears in the light of a god. The Pandavas promoted and spread his cult as compensation for insuring their victory by involving the Pāñchāla in their battle against the Kurus. Once the Pandavas join forces with Krishna, the rule of the Kurus comes to an end. Pandaea probably came from the southern peninsula of India, where the kingdom of Pandya reflects her name (Wilson). There are several accounts of kings and princes from the royal Pandean family ruling even after Alexander. . .

XCVII. The story of Alexander’s involvement with Queen Candace during his campaign in India is conspicuously modeled after the alliance of Krishna with the Pandavas and the Pāñchāla in *Mahabharata*. Alexander was reputedly a descendant of Heracles and similar to him in character (Plut., *Alex.* 2.1 and *De Alex. fort.* 332a; Arr., *Anab.* 4.28.4). Alexander was identified with Krishna because he was the Indian counterpart to Heracles. The legend of Alexander manifests itself in two similar forms. In legend, Alexander was portrayed in the dual roles of the new Heracles and Krishna.

Candace was a royal mother in India. Alexander was a foreign conqueror. Their association enabled Alexander to integrate his authority with the indigenous population of India. In other words, Alexander acquired his legitimacy to rule the Indian people through Candace. With Candace as his consort, he could lay claim

to being a kinsman fighting mutual enemies. In *Mahabharata*, the Kurus challenge the Pandavas as well as their ally, Krishna. Similarly, Choragos [Candace's younger son] challenged Candaules [Candace's elder son] as well as his rescuer and ally, Alexander. Krishna was the friend and protector of the Pandavas, who achieved great fame on his account. Likewise, Candace and Candaules prevail because of their alliance with Alexander. In vain, the Kurus attempted to destroy the Pandavas. Likewise, Porus and Choragos failed to defeat Candaules and Alexander. We now have some insight into the names of the two hostile brothers. Candaules is connected with Kanda [Candace] as the Pandavas are with Pandaea. In contrast, Choragos entails the ancient name of Kurus. Candaules stood by his mother and joined Alexander. In opposition, Choragos was a member of a related family, which Alexander conquered. Thus, Choragos was hostile toward Alexander and his allies, Kande [Candace] and Candaules. This explains the role of Candaules and Choragos in the Indian-Ethiopian myth.

Both names, Candaules and Choragos, lead us to notable connections. Candaules is connected with the stem *kand* [lament]. The etymology of his name as the son of Kande [Candace] is obvious even from its pronunciation. Besides his lineage from his mother's side, Candaules was a member of the Assyrian royal house, reputedly the Lydian descendants of Heracles. Candaules was the last member of this dynasty. Candaules was overthrown by his own wife and her lover, Gyges, who established the Mermnad dynasty. According to Hesychius, Candaules is the very name of the Assyrian Heracles-Sandas (Κανδαύλας ἑρμῆς ἢ Ἡρακλῆς [Candaules is Hermes or Hercules] and Eust., *Il.* 4.2 or 437.12 Κανδάων [Candaules] Ares). The priestly kings of Lydia claimed their descent from Heracles (Eust., *Il.* 18.291 or 1144.15).

Even though Candaules is associated with Heracles, he is ultimately an agent of the female principle of Assyria, which is best embodied in the figure of Semiramis. As king of Assyria, Candaules wields the battle-ax of power, which Heracles had taken as a trophy of victory over the Amazon, Hippolyte. Heracles gave it to Queen Omphale, and she was the first to use it as a sign of power. All

her successors used the battle-ax as a sign of their authority. After Candaules was deposed, the battle-ax devolved to the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios or Labraundos in Caria. Gyges toppled the dynasty of the Assyrian descendants of Heracles and reinstated power to the native population. The three fraternal tribes, the Mysians, Lydians, and Carians, had equal share in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos. Once again, we encounter the Carians. Their sense of mother right evaded the problem that their male god, Zeus, got his battle-ax, *insigne imperii* [insignia of sovereignty] from the hand of a woman [Hippolyte] (Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 45 and Herodotus (1.171 and 5.119).

Choragos and Candaules were brothers at odds with each other. Likewise, the Kuru and Pandu clans were descendants of two hostile brothers, the sons of Chandra, the moon. Kuru is derivative of *Kor* and *Koros*, the names of Helios. For both the Indian and Pontic Colchians, Helios was the center figure of their nature worship. Along with Kore, Helios was worshipped as the father of Apollo at Sinope. Helios or Sol was a phallic deity serving natural procreation. In this respect, Sol was equivalent to Dionysus, who was often called σύνδρομος Μήνης [friend of Mene] (Nonnos, *Dion.* 44.218) and χοραγός ἄστρων [brightest star] (Soph., *Ant.* 1147) in his relationship to Luna. The similarity of Sol and Dionysus explains why the name Choragos is used to designate the Kurus clan rather than Koros or Kyros. The name Choragos accomplishes two things. First, Choragos sounds like Kuru and elicits an association with his divine essence as king of the night sky, which he acquired from his lunar mother, much as Phaethon is affiliated with Aphrodite and Urania. Second, the name Choragos is connected with Porus. Porus is not the name of an individual but a family name of an Indian people called the Pauravas, which in Sanskrit reads *Paurava* or *Paura*. At the time of the composition of the *Mahabharata*, an empire by the same name was located in the area where Porus later ruled. He was the most famous Indian king that Alexander encountered. In the story of Candace, Alexander and Porus reenact the victory of the Pandus over the Kurus. In the person of Porus, the ancient Kurus were defeated again by a second Krishna-Hercules. In this context, we

should interpret the man-to-man combat between Alexander and Porus and the death of the latter. Together, Choragos and Porus represent the Kurus. Porus was an actual historical figure fashioned as the embodiment of the Kurus. Choragos represents the epic aspect of the Kurus. All in all, Pseudo-Callisthenes' story of Candace is mainly a reiteration of the great Indian war epic depicted in the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Alexander takes on the role of a new Heracles, who conquers a powerful aboriginal Indian people. As the glory of Krishna and the Pandus eclipsed the Kurus, Alexander and his Macedonians became the new light of India. As Draupadi enabled the Pandavas to defeat the Kurus, Candace and her son, Candaules, aid Alexander in his battle against Porus. By defeating Porus, Alexander becomes the new conqueror of an established and powerful royal family and the founder of a new golden age of Pandaeon kings.

The *Pandaea gens* [Pandaeon people] and the Meroitic Candace both represented gynecocracies. Therefore, Candace is an apt character for a story set in India as well. The characters in the story of Candace are readily discernible as derived and delineated from the prototype of the peoples celebrated in *Mahabharata*. Furthermore, the Carians are connected with both Ethiopia and India. The tribes in all three countries were gynecocratic. The Carians lead us further to gynecocracies in Crete, Megara, and Messapii ("Hecataei," frg. 237, *FHG* 1.16). Like Kande, Caria apparently signifies the maternal earth. Thus, the Carians worshipped Demeter at Eleusis and Megara. According to Hesychius, Καρικόν [Caria] is called σχῆμα ἀφροδίσιον αἰσχρόν [shameful appearance of Aphrodite]. Suidas construes Καρίνη as derived from γυνή [woman]. These names Καρίνη and γυνή do not denote a specific woman but a generic woman paid to lament a deceased person before the burial. According to Hesychius, κἀνδη and γυνή are likewise synonymous. Both Καρία and κἀνδη mean the same thing, and they both designate the maternal aspect of earth and a woman. The terms also designate specific localities (Paus. 6.13.3). In contrast, masculine potency for insemination is termed κάρτης, which is Cretan for βόυς [bull] and Carian for ὀ τράγος [goat]

XCVIII. Ethiopian Candace has led us from the South Arabian kingdom of Saba to the Indian *Pandaea gens* [Pandaeans] in the southern corner of the Deccan Plain, then back again to the West via Caria and Pontus, the land of the Colchians and Medea. Connected by sea and land trade, these peoples were a part of a primordial culture and primeval civilization with a gynocracy as its foundation. A gynocracy was the outcome of the most ancient religious belief in the authority of motherhood. The feminine power of the earth and moon to conceive was privileged over the masculine power of water and sunlight to inseminate. The female childbearing womb was worshipped as the most immediate power rather than the more distant yet higher masculine power of creation. The story of Candace clarifies Alexander's relationship to the gynocratic life of Asia and Africa. He does not wish to antagonize female authority. He subordinated himself to the higher authority of motherhood. Thus, Alexander reinstated Ada and Cleopis to their thrones. Likewise, he honored the venerable feminine principle of the Persians by practicing the ancient obligatory duty of bestowing a gold coin upon a pregnant woman. Furthermore, Alexander treated Sisigambis as a *mater* [mother] and as a *regina* [queen] (Curt. 3.3.22, 3.12.17, 3.12.24, 5.2.20, and 5.3.12 ff.; Just., *Epit.* 13.1.5; Plut., *Alex.* 21.5 and 30.2; Plut., *De Alex. fort.* 328c: Πέρσας ἐπαίδευσεν σέβεσθαι μητέρας, ἀλλὰ μὴ γαμεῖν [Alexander taught the Persians to respect their mothers and thus not marry them]; Curt. 8.2.28: *mater eademque coniunx Sisimithres* [Sisimithres' mother was also his wife] Just., *Epit.* 11.9.12: *uxor eademque soror Darei* [Darius' wife was also his sister]; Arr., *Anab.* 2.11.9; Tert., *Ad nat.* 1.16;). Even as his prisoner, Alexander treated Sisigambis as if she were his own mother: *scio apud vos filio in conspectu matris nefas esse considerare, nisi cum illa permisit: quotiescunque ad te veni, donec ut considerem annueres, restiti. Procumbens venerari me saepe voluisti: inhibui, dulcissimae matri Olympiadi nomen debitum tibi reddo* [I know it is a crime in your country for a son to remain seated in the presence of his mother without permission. Thus, I have always stood until you have given me a

sign to sit. You have often wished to show me respect by prostrating yourself. I have not allowed it. I call you by the very title due to my dearly beloved mother, Olympias.] (Curt. 5.2.22). Alexander’s respect toward motherhood is apparent in his relationship with Olympias. He consistently yielded to her demands because a mother’s tears are irresistible. However, Alexander reputedly complained that Olympias demanded excessive “rent” for housing him in her womb for ten months (Arr., *Anab.* 7.12.6). In *Alexander* (69.1) and “*De mulierum virtutibus*” (5.246b), Plutarch explains the Persian tradition of offering a gold coin to pregnant women. According to “*De mulierum virtutibus*,” the tradition began as a reward for the courage of the Persian women. Cyrus made it a law that any king entering the city must pay the tribute. Alexander honored the tradition twice but gave pregnant women twice the amount. Obviously, his offering was an expression of a religious honor of motherhood. Justin provides an anecdote that explains the inception of this offering and religious gesture: *pulsa itaque cum Persarum acies paulatim cederet, matres et uxores eorum obviam occurrunt: orant, in proelium revertantur. cunctantibus sublata veste obscoena corporis ostendunt, rogantes, num in uteros matrum vel uxorum vellent refugere. hac repressi castigatione in proelium redeunt . . .* [The Persian line was under heavy attack. The soldiers were gradually giving ground. Then the mothers and wives ran to their men and begged them to return to battle. The mothers and wives lifted up their clothing and exposed their private parts to the hesitant soldiers. In this pose, they asked the soldiers whether they thought they could take refuge in the womb of a wife or mother. Shamed by this castigation, the men returned to battle]. (1.6.13). This story depicts behavior of women identical to the behavior of the Lycian matrons toward Bellerophon. The gift of a gold piece to matrons stems from the worship of the female κτείς [pudenda]. Plutarch calls the gold piece χρυσοῦν [gold coin]. Hesychius says κέρσα Ἰασηνῶν νόμισμα. - κόρσιον νόμισμα παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ κερσαῖον λεγόμενον [kersa, an Asian coin with depiction of water lily, called kersaion by the Egyptians]. We may assume that χρυσοῦν [gold coin] was the same as κέρσα [kersa]. According to Hesychius, ὁ

γάμος, κέρτα [marriage or kersa] was the Armenian designation of πόλις [community]. We can deduce that the notion of maternal fertility is expressed in the name, gold coin. This notion explains the practice of placing a gold piece on Aphrodite's lap and getting from her in return a *phallus propitii numinis signum* [A phallus is a sign of divine fortune]. Another similar practice is the *dotem quaerere corpore* [To seek a dowry with the body]. In Persia, offering a piece of gold to a woman represented remuneration for the fruit from her κτείς [pudenda]. This natural conception was shared by both the Persians and the Armenians in their worship of the highly venerable primordial mother, Anaitis (Anahita in Avestan writings and Anahit in Armenian). Hetaeristic rites were associated with her cult. Anaitis was the counterpart of Aphrodite Urania. Both goddesses epitomize life that integrates the conceptions of a chthonic and celestial earth (Strabo 12.559 and 11.532; Diod. Sic. 5.77.8; Plut., *Luc.* 24.4; Dio Cass. 36.11.1; and Ath. 14.636c). The venerable symbolic significance of the egg is derived from the homage to the capacity of women to conceive. Thus, the ancient Persian kings drank wine mixed with water out of golden vessels shaped like eggs. Even their cidaris [royal tiara] resembled an egg (Dino in Ath. 11.503 ff.; Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 47; and Bachofen, *Gräbersymbolik* 21). All tellurian creation, including the earth and the heaven, issued from the feminine primordial egg. The egg represents birth from the maternal womb, *uterus expositus* [exposed uterus]. The mother hen possesses the unmediated potency, not the inseminating cock. Likewise, the moon possesses supreme authority, not the sun. The egg shape of the cidaris signifies that the ancient Persian kings issued from their mothers rather than fathers. The Dioscuri and the Moliones are examples of men born from eggs in Greek mythology (Ath. 2.58a). The high status of feminine childbearing potency is evident in the 365 *pellices* [hetaeristic solar brides] of the Persian king, corresponding to the number of days in a year. They were divine women similar to the Pallades of Egypt and to the solar virgins of the Inca kings (Diod. Sic. 17.77.6; Curt. 3.3.24; and Ath. 13.556b). The material and maternal orientation of the ancient Persians is apparent in several other related cases. They worshipped

the earth and moon (Herodotus 1.131). The Persian king considered himself the brother of the sun and moon (Amm. Marc. 17.5.3 and 23.6.5). The dog was a holy animal (Herodotus 1.110, 122, and 140; and Just., *Epit.* 1.4.10). Birthdays were celebrated as the most important day, the so-called perfect day (Herodotus 1.133 and 9.110; Ath. 4.143). Persians were supposed to pray for all Persians as the children of one mother (Herodotus 1.132 and Aesch., *Pers.* 902-905). Persians practiced polygamy, and the children were separated from their fathers until they were five years old (Herodotus 1.135-36). Cyrus defeated Astyages in battle but spared his life because Astyages was the father of Cyrus' mother, Mundane (Herodotus 1.75, 91, 107, 109, and 130). Cambyses conducted a war against Egypt to avenge his mother (Ath. 13.560d-f). Persian women of rank would not work with wool because it was considered disgraceful (Curt. 5.2.19). Persian kings treated all their subjects as slaves except their wives (Plut., "*ad principem ineruditum*" 780c). A woman pleaded for the life of her brother over her husband because a brother cannot be replaced (Herodotus 3.119 and Soph. *Ant.* 908-915). Reputedly, the ancient Persians were descendants of Danaë and thus relatives of Argos, her father (Herodotus 7.61.150). As a symbolic and ceremonial act of occupying the throne, a new king would have intercourse with the royal women (Herodotus 3.68-69 and 5.19-20). The Jewish kings had a similar practice (2 Sam. 16.21-23, 1 Kings 2.13-25, and Herodotus 4.78). The Persians practiced the castration of boys (Herodotus 6.32 and Plut., "*De Herodoti malignitate*" 13.857c). Women served as priestesses of the sun and moon (Just., *Epit.* 10.2.4; and Plut., *Artax.* 1 and 3). Even in the presence of a king, the childbearing mother upholds her superior religious majesty. Within this context, we can appreciate and understand Alexander's treatment of Sisigambis (Tzetz., *Chil.* 7.357 ff.) as well as Atossas' role in Aeschylus' *Persians* (151, 155-58, 613-22, and 832).

XCIX. Alexander's confrontation with the Amazons has been the subject of many writers (Curt. 6.4.17 and 5.24; Just. 12.3.5; Diod. Sic. 17.77.1; Plut., *Alex.* 46; Strabo 11.505; Pseudo-Callisthenes 3.25-26; Julius Valerius 3.69-76).

However, there are only three distinct versions. In *Anabasis of Alexander*, Arrian narrates how Pharasmanes, the king of the Chorasmians, came to Alexander with 15,000 riders. Pharasmanes said his people shared borders with the Colchians and the Amazons. He offered his assistance to Alexander should he want to wage war against the peoples in the region of the Euxine Sea. Pharasmanes promised to serve as a guide and provide supplies for the combined army. Alexander entered into a friendship with Pharasmanes but declined the offer to march into Pontus until he had completely subdued India. Thus, Alexander returned to the Oxus River to battle the rebellious Sogdianians (4.15.4-7).

Arrian mentions the Amazons again in conjunction with Alexander's journey to Ecbatana when he saw the meadow where the royal mares were pastured. The meadow was called the Nesaeon and the horses were named after it according to Herodotus (7.40; cf. Diod. Sic. 17.110.6 and Strabo 11.525). Originally, there were about 150,000 mares. However, Alexander found no more than 50,000 because most of them had been stolen by robbers. Here, the satrap of Media, Atropates, gave Alexander a hundred Amazonian women dressed like cavalry soldiers. However, they carried small shields and axes instead of spears. Reputedly, their right breasts were smaller than their left ones and exposed during battle (7.13.1-2).

The encounter between Thalestria/Minithyia [queen of the Amazons] and Alexander is the most famous of the three accounts. Accompanied by three hundred Amazons, Thalestria/Minithyia came to Alexander and remained with him for thirteen days in order to become impregnated by him. With inconsistent locations, Justin, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Strabo, Arrian, and Plutarch have all written of Thalestria/Minithyia (Cf. Jord., *Get.* 7.8.9; Amm. Marc. 22.8.17 ff.; Aesch., *PV.* 415 ff.; Pind., *Ol.* 8.47.63 and *Nem.* 3.38.65; Stat., *Achil.* 2.86; Pl., *Leg.* 7.804e; Herodotus 4.110-17; and Diod. Sic. 2.45). Plutarch and Arrian represent the prevailing opinion among the ancients about the encounter between Thalestria/Minithyia and Alexander. In *Alexander*, Plutarch relates:

Many historians including Cleitarachus, Polycleitus, Onesicritus, Antigene, and Ister write that the queen of the Amazons came to visit Alexander. In contrast, other historians including Aristobulus, Chares, ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς [the royal usher], Ptolemy, Anticleides, Philo the Theban, Philip of Theangela, Hecataeus of Eretria, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris of Samos say this story is fabricated. Alexander seems to confirm the latter view. In a detailed letter to Antipater, Alexander says that the Scythian king offered him his daughter in marriage (Cf. Arr., *Anab.* 4.15.2), but he does not mention the Amazonian queen. Many years afterwards, Onesicritus read the fourth book of his history with this tale of the Amazon to Lysimachus, who was then king. Lysimachus gently smiled and said: “And where was I at the time?” (46)

In *Anabasis of Alexander*, Arrian concurs that the story is fictional:

Neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy nor any other reliable source has confirmed this story. Furthermore, I do not think that the race of Amazons existed at that time or even before Alexander. Otherwise, Xenophon would have mentioned the Amazons as he does the Phasians and Colchians and other barbarian races that the Greeks encountered at Trapezus. Here they would certainly have encountered Amazons if they had really existed. I do not find it credible that such a race of women ever existed (cf. Strabo 11.504) even though they have been mentioned by many writers. Another version of the story is how Heracles was sent to fight them. As a sign of his victory, he brought back the girdle of Hippolyte, the queen. Yet another version is about how the Athenians with Theseus defeated the Amazons in battle and stopped them from invading Europe. . . If the story is true that Atropates presented Alexander with women riders on horses, I think they were women from some other barbarian tribe dressed like Amazons and trained in riding. (7.13.3-6)

Concerning the alleged meeting between Thalestria and Alexander, Strabo remarks:

Though there are several accounts of a meeting, it is generally discounted. Indeed, most historians do not even mention any such event. However, the accounts of Thalestria and Alexander are at least consistent. Cleitarchus says that Thalestria set out from the Caspian Gates and Thermodon and visited Alexander. The distance from the Caspian country to Thermodon is more than six thousand stadia. (11.5.4)

These anecdotes suggest that the legend of Alexander and the Amazons was current among his contemporaries. In other words, the context of these events actually existed in inner Asia if not the legend itself. Most likely, Tomyris, Zarina, and Sparethra were actual historical figures. Arrian does not reject the tale of Atropates and her escort of women on horseback. Modern scholars such as Sainte-Croix have provided new evidence in support of the legend (*Alexander the Great* 337). . .

C. Various reports from Chinese historians corroborate the existence of Amazonian nations in the countries bordering India. According to Heinrich Julius Klaproth (*Magasin Asiatique* 230-35), Chinese historians from the period of the Sui and Tang dynasties assert:

Le pays des femmes oriental s'appèle Sou fa la niu ko tchu lo. Il est habité par une tribu des Khiang ou Tibétains. Sur les bords de la mer occidentale (Caspienne), il y a également des femmes qui gouvernent en roi; c'est pour distinguer le premier de ces pays qu'on l'appèle pays des femmes oriental. A l'est il est limitrophe avec les Thou fan, Thang hiang et la ville de Meou tcheou, dans le Szu tchhouan; à l'ouest, il confine avec San po ho, au nord avec Yu thian ou Khotan, au sud-est il a les tribus de Lo niu man de Ya tcheou, et à la frontière de la province Chinoise des Szu tchhouan, celles de barbares Pe lang. De l'orient à l'occident il a neuf journées de route, et du sud au nord il en a vingt. On y compte dix-neuf villes. C'est une femme qui la gouverne. Elle réside sur un rocher escarpé près des rives du Khang yan tchhouan. De quatre côtés cette contrée est entourée par le cours du Jo chouï, ou l'eau faible... On y compte 40,000 familles et 10,000 hommes de troupes d'élite. Le titre honorifique de la reine est Pin tsieou (celle qui va au devant); les mandarins s'appellent Kao pa li, ce qui veut dire ministre. Les mandarins de l'extérieure sont tous hommes et portent le titre de Ho. Les mandarins féminins, de l'intérieur, transmettent les ordres aux premiers qui les exécutent. La reine est entourée de quelques centaines de femmes. Tous les cinq jours, elle tient son lit de justice. A sa mort, on distribue plusieurs milliers de pièces d'or entre les parents. On choisit alors une belle femme que l'on élève à la dignité royale. Il y a aussi une petite reine, qui est destinée à succéder à la véritable, lorsque celle ci décède. A la mort d'une femme, sa bru hérite. Dans ce pays, on n'entend jamais parler ni de vols ni de rapines; les maisons y sont toutes à plusieurs étages; le palais de la reine en a neuf, et les

habitations de ses sujets en ont six. La reine porte des jupes et une tunique d'une étoffe verdâtre brochée en laine, et une robe longue de la même couleur et dont les manches traînent à terre. En hiver elle met une pelisse de peau de mouton, dont les parements sont richement brodés; elle noue ses cheveux au haut de la tête, porte des pendants d'oreilles et des brodequins lacés. Dans ce pays, on fait peut de cas des hommes; les femmes seules y sont estimées; de sorte que les hommes adoptent le nom de famille de leur mère. Le pays est froid; il produit du froment, et les habitants élèvent des chevaux et des moutons; on y trouve de l'or. Les moeurs et les usages sont les mêmes que dans l'Inde. L'onzième lune est le temps des grandes cérémonies magiques; à la dixième, les habitants vont dans les montagnes pour y offrir des étoffes, de la lie de vin et du froment; ils appellent alors les oiseaux qui volent en troupes; si ceux-ci arrivent tout à coup comme des poules, les habitants jugent que l'année sera fertile en grains; mais si les oiseaux ne viennent, cela indique une mauvaise récolte. Ils nomment cela la divination par les oiseaux. Sous la dynastie des Soui, en 586, après Jésus-Christ, il vint une ambassade de ce pays, qui apporta le tribut. Sous les Thang, entre 618 et 626, la reine appelée Thang phang en envoya une semblable. Vers 638, il en arriva une autre à l'empereur Thaï thsoun, qui accorda à la reine sceau et la dignité de Wei fou. Vers 657, un ambassadeur nommé Kao pa li wen et San lou, fils de la reine, furent présentés à la cour. Le dernier fut fait commandant de la garde d'une des portes du palais. La reine Lian pi envoya demander un titre honorifique pour elle. L'impératrice Wuo heou lui confia celui de général de l'extérieur de gauche du fort de Ya Khian wei. Elle fut gratifiée d'une robe richement brodée. En 690, et entre 713 et 741, la reine et son fils vinrent en personne à la cour; elle reçut, de même que son mari, des titres honorifiques. Après cette époque, il y a aussi eu des rois qui ont régné dans ce pays. En 793, le roi (ou la reine) Thang ly sie et le prince de Pe keou se soumirent, et leur pays, qui était au sud de Kian tcheou, dans le Szu tchouan, fut enclavé dans les limites de l'empire. Mais ceux-ci paraissent avoir été des chefs des hordes Tibétaines, ou les débris orientaux de l'ancien royaume des femmes.

Les auteurs chinois parlent encore du royaume des femmes occidental. Ils le placent à l'ouest des monts Thsoun ling, et disent que les moeurs et les usages y étaient les mêmes que dans celui de l'est. Ils ajoutent qu'il n'était habité que par des femmes; qu'il produisait des choses précieuses, et qu'il faisait partie du Fou lin, ou de l'empire Romain, dont le prince, quand il était avancé en âge, ordonnait à un de ses fils de partir pour épouser la reine. Si de

cette union il naissait un fils, il ne succédait pas à sa mère. Ce pays n'a pas envoyé d'ambassade en Chine avant 634. (pp. 230-35)

[On the shores of the Caspian Sea, women rule as monarchs. The Oriental counterpart is called Sou fa la niu ko tchu lo. This so-called Oriental land of women is inhabited by a tribe of Zang or Tibetans. On the east, the Oriental land of women borders on Tufan, Tangxiang, and the city of Mouzhou in Sichuan; in the west, it borders on Sanbaihe; in the north, it borders on Yutian or Khotan. The tribes of Lo Niu Man of Yazhou are in the southeast. The barbarian tribes of Pe Lang inhabit the border of the Chinese province of Sichuan. It takes nine days to cross the Oriental land of women from east to west and twenty days from north to south. There are nineteen cities in this country, which is governed by a woman. She lives on a steep rock near the shores of Kangyanchuan. This region is surrounded on four sides by the stream Ruoshui or weak water.... It consists of forty thousand families and ten thousand select male warriors. The honorary title of the queen is *Pin tsieou* (the one that goes in the front). The mandarins are called *Gaobali*, which stands for minister or statesman. The mandarins of the exterior are all men and carry the title of *Hou*. The mandarins of the interior are female, and they convey orders to the male mandarins for execution. The queen is surrounded by several hundred women. She holds her throne for life. Upon her death, thousands of gold coins are distributed among her kinsmen. They choose a beautiful woman and raise her to royal status. There is also a little queen who is destined to succeed the actual one when she dies. When a woman dies, her daughter-in-law becomes her heir. In this country, there is neither robbery nor plunder. All the houses there have multiple floors. The queen's palace has nine stories, and the dwellings of her subjects have six. The queen wears a skirt and a tunic of greenish brocaded fabric made of wool and a long robe of the same color with sleeves trailing on the ground. In the winter she wears a richly embroidered lambskin coat. She ties her hair above her head and wears earrings and laced ankle boots. In this country, men are unimportant and only women are respected. Thus, men get their family names from their mothers.

The country is cold; it produces wheat, and the inhabitants raise horses and sheep; there is also some gold. The mores and customs are the same as in India. The eleventh month is the time of great magical ceremonies; during the tenth month the inhabitants travel to the mountains to make offerings of their goods of yarn, wine, and wheat. They call upon the birds that are flying in flocks. If the birds respond like chickens, the inhabitants conclude that the year will be fertile in grains. If the birds do not come, it is an omen

of a bad harvest. The people call this divination through birds. During the Sui dynasty in 586 AD, the embassy of this country came to pay their tribute. During the Tang dynasty, between 618 and 626, the queen named Tang Pang sent a similar embassy. Around 638, another embassy appeared before the emperor, Taizong, who bestowed the seal and title of Weifu upon the queen. Around 657, an ambassador named Gaobali Wen and San Lu, son of the queen, were presented to the court. The latter was made commander of the guard of one of the gates at the palace. The queen, Lian Bi sent them to request an honorary title for herself. The empress, Wuhou conferred upon her the title of the general of the exterior to the left of the fort of Ya Khian Wei. In return she was presented with a richly embroidered robe. In 690 and between 713 and 741, the queen and her son went in person to the court; both she and her husband received honorary titles. After that period, there were also kings that ruled that country. In 793, the king (or queen) Tang Lixie and prince Pe Keou surrendered, and their country, which was to the south of Kian Tcheou, in Sichuan, was incorporated into the empire. But they appear to have been leaders of the Tibetan hordes, or the eastern remnants of the ancient kingdom of women.

Chinese writers also mention the Western kingdom of women. They place it to the west of the Zangling Mountains and say that the mores and customs there were the same as in the Eastern kingdom of women. add that it was inhabited only by women. It produced precious goods, and it was a part of Fu Lin, or the Roman Empire, where the prince, advancing in age, ordered one of his sons to go and marry their queen. If that union produced a son, he did not succeed his mother to the throne. Before 634 this country had not sent an embassy to China.]

These reports distinguish between two domains ruled by women: the Occidental or Western and the Oriental or Eastern. The accounts of both are different in character. The accounts of Amazons in the West are less definite. Nonetheless, the repute of an Amazonian nation in the Near Eastern countries from the Caspian to the Black Sea was disseminated all the way to China. The accounts of Amazons in the Eastern realm have much more credibility because they are derived from close association and trade between China and the queens of these dominions. The Chinese offer accounts of historical events, emissaries, and tributes. Around 800 AD, the Amazonian domains were incorporated into the Heavenly Empire. The Chinese reports about Amazons are much more historical

than the Western ones. In any case, they closely match the accounts of the ancients about gynecocratic nations in the Western world. The culture of the Amazons in East Asia was strikingly similar to those in other places. They established permanent settlements. They founded cities and practiced agriculture. In this regard, the Asian Amazons were like the martial Amazons of the Near East.

In the Greek tradition, Amazons are credited with establishing numerous important cities, e.g. Sinope and Memphis in Egypt. Furthermore, in Southern Italy there was a city established by women and ruled for a long time by queens with the name Clete. In the Eastern Amazonian domains, queens had control over judicial authority. Women rulers promoted peace, avoided violence, and punished theft. The gynecocratic countries of the West, viz. the Lycians, Cretans, and Locrians, shared the same values of εὐνομία, σωφροσύνη, εἰρήνη [order, moderation, and peace], which underlie the character of nations ruled by woman. These values go hand in hand with the nature of motherhood. The principles of motherhood, viz. serenity, peace and reconciliation, oppose the independence and tendency toward violence of men. In other words, women integrated their virtues into the societies that they founded and ruled. Earlier culture is based on the sanctity of motherhood.

As with jurisprudence, religion is primarily a responsibility of women, who are the disseminators of δεισιδαιμονία [reverence for the gods] and ἔυσέβεια [piousness]. Magical ceremonies involving the moon were a common practice at this stage of female religion and gynecocracy. As a consequence, the maternal name was used for the family. The Asian domain under a rule of woman was strikingly similar to Lycian culture, established by Bellerophon. In both cases, mother right was the initial great step toward a higher form of civilization. The gynecocracy in Lycia was a reformation of Amazonianism restricted to the family as it was in India. Likewise in China, it was a recent development that political authority was conveyed from queens to kings. The stages of cultural development are now evident from our investigation. First, there is martial, aggressive,

Amazonianism, which practices hetaerism and scorns marriage. The next and higher stage involves the institution of marriage, development of cities, and the practice of agriculture. The mother rules at the head of the state and family. She is the source of strict customs and of the general regulation of life. The final stage evolves much later when women relinquish power to men in the affairs of the state. The evolution of society begins with Amazons who exclude men. It ends with men in charge. Figuratively, an army with only women evolves into one including men. As described above, Amazons lead an army of 10,000 male warriors. Initially, the queen is surrounded by women. Female attendants communicate the queen's commands to the male ministers. The queen is honored with the title of commander in chief. Initially, women were skilled in weaponry and riding. In particular, the Amazons are associated with horse breeding. Under a female-oriented law of inheritance, daughters were the immediate successors. Males were excluded from inheritance. Daughters-in-law followed daughters as heirs. The concept of γεννητική [generative female] was certainly enhanced by including daughters-in-law.

Asian documents mention three domains ruled by women: one is in the south of the Deccan Plain; another is in the area of Bactria; and a third is in Tibet in northern India. From the Deccan Plain comes the account of Cleophis and her attendant matrons, who pour wine offerings into golden goblets. From Bactria comes the account of Alexander's encounter with the Amazon queen, Minithyia-Thalestria. (Thalestria contains *stri* [woman or bearer of children] from Strîradjya, like Amastria.) From India comes the account of the encounter between Alexander and Candace, the Meroitic-Indian queen. Even though the account about Candace was written later than the other two, it deserves a place among them as historical evidence of gynecocratic cultures disseminated throughout Central Asia. Most of all, these three accounts show us what Alexander's contemporaries thought about the conditions of the lands he conquered. Two aspects in the reports about Alexander are especially significant. On the one hand, Alexander embraced the maternal principle of the lands he conquered. On the

other hand, the indigenous queens were overawed by the glorious presence of Alexander as a Heracleian hero. They voluntarily paid homage and tribute to his youthful and sublime body and mind. Thalestria was won over by Alexander's manly courage. Candace recognized Alexander's superior intelligence as a man. In this regard, Xenophon states that ἐνθα δὴ καὶ δῆλον γεγένηται ὅτι τὸ ἄρρεν φύλον καὶ εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστι τῆς τῶν θηλειῶν φύσεως [As a gender, the male is more prudent than the female] (*Lac.* 3-4). As queen of the Caucasian tribes, Thalestria represents the crude conception of the mountain people. Candace represents the more refined culture of India. Thus, Thalestria admired Alexander's body, whereas Candace respected his mind. For his part, Alexander spared whatever gynecocratic idea he encountered and conquered in the Asian world. His relationship to Ada and Cleophis as well as his treatment of the royal mother of Darius are only an extension of the respect he showed to his mother, Olympias. In the story of Candace and Alexander, the majesty of motherhood and the superior spiritual eminence of a man are treated equally. Thus, this story is significant. The legends of Alexander deserve the same regard as the historical accounts. History shows us factual events. Legends reveal the thought and perspectives of the people, both the conquerors and the conquered. Only legends reveal the deep impression left on the minds of the people of two worlds, who watched the glorious young hero quickly conquer Asia.

If we compare Alexander with heroes of prehistoric times who fought and defeated ancient gynecocracy, we come upon a surprising event in the historical development of mankind. The founders of Hellenic civilization, Achilles, Theseus, and Heracles, initiated the concept of men's rights. Their accomplishment is most clearly expressed in the serenity and purity of Apollo. Alexander was unable to elevate paternity to such a level in the cultures of the East. Alexander claimed to be a descendant of Heracles. However, Alexander acted more like female-oriented Dionysus in Asia. Even if we denigrate the reports of the ancients about Alexander's Bacchic triumphal march through Asia as fiction, these accounts still possess intrinsic truth and significance. The

religious stage underlying the Macedonian culture is a more ancient and material one than the religious stage ultimately reached by Apollo. The Macedonian culture was mainly tied to the Samothracian system, in which motherhood was primary, as was the case in all mystery cults. Both Alexander's parents, Olympias and Philip, were associated with the Samothracian system. Alexander was unable to go above the Samothracian level to the Pelasgian and the Hellenic-Delphic culmination because his contact with the sensuous-material East and the Indian-Egyptian culture undermined his advancement. Alexander's presence and heroic career lacked sufficient masculine spirit and hence the highest glory. Nonetheless, the story of Candace suggests Alexander's ability to dazzle and win over women rulers the East. The Greeks pursued the legacy of Heracles and Theseus and raised the paternal principle to its highest level. The successors of Alexander were unable to go beyond Alexander's achievements because of the impediment of Asian sensuality and materialism. According to Pseudo-Callisthenes, in the throes of death Alexander lamented that all the conquered lands of Asia and India failed to appreciate his magnificent spirit and ἄνω πρόνοια [higher providence]. This literary incident bespeaks historical truth. Rather than abandoning the maternal principle to advance toward Apollonian paternity, the kingdoms emerging after Alexander's conquest sank deeper and deeper back into feminine substantiality. Rather than Apollo of Delphi, the first Ptolemy selected the Sinopic-Hyperborean Koros-Apollo of Indian origin as the central religious figure of his new Egyptian kingdom. In the royal house of Ptolemy, Dionysus quickly expelled Heracles, the *archegetes* of the male line. In the Alexandrian priesthood, only Alexander was considered a *caelebs* [single or unmarried man] whereas his successors were all placed in feminine company as a sign that motherhood was often ranked above paternity. In the royal family of Ptolemy, the Dionysian phallic cult exhibited its splendor and imposed its power over women. Along the banks of the Nile, the ancient status of motherhood reappeared in the figures of Isis with Koros-Sarapis, whose influence extended into the West. According to legend, Achilles continued his battle against the Amazons and ultimately defeated them on the island of

Leucas. Figuratively, this story makes sense and bespeaks the truth, especially when applied to the destiny of the Macedonian empire. The Greeks completed Achilles' conquest of maternal cultures. Similarly, Alexander pointed the way to a higher existence after conquering Asia. However, the Diadochi were unable to follow in his tracks. The second battle against the Amazons after Alexander's death was never fought and the fruits of his victory were spoiled.

Orchomenus and the Minyans

CI. The legend of Candace indicates the significance of the Dionysian cult in defining relationships between the sexes and the development of a woman's life. We must now examine more closely the relationship of women to Bacchic religion. Our research is broad, and it reveals an abundance of most remarkable phenomena. Our understanding of culture in the later parts of this work will be contingent upon a proper view of Dionysian motherhood. The Bacchic cult was the most influential force in the formation of ancient culture especially in the development of the feminine spirit. The most sublime and basest religious elements, so much a part of a woman's soul, are manifested together in the Bacchic cult more so than in any other cult. Despite an abundance of information about the Bacchic cult, there is little understanding of it. So little intellectual progress has been made in this area because investigators have ignored the profound influence of the Bacchic cult over women. Thus, I will examine various accounts depicting this relationship. I will analyze traditional myths, categorize them, and proceed from specific cases to a general pattern in order to provide insight into one of the most important, profound, and momentous transformations of human existence.

A prime example is the myth about the doom of the Orchomenian Ολεῖαι [murderesses]. The three daughters of Minyas offend Bacchus by not participating in his rites. Thus, he severely punishes them (*Ov., Met.* 4.1 ff. and 389 ff.). According to Plutarch, Bacchus drives the sisters mad so that they crave human flesh. They cast lots for which of their own children they should eat. The lot falls upon Leucippe to offer her son Hippasus for the feast. The sisters tear him to pieces and devour him (*Quaest. Graec.* 38). Finally, Hermes touches the sisters

with his caduceus and transforms them into a crow, bat, and night owl (Ael., *VH* 3.42). In particular, Antoninus Liberalis (10) points out that the transition to the Bacchic orgy occurs when Bacchus discards his guise of a girl and appears to the Ολεῖαι transformed into a bull, a lion (Cf. Hor., *Carm.* 2.19.23), then a leopard (Cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 24.342, 36.295, and 44.17 ff.). The looms of the sisters flow with nectar and milk. Bulls, lions, and leopards are common representations of Bacchus on works of art (De Witte, *Cabinet Durand* Nos. 121, 648, 1903, and 1910). Plutarch adds that the descendants of the Ολεῖαι were still among the Orchomenians during his lifetime. The word Ολεῖαι means “horrible, bloodthirsty women” as a reminder of how Leucippe tore her own son Hippasus apart and devoured him. The designation of men as Ψολόεις [dirty ones] stems from the dirty clothes that the men of Orchomenus wore in mourning for the slaughter of their children. During the festival of Agrionia in Orchomenus, a Dionysian priest practiced atonement for the slaughter of the children. With a sword in hand, the priest pursued women descended from the Ολεῖαι and killed those he caught. Plutarch witnessed the priest Zoilus perform the blood sacrifice. When Zoilus died from infected boils and misfortune befell the city of Orchomenus, the priesthood was taken away from his family and transferred to the worthiest person through election (*Quaest. Graec.* 38 and Müller, *Orchomenos* 161-62).

Three distinct periods and conditions are involved in the myth of the Ολεῖαι: 1) time before the dissemination of Bacchic worship; 2) time after the introduction of Bacchic worship; and 3) time after the abolition of ancient blood sacrifice. Most important for our study is the transition from the first to the second stage. Here we witness two religious and two cultural conditions in conflict with each other. As the first stage declines, the second stage comes into power. The only traces of this transition are found in the race of the Ολεῖαι. In my view, the Ολεῖαι were remnants of the ancient inhabitants of Orchomenus, and the prominent people among the many peoples there. Thus, it follows that whatever is said about the Ολεῖαι pertains to the experience of the entire aboriginal Minyan population. The characteristics of the pre-Bacchic period are evident. The Aeolian

people are named after the three sisters, whose names are Amazonian appellations. Leucippe, Orsippe, their mother Hermippe (*Schol. Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 1.230 ff.), the son Hippasus, as well as Menippe indicate a religious as well as a military connection with the horse, which is characteristic of the Amazons. According to Antoninus Liberalis, Menippe was one of two virgins worshipped at Orchomenus and ἄς ἄχρι νῦν Αἰολεῖς προσαγορεύουσι Κορωνίδας παρθένους [called the Coronid Maidens by the people of Aeolia] (25). The legendary role of the horse among the Amazons is recounted by Hyginus: *Semiramis in Babylonia equo amisso in pyram se coniecit* [Semiramis in Babylon threw herself onto the pyre when she lost her horse] (*Fab.* 243). Apollonius Rhodius claims that the Amazons sacrificed horses to Ares (*Argon.* 2.1175-79). Likewise, Valerius Flaccus traces a tradition of maidens presenting horses to the Amazons (*Argon.* 5.124). According to Apollonius Rhodius, the Amazons were divided into three tribes and spread out across the land: ἀνὰ γαῖαν κεκρυμέναι κατὰ φύλα διάτριχα ναιετάασκον (*Argon.* 2.996 ff.). Consistent with Corinna (frg. 665), the Boeotian poetess, Antoninus Liberalis therefore calls the three sisters κόραι, maidens, even though they have children. This designation as “maidens” suggests the practice of hetaerism in Amazonianism. For example, Semiramis was unwilling to marry, so she picked out the most handsome soldiers from her army for sex (Diod. Sic. 2.13.4). In a Babylonian statue, Semiramis is depicted like an Amazonian warrior, leaving half of her hair loose on her head as she rushed to storm Babylon (Val. Max. 9.3 ext. 4).

When the Minyans [Argonauts] landed on the island of Lemnos, it was devoid of men. They became progenitors of a people likewise called Minyans when they mated with the women there. This story depicts the cultural expansion of the Orchomenian Minyans. The descendants of these Lemnian women are called *illustris ibi sanguinis feminae* [famous because of bloodstained women] (Cf. Val. Max. 4.6. ext. 3; Pind., *Pyth.* 4.47; Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 1.609 and 4.1730 ff.; and *Orphic Argon.* 474 ff.). Likewise, the descendants of Euphemus are traced back to their Lemnian mothers (*Schol. Pind., Pyth.* 4.35). When the descendants

of the Minyans [Argonauts] leave Lemnos, they explain to the Lacedaemonians that κατὰ ζήτησιν τῶν πατέρων [they are in search of their fathers] (Herodotus 4.145 and *Schol. Pind.. Pyth.* 4.88). Similarly, the Dioscuri as *Ledae notha proles* [illegitimate offspring of Leda] are worshipped as major deities, especially those of the swamps (Val. Max. 1.8.1). Consistent with mother right, the Dioscuri are enemies of Orestes and Apollo, who defend the paternal principle (Eur., *El.* 1238-87, *Or.* 554-56, and *IA* 827). Mother right degenerated into Amazonianism, which became the predominant culture for most of the ancient Minyans. However, there is no etymological connection between the name Ολεῖαι and cruelty or bloodthirsty nature even though αἶα [earth] and γαῖα [earth] are related to Αἰολος [Aeolus] and Αἰολεῖς [Aeolis]. Actually, these words are a reminder of the Amazonian savagery, which is entailed in *Oiorpata*, the Scythian word for Amazons. *Oiorpata* means “killers of men,” derived from οἶορ [man] and πατά [to kill] (Herodotus 4.110). Likewise, the epithet ἀνδροφόνος means “man killer” (Eust., *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes* p. 122 no. 8).

CV. Even though Jason and the Argonauts subdue Amazonianism and hetaerism through the law of marriage, Medea is a more powerful figure than Jason in many respects. Medea enables Jason to accomplish his three trials for the Golden Fleece. She possesses the magic to subdue the bulls and the fire-breathing dragon (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 3.626). She tricks her brother Apsyrtus so that Jason can kill him and afford the Argonauts an opportunity to escape from the Colchians (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 4.242 ff.). She knows how to kill Talos, the Cretan man made of bronze. Not Jason, but Medea tricks and kills Pelias (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 3.1135 ff.). Not Jason, but Medea appeals to Arete, the revered wife of Alcinous, to protect her and the Argonauts from the Colchians. Arete intervenes by arranging a hasty marriage between Medea and Jason. Alcinous respects the marriage and offers his protection. When the Argonauts depart the island of the Phaeacians, Arete gives Medea twelve handmaidens. On the island of Anaphe, these handmaidens tease the Argonauts during their sacrifice to Apollo (Ap.

Rhod., *Argon.* 4.1010 ff.; *Orphic Argon.* 1307 ff.; Apollod. 1.9.25-26; and Tzet., *Lycoph.* 175 and 818). Like a mother, Medea guides Jason, as Arete does Alcinous. In the same vein, three Libyan desert goddesses reveal to Jason how the Argonauts may escape from the desert and return home. The Argonauts' good fortune in Libya is a reward for their deferential submission to Hera and her maternal authority throughout their journey. The Argonauts decipher the oracle of the desert goddesses that they must bear their mother as she bore them in her belly. Thus, they carry the *Argo* as an idol of their mother on their shoulders across the desert. (Cf. Iulius Valerius 3.12: *laevis humeris deos gestamus* [we carry idols on the left shoulder] and Val. Max. 1.1.11: *manibus umerisque sacra gerens* [bearing the cult objects in his arms and on his shoulders])

In Cyrene [founded by Battus, a descendant of Euphemus], women enjoyed unusual independence, as did Lesbian and Epizephyrian women, who were likewise members of the Aeolian race. In Corinth, Medea was considered a queen with authority to determine succession to the throne (Paus. 2.3.10-11; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* 8.47; and Diod. Sic. 4.45.2). Medea is enraged with Jason and Creon's daughter because they violate her rights as a married woman (Eur., *Med.* 591-97). Jason and Medea exemplify the institution of marriage with the mother at its center. Furthermore, their relationship demonstrates a religious practice of marriage that replaces the preceding Amazonian gynecocracy. Jason captivates Medea with his majestic presence. Thus, she dissociates herself forever from Amazonianism. Medea is an exalted figure because of her practice of religious ritual, knowledge of the mysteries, and her intimate relationship to the gods. Jason would have perished without Medea's magical powers. At every turn, he depends upon her guidance and revelations. Even Juno relies on the virgin Medea to save Jason: *mens omnis in una virgine* (Valerius Flaccus 6.439-40).

What is the origin of marital law established by Jason? It comes from the Orphic-Apollonian cult, which is central to the voyage of the Argonauts. According to every source, Orpheus is the intermediary between the Argonauts and the Apollonian cult. As a disciple of Apollo, Orpheus is the supreme lyre

player and father of song: ἐξ Απόλλωνος δὲ φορμικτὰς ἀοιδῶν πατὴρ ἔμολεν, εὐαίμητο Ὀρφεύς. (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.176). Other classical sources corroborate Orpheus as the prophet of Apollo (Hyg., *Poet. astr.* 2.7. and *Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 4.313a). In this role, Orpheus taught Jason the Apollonian law of marriage. Furthermore, the entire voyage of the Argonauts is dedicated to Apollo (Pind., *Pyth.* 4.154). Consequently, the Argonauts establish shrines dedicated to Apollo in his various functions. Along their journey, the Argonauts are treated hospitably by various peoples because of their common association with Apollo: Lycus and the Mariandyni (*Orphic Argon.* 718 ff.; Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.753 ff.; and *Scholia Ap. Rhod.* 2.711); the Hyperborean Sinope (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.946); the Thessalian-Apollonian Cyrene (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.500 ff.); Anaphe (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 4.1717 ff.); and Delos (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 1.308).

The most significant appearance of Apollo is on the island of Thynias when he emerges from the womb of mother night to vanquish the darkness as the god of dawn (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.686-700). However, Apollo of the Dawn embodies the lowest level of the principle of light still under the control of motherhood. The highest level of the principle of light is a paternity that renounces any connection with womanly substance. In the myth of the Argonauts, Jason and Heracles represent these two levels respectively. Heracles is one of the Argonauts, but he towers above them all. Symbolically in this regard, the maternal *Argo* announces that οὐ δύνασθαι τούτου τὸ βᾶρος φέρειν τὴν ναῦν [the ship could not bear such weight]. Apollodorus (1.9.19) summarizes various versions of Heracles among the Argonauts (Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.41). Underlying these accounts is the notion that Jason aspires to Heracles' higher spirituality, but he attains it only partially. As Eos is the first sign and messenger of the rising sun, Jason is a preparatory figure of a higher spirituality. Eos is merely the commencement, not the completion of the reign of light (*Orphic Argon.* 344; Apul., *Met.* 11.5: *qui nascentis dei Solis* [of the sun god in his birth]). Heracles' superior purity presents itself in his relationship with Hylas. Like Zeus with Ganymede (*Orphic Argon.* 227-30 and Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 3.117), Heracles found

his pleasure in the beauty of the innocent boy. Whereas the Minyans consummate marriages with Lemnian women, including Jason with Hypsipyle, Heracles remains onboard the ship and urges the reluctant men to continue their great expedition. Heracles' objective is neither sexual intercourse nor marriage. According to most sources, he does not participate in the theft of the Golden Fleece or in Medea's abduction. The Heracleian stage of light is higher than the Apollonian-Jasonian stage represented by Ἰήϊος a cry from the Corycian nymphs when Apollo slew the Python. (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.702 and 712; Plut., "E at Delphi" 393c; Hom., *Il.* 15.365; and Eust., *Il.* 4.474 and 15.365). Ultimately, the Hellenes rose to the level of light, but the Aeolian tribes did not. In this sense of liberation, the myth rings true that Heracles was subservient to an Amazon, Omphale, until he completed his tasks (Apollod. 1.9.19). It is clear that such cults as Apollo-Ἰήϊος and Egyptian Memnon express an exceptional veneration of motherhood. If the son is greater than the woman who gives him birth, his glory shines over the darkness of night. Nonetheless, he recognizes that he is a child of darkness and that he bears the nocturnal nature in himself like Hemera, who is called νυκτερινή [nocturnal woman]. The scepter is passed on to the son out of the hand of the mother. The mother is the source of the highest honor. Here again we see that marriage law and the relationship of the sexes are derived from religion. The Apollonian cult requires submission to the law of marriage. Thus, it serves as the impetus behind the extermination of Amazonianism and of hetaerism. A cult of light overcomes the aberrations and bleakness of tellurism as represented by the emergence of a male god out of the darkness. The male god conquers the darkness and ennoble the people who devote themselves to him. Apollo-Ἰήϊος offers hope absent in a purely chthonic mother cult. With the ascendance of light born from the womb of dark primeval material, the human race rises above a life doomed to death. Belief in eternal life and salvation transcends the fact of death. Death is associated with maternal substance whereas eternal life and salvation issue from the light of a male god. Not Jason but Medea kills Pelias. Likewise, Medea is responsible for the deaths of Apsyrtus, Talos, Perses, Glauce, and her

own children, Pheres and Mermerus. Medea is the likeness of Hecate, and she is the sister of Circe. In contrast, Jason is a redeeming hero of light, as his name suggests (Pind., *Pyth.* 4.428; Paus. 2.3.10 ff.; and Diod. Sic. 4.40-47).

The significance of a male god emerging out of the night is especially evident in mystery cults. Because of an association with Orpheus, the Jasonian-Apollonian service to light was always considered an occult doctrine. When the Argonauts make it to Samothrace, they follow Orpheus' counsel and become initiated into the mysteries of Cabiri (Diod. Sic. 3.65.6, 4.43.1, 4.48.6 ff., 4.49.1, 5.49.6, and 5.48.4; Iambl., *VP* 28.145 and 151; and Ath. 10.428). Allegedly, Orpheus innovated many of the rites. Under the influence of Orphism, the mysteries of a chthonic religion become more hopeful once the mother is paired with her great radiant son. In chthonic-maternal rites, only the female principle is present. For example, in the Eleusinian mysteries, only a daughter was involved. Indeed, it was taboo even to mention male power (Serv., *Aen.* 4.58). In Samothrace, only the procreative power contained in dark Plutonic nature was acknowledged. In the Orphic-Apollonian cult, the male deity representing the principle of light emerges as a figure of a higher hope. The ascent of a male deity meant the decline of dark tellurian motherhood, of Mater Deum [Mother of the Gods], which had been worshipped exclusively before (Diod. Sic. 3.55.8 ff). Conceptions of life and salvation represented in fatherhood and light prevailed over the concepts of doom, gloom, and mourning represented in motherhood. In order to understand the connection of Jason and the voyage of the Argonauts to Orphism, we must understand the role of the mysteries in the Apollonian cult. The higher Apollonian religious thought underlies all the various accounts of the voyage of the Argonauts. The voyage of the Argonauts is so intrinsically connected with Orphic-Apollonian mysticism that ancient heathen religions made use of the story to revive and support their most fundamental beliefs. In any case, the *Orphic Argonautica* is a later work, later even than the works by Musaeus collected by Onomacritus. Furthermore, Christendom exploited the mysticism in the *Orphic Argonautica* as a defense against the threat of Semitism. In this

conflict, Christendom defended its beliefs by returning to its origins, namely the Orphic-Apollonian mystery rites. In this respect, the *Orphic Argonautica* served Christendom as a reminder of the religious character of the voyage of the Argonauts and its original connection with the dissemination of the Orphic-Apollonian mystery rites. The *Orphic Argonautica* is not a literary epic but a religious document consistent with the Christian mystical tradition. Nonetheless, the *Orphic Argonautica* adheres precisely to the major elements of the original story. Furthermore, the mystical aspects of the *Orphic Argonautica* do not read like embellishments but rather as a comprehensive version of the ancient poem. The various descriptions of the *Argo's* passage through the Symplegades [Clashing Rocks] provide a perfect example (*Orphic Argon.* 683 ff.; Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.317 ff. and 549 ff.; Apollod., *Bibl.* 1.9.22; and Pind., *Pyth.* 4.370 ff.). Mystical religious thought is inseparable from this part of the myth, and it is as old as the story itself. The *Orphic Argonautica* expands and emphasizes mystical religious ideas. Even if we think that the *Orphic Argonautica* is more recent than the other versions (Jacobs 5.519 ff.), we must nonetheless discount the tacit conclusion that Orphism is an addition to the story. The prevailing school of thought about antiquity attributes the higher mystical aspects of religion in the *Orphic Argonautica* to false prophets and literary counterfeiters, specifically Onomacritus and the Pythagorean Orphics. In this vein, the prevailing school of thought has written off Orpheus' participation in the voyage of the Argonauts as a modification or a fake. Even though the ancient mythographers made Orpheus a major figure, current scholars ignore him completely. Nonetheless, Orphic-Apollonian religious thought underlies the entire legend as an expression of a battle against an earlier cultural stage, viz. a confrontation with dark tellurism and its attendant suffering and degeneration. Orphic-Apollonian religious thought shapes the story as well as the individual characters. Thus, we may conclude that the *Orphic Argonautica* belongs to the same period as the Minyan epic cycle. Orphism makes the venture of the Argonauts a majestic religious deed. In this context, Jason and the ancient noble families of the Aeolian-Minyan tribes

become the bearers and disseminators of the Orphic-Apollonian religion of light. This religious movement involved the peoples of Greece from Thessaly to Elis and Messenia. The source of this higher doctrine of salvation was Thrace, where death was treated as an event of liberation and thus celebrated. In comparison to the Apollonian concepts in the myth, Orpheus and Jason as personalities are superfluous. The myth is about a religion of light vanquishing ancient maternal tellurism. As represented in the rise of illustrious Apollo-Ήλιος, the religion of light celebrates the magnificence of the male god overwhelming chthonic night. The religion of light establishes a new foundation of life for everyone, especially for women who yearn for liberation from the bonds of hetaerism and Amazonianism. Joyfully, Chiron, the wisest of the centaurs, accepts Orpheus' higher wisdom and falls silent in his presence. It is Chiron who bestows upon Jason his name, which means "healer" (*Orphic Argon.* 409 ff.; Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 1.553; and Pind., *Pyth.* 4.180 ff.). The Argonauts liberate Phineus from the torment of the Harpies. In this vein, Heracles breaks the chains binding Hesione (Diod. Sic. 4.42.3 and 49.3).

All of these instances illustrate the victory over the ancient order and the dawn of a new one. The transition from the old to new order is represented in the voyage of the Argonauts. In the *Orphic Argonautica*, the historical conflict between tellurism and the Apollonian principle of light functions as an expression of the doctrine of the mysteries. The myth of the Argonauts is a record of the upheaval of the Greek people resulting in a new cultural stage. Likewise, the myth serves as a prototype for the doctrine of salvation and hope for the individual expressed in the mysteries as the passage from darkness to light and from the tellurian to the uranian. Furthermore, the myth of the Argonauts explains the change in the role and position of women. The legendary relationship between Medea and Jason reflects the historical transition of womanhood from the hetaeric-chthonic to the Apollonian-marital. Furthermore, Jason and Medea exemplify a major law of the Orphic-Apollonian mysteries, viz. that the only salvation for women from Amazonian misandry and wild propagation is strict

preservation of monogamy in marriage. In short, the events of the myth serve symbolically for the religious doctrine of the mysteries. Medea rises far above Jason, and she is treated with evident sympathy especially at the end of the *Argonautica*. Medea represents the maternal principle held in high esteem in all mysteries, especially the Orphic-Apollonian. As Jason's mentor, as medium of the mysteries, and as mediator between man and god, Medea is the model for Lesbian, Epizephyrian, and Pythagorean women, whose roles are likewise religious and rooted in the Orphic-Apollonian mysteries. Here history and religion go hand-in-hand. Women have contributed the most to the downfall of ancient tellurism. Because of Medea, Jason triumphs and overthrows Pelias. Women are first to desire a better existence. They celebrate Apollo-Ιήϊος as the god of hope and savior of mankind. The mother remains the protectress of the mysteries because of her receptive mind. She imparts her knowledge to man. In the following sections of this work, we will encounter several other examples of maternal-religious gynecocracies serving as the foundation of ancient societies.

CVI. The encounter between the Minyans and Colchians of Phasis is of particular interest in regard to the religious significance of the voyage of the Argonauts. Two religions confronted each other at the east end of the Pontus. In one camp were the Minyans standing for the Orphic-Apollonian mysteries with their strict law of marriage. In the other camp were the Colchians standing for the Indian-Ethiopian Koros-Helios with their hetaerism and Amazonian lifestyle for women. Previously, we demonstrated how the Indian, Ethiopian, and Colchian sun cults served in the establishment of their respective monarchies. The ancients considered the Indians, Ethiopians, and Colchians to be of the same lineage. Their kings were regarded as sons of Koros-Helios, a phallic-procreating sun god. Consistent with this conception, the ruler had an immortal father and a mortal mother. The mother was called Candace, an esteemed name. In the case of the king, the concept of an exclusive marriage of his parents was meaningless. Thus, the queens of Pallades [Egyptian kings] are esteemed as mothers, not as wives.

Hetaerism is a natural component of the Koros-Helios cult. In Heliopolis, city of the Indian Phoenix, a noble virgin devoted herself to the needs of the sun god. Only mother right explains such a relationship. Furthermore, Amazonian austerity and abnormal female behavior arose in opposition to the hubris of men (*Schol. Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 2.963; and *Ath.* 12.515e-516 c). We find traits of both mother right and Amazonianism in the Colchian royal house. Sol appears as *summus sator* [supreme creator], not as an earthly father (Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* 1.505 and Tzetz., *Lycoph.* 174). As Heliades [children of the sun], the children have no tangible mortal father but only a real mother. Thus, the children identify themselves through their maternal lineage (Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* 5.266 and *Schol. Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 4.223 and 2.373). Aeëtes is cast in the role of an inseminating Helios. Accordingly, Apsyrtus is cast in the role of Phaethon (*Schol. Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 3.1236 and 4.223; *Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 4.595 ff.). Hetaeric insemination thrives most profusely by combining the power of water with the heat of the sun's rays. Hetaeric insemination involving water and sun is exemplified in Apsyrtus as a Phaethon character. Likewise, hetaerian insemination involving water and sun is exemplified in Cadmus' dragon's teeth (*Schol. Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 3.1177-87e) and in the name, *Circe meretrix* [Circe the harlot] (*Serv., Aen.* 7.19 and 12.164). In opposition to hetaerism, Medea took up the role of an Amazon. She associated with Artemis (*Orphic Argon.* 905 and 986; and *Diod. Sic.* 4.51.1) and practiced the radical austerity of the moon goddess. Furthermore, Medea consorted with Hecate, from whom she acquired gloomy notions of death so prominent in Amazonianism. Thus, the Amazons served as guardians of graves. Medea is the most prominent case of a woman destined to the wretched service of Helios-Koros. Medea seeks liberation from her servitude, and she has no qualms about defying the horrible power of the god. In this context, we should understand why Aeëtes feared treachery only from his daughters (*Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 4.10), and why Medea shares her sorrow in departing only with her mother (*Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 4.30 ff.). Medea directs her hatred against violent men: Apsyrtus, Talos, Pelias, Perses, and Jason when he

violates the law of marriage. Women desire a better life than either hetaerism or Amazonianism. For this reason, Atalanta wanted to join the Argonauts. For this reason, Medea defects to Jason. For this reason, she avenges the violation of her marriage bed.

The Indian-Colchian life is the antithesis of the Minyan Orphic-Apollonian principle. The former manifests the corruption of the Orient and the latter, the discipline and order of the Occident. In particular, Apollo befriended pious Hyperboreans. The entire circle of people devoted to hetaerism in Asia, Africa, and Europe form one group. The Phoenicians are the most important people in this group because their influence extended into Thebes founded by Cadmus, into lands of the Eridanus and the Heliades, into Corinth, into Circaeum of Italy, and into affluent Sybaris. Assyrians, Etruscans, Eleans, Medes, Persians, and all the Aryan tribes practiced hetaerism (Diod. Sic. 4.48, 55.1, and 56.6; *Schol. Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 2.946-54abc; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* 6.221-25; Paus. 2.3.8 ff.; Apollod. 1.9.28; Apul., *Met.* 11.5.; and Tzetz., *Lycoph.* 175). On the other hand, the Achaean and Aeolian tribes from the north served Apollonian mystery cults. The Argonauts foreshadow the battle between the Hellenes and the Assyrian Trojans. Both are manifestations of the conflict between the institution of marriage and Asian hetaerism. Furthermore, the voyage of the Argonauts involves the first fall of Troy and liberation of Hesione (Diod. Sic. 4.42.2). In this context, Medea becomes the wife of Achilles (Tzetz., *Lycoph.* 174, 798, and 1314). Every aspect of Greek history, religion, and culture is in conflict against the sensuality of the Orient.

However, the story of the Argonauts suggests that the higher principles of the Greeks did not succeed in Asia. The new and purer morality prevailed only in Greece and among the peoples of the West. In this sense, the Golden Fleece is symbolically removed from Asia and Jason defeats Apsyrtus. Ironically, Jason succumbs to the Aphrodisian-Phoenician influence of Corinth. Likewise, the legend of Phrixus illustrates that a higher and purer cultural stage was not able to develop in Asia. Phrixus escaped to Colchis upon a golden ram. He married

Chalciope, a daughter of Aeëtes. However, Phrixus was murdered and his children vainly attempted to return to Orchomenus (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.1095 ff.). A higher and purer morality found fertile ground for growth only in Greece. Thus, the Danaids escaped to Argos from Egypt (Tzetz., *Lycoph.* 798, 174, and 1318), and Medea fled to Athens after she had been betrayed in Corinth (Apollod. 1.9.28; and Diod. Sic. 4.55.4 ff.). In this vein, Heracles serves women in Lydia, whereas the Minyans continue their journey on to Colchis without his support. In the area of the Thermodon River and the Caucasus Mountains, the Amazonian women resist the Minyans, whereas the Arcadian Atalanta and Palaemon, the swamp man, voluntarily join them.

In all of these instances, we see the profound antithesis between the principles of Oriental hetaerism and Occidental matrimony, between Helios-Koros and Hyperborean Apollo. The conflict between these principles underlies the voyage of the Argonauts, in particular the hostile encounter between Apollonian Jason and Colchian Aeëtes. Asian and Greek peoples met and discovered their differences at the eastern end of the Black Sea. The story of the Argonauts condenses the historical dealings and conflicts of two peoples into a single grand adventure. Even though the story of the Argonauts contributed significantly to the dissemination of Orphic-Apollonian beliefs, it also prompted the Indian-Colchian religion to return to its Thracian origins. Dionysus emerged as a fusion of Orphic-Apollonian and Indian-Colchian religions. He appropriated the role of Apollo-Ιήϊος and in time he became the figure who reconciled the Orient with the Occident. The influence of the Indian phallic deity of light extended into Arabia and Ethiopia as well as into the Black Sea area, Colchis, and Sinope. Bacchic myths clearly show the influence of the Indian phallic deity of light in the formation of the Thracian-Hyperborean cult and in the transformation from Apollonian to Dionysian Orphism. Even though Orpheus rejected the wild Amazonian orgies of the Thracian women because of his dedication to the Apollonian cult, he was unable to resist the refined aspects of the Asian god. Dionysus replaced Apollo. The masculine principle of the sun was elevated even

more in the figure of Dionysus. In addition, Dionysus enriched the mysteries with his sensuous and sexual phallic potency. Dionysus assimilated everything that was once Apollonian. Orpheus was originally a prophet of Apollo. Hyginus claims Orpheus was a devotee of Apollo. However, Orpheus ultimately joined the cult of Dionysus. The Apollonian mysteries became Dionysian mysteries, and Orphic mysticism became synonymous with Dionysian mysticism.

Thus, in the story of the Argonauts, the followers of Dionysus are mixed in with the followers of Apollo. According to Apollodorus (1.9.16), two of Dionysus' sons, Phanus and Staphylus, were among the Argonauts. Pindar describes Jason as clothed with a panther skin to protect him from rain (*Pyth.* 4.143). Likewise, Apollonius Rhodius describes Jason's garments as Bacchic in motif and style (1.721-29). The infant Dionysus was raised by Ino, the Minyan Mater Matuta. The *Argo* passes by the Paphlagonian Callichoros River, which is associated with Dionysus and his cult (*Schol. Ap. Rhod., Argon.* 2.904 and Valerius Flaccus. 5.75). Jason's Lemnian lover, Hypsipyle, is the daughter of Thoas, who is a son of Dionysus. As a result of this assimilation of the character of Dionysus into the *Argonautica*, Apollonius Rhodius equates Medea with Ariadne. The mythographer Dionysius Scytobrachion connects Dionysus with the Argonauts and the Amazons (Diod. Sic. 3.66.5 ff.). In general, the *Orphic Argonautica* integrates the ancient legends about Dionysus and his role in the voyage of the Argonauts. In this work, Dionysus surpasses Apollo. Orpheus serves as the high priest of Dionysus. The Orphic-Dionysian mysteries are presented as the exclusive vehicle of ancient mysticism. The Jasonian-Apollonian law of marriage becomes the Dionysian law of marriage. Both the conquest of the Amazons and the battle against hetaerism are attributed to Dionysus. The religious gynocracy of the mother based on the mysteries becomes Dionysian. One of the most notable events in ancient religious history is the transformation of the Thracian Apollo-Ιήιος into Dionysus as a more refined and sensual figure of light. Even though many scholars have noted this transformation, no one has yet explained its significance. Apparently, this transformation was the counteraction

of the Indian-Colchian worship of Helios to the purer, less sensual nature of Apollo-Ίήιος. Even though the Thracian Apollo-Ίήιος defeated the hetaeric lifestyle of the Asian peoples, it could not evade the influence of the potent Sol-Aeëtes. Even though Jason is depicted as the clear morning light (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 1.724 ff.), he is outshone by Aeëtes, the highest manifestation of solar nature representing Helios-Koros (Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 3.1225-45). Thus, the twelve maidens of the sun burst into laughter when the Argonauts honor Apollo by pouring water on hot coals on the island of Anaphe. Thus, the masculine essence of light developed even more grandeur under the influence of the sensual Asian worship of the sun. Out of Asia, Dionysus came to the Greeks to complete the work initiated by the Thracian Apollo-Ίήιος. The transformation of Apollo into Dionysus accounts for the success of Orphic doctrine.

The encounter of Jason and Medea results in a most curious dual development. On the one hand, the pure Apollonian principle confronts the hetaeric worship of Helios among the Colchians and prevails over it; on the other hand, the Apollonian is transformed into the Dionysian conception of light, which ultimately conquers ancient tellurism and Amazonianism because it is a more potent manifestation of masculinity. In Colchis, Jason appears to Medea as an Apollonian hero. However, Apollo does not reveal himself to the Minyan Αἰολεῖαι [Aeolian women]. Instead, the Argonauts experience the all-conquering power of the sensuous and glorious Dionysus. This paradox indicates that Apollonian-Orphism laid the foundation for the transformation of culture ultimately achieved by Dionysian-Orphism. The Minyans bring Jason-Apollo to the Colchians, and they return with Dionysus-Apollo. All three stages of cultural development are apparent in the Minyan legend. Purely maternal tellurism yields to the Thracian-Apollonian form of life, which likewise yields to the Dionysian rule of light. The voyage of the Argonauts represents the progress from the first stage of cultural development to the second stage. The myth of the Orchomenian Κόραι [maidens] represents the triumph of the third stage. It is now a simple matter to gain a deeper understanding of the Orchomenian culture. Now that we

have established the relationship between Dionysus and Apollo of Thrace, we may understand how Dionysus developed into the highest Delphian principle of light.

CIX. The irresistible magic of the Bacchic cult over women is a prominent feature in the story of the Aeolian women. We are now in a position to appreciate and explain the intrinsic reasons for this phenomenon. Primarily, Dionysus is a god for women because he fulfills all the needs of female nature. The youthful and beautiful Dionysus promotes the interests of women. He supplants Amazonianism and wild hetaeric sexual relationships with the law and exclusive practice of marriage. As τελεσσίγαμος [consecrating a marriage] (Nonnus, *Dion.* 16.340 and 48.724), as collaborator with Hymenaeus, as Liber Pater paired with Libera, as model of the ἱερὸς γάμος [sacred marriage], Dionysus offers women a source of lasting peace consistent with their nature (see Hesychius Διονύσου γάμος [marriage of Dionysus]). Hetaeric copulation with the dragon of the dark recesses of the psyche leads to continuous suffering and deceptions. In contrast, marriage offers the joy of eternal unity and ecstasy in the realm of light. This psychological myth became a Bacchic conception because it portrays so well the essence of Dionysus (Bachofen, *Gräbersymbolik* 93). In many vase paintings, the two levels of female existence are depicted in figures, one above the other. The lower figures represent impure hetaeric tellurism. The upper figures represent the higher uranian existence of the eternal unification with a loved one. The earthly is below and heavenly Aphrodite is above. Impure Eros is placed at the slimy bottom, whereas the uranian above stirs the woman's spirit and reveals the secret of salvation. Below is a flickering oil lamp whereas above is a bright light requiring no fire. Below is Helen, yielding to her Aphrodisiac drives leading to endless suffering and error. Above is the luminous lunar island of bliss. Observing the laws of Dionysus promises women this higher existence. People should pursue a higher psychological life in which their senses are in harmony with each other.

For women, Dionysus serves as the source of their worldly welfare as well as the god who shows them a glimpse of a future existence. A mother who fulfills the Dionysian law of marriage in life achieves an eternal union with Dionysus in death. As a bride of Dionysus in a uranian existence, a mother finds the continuation and consummation of her earthly motherhood. Dionysus offers Ariadne's crown to every mother, symbolic of a glorious eternal life in heaven after her body has been interred in the grave. Every mother may enjoy Psyche's ecstasy and Helen's bliss on the island of Leuce. Thus, women are frequently depicted on funeral urns and terracottas as brides adorned with flowers. Spirits endow these brides with perfect beauty in preparation for union with the heavenly lord. In death, Dionysian women realize the full development of their female magical charms. Thus, Achilles and Perseus fall in love with Amazons dying in their arms. Here and beyond, the well-being of a woman depends on a single law. Motherhood becomes the vehicle and point of departure of a higher existence afforded by Dionysus. The institution of marriage makes Dionysus the savior of women, their Σωτήρ (savior), their Λυαίος (deliverer) and Ελευθέριος (liberator). Thus, Dionysus becomes the chief god of women. Dionysus fulfills both the sensual and suprasensual desires of women. He becomes their savior for both their physical and psychological needs. He awakens the feeling of Penia in women and offers himself as Pluto. His main function is to fecundate both body and spirit. Dionysus fulfills every aspect of the female emotional life in this world and the heavens. Dionysus makes their spiritual life consistent with their sensual life. He ennoble the sensuous by connecting it with the suprasensuous. Thus, both honey and nectar flow symbolically from his mouth. He makes motherhood the substance and source of female perfection and the ultimate goal of female aspiration.

No god is more compatible with the nature of women than Dionysus. Therefore, women were irresistibly enraptured by him. He elevated the orgy and won fervent devotees and disciples. The μανία [mania] of the Bacchantes is rooted in the depths of the female emotional life. The orgy involves the mighty powers

of religious and sensual longings. Together, the religious and erotic incite a fanatic rage and reeling ecstasy, whereby the majestic god seems to appear. Euripides depicts the Bacchantes in this fashion as do many works of art (Callistratus, *Descriptions*, “On the Statue of a Bacchante”). In awe, the Bacchantes rush through the mountaintops, seeking their god, who strides along above the heights (φιλοσκοπέλος [loving rocks] Nonnus, *Dion.* 16.186 and 21.316; Verg., *Aen.* 4.302 ff. and 3.125 *bacchatamque iugis Naxum* [Naxos with its Bacchic revels on the heights]; *G.* 2.487 *virginibus bacchata Lacaenis Taygeta* [Taygetus, where the Spartan maidens hold Bacchic rites]). The maidens find pleasure in the quivering flesh of a dismembered kid goat. The horror of death does not even spare young life. Even though women are physically weaker than men, they have the capacity for higher expressions of emotion as demonstrated by the fervor of their orgies resulting from the commingling of religion and sensuousness. Because women have an inclination for the supernatural, Dionysus is able to capture the female soul through his mysteries. Dionysus’ sensuous and dazzling appearance stimulates the imagination of women and transforms their sensations of love. Under the protection of religion, women’s love shatters all obstacles.

Despite these observations of Dionysian women and their practices, it is still impossible to explain completely the idiosyncrasies of their life. Nonetheless, we should not discount the reality of their life and lose our insights into the depth and intricacy of human existence in various times, countries, and religions by assuming these accounts are merely fictitious and poetic. In southern lands, people have deeper passions. Here the warmth and abundance of nature entices mortal men and women to devote themselves to sensual pleasure. Thus, their religion does not oppress sensuousness but makes it the foundation. The religion does not acknowledge an absolute distinction between this world and the one beyond. Finally, our experiences as well as our imaginations may not suffice to explain how the deplorable conditions of women drove them to seek a more blessed life and thus develop rituals of salvation. The dissemination of

Amazonianism and of the Bacchic cult through martial women has its counterpart in the early stage of Islam. After women are victorious, their initial rage and fanaticism dies down. Then the omnipotent influence of religion replaces weapons and physical force. Religion enabled women of the ancient world to liberate themselves from oppression and to establish a new gynecocracy. Women gain more power and influence once they combine their sensuous-erotic power with religion, especially in times of political-national dissolution.

CX. Even though the Dionysian cult replaced Amazonianism with marriage and motherhood as the highest religious principle and elevated human society, it undermined itself by making sexual practices the means of salvation for women. Even though the original, uncorrupted notion underlying Bacchic worship was to place restrictions on sensual life and to institute an immaculate matronhood, the adoration of the phallus promoted the development of sexual life and endowed even its excesses with religious sanction. The initial restraints on female nature were completely removed in the devotion to Dionysus as the youthful master and embodiment of inexhaustible masculinity in nature. Thus, female existence in general and female religious worship in particular turned ever more material and sensual. The cult of Dionysus became the source of sensual intoxication as well as religious worship. Women who devoted themselves to the god of male potency as their savior become servants of sensual stimuli as the name “Dionysian women” suggests. The etymology of “Dionysian women” is less significant than its usage and interpretation among classical writers (Livy 39.12.4.; Ov., *Fast.* 6.503; *Scholia in Iuvenalem Vetustiora* 2.3; and August., *De civ. D.* 4.11 and 16 *de stimulis, quibus ad nimium actum homo impellitur* [of the stings which drives man to extremes]. As a stimulus, a Bacchic woman is a seductive, lascivious Aphrodite. A Bacchic woman captivates a man in the fashion of Peitho-Suadela [Persuasion]. She is an Eve-Pandora, a portent from the immortals of the fate allotted to the human race. She is an Ariadne, whose love affair with Dionysus is so erotic that even when it was performed as a pantomime

for the guests of Callias, they rushed into the arms of their wives for love-making (Xen., *Symp.* 9.2 ff.). She is a καλὸν κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο [beautiful evil as price for the blessing] (Hes., *Theog.* 585), always intent on provoking procreation and on fulfilling the wishes of the phallic god. As servants of Dionysus, women made themselves objects of sexual arousal and thus employed all their inventive talents to enhance their natural beauty through art. Their entire objective was to stimulate lust in men (as Helen did even with old men) and to prepare themselves to receive the youthful, beautiful god. Women wear jewelry in order to arouse men. An example is the Campanian matron, who boasted of her jewelry to the mother [Cornelia] of the Gracchi (Val. Max. 4 praef.). These are all examples of the inherent erotic nature of the Dionysian female lifestyle. In contrast, consider the account of Salomon's perfect Semitic wife (Prov. 31). In general, Jewish monotheism distinguishes itself from the Bacchic nature cult in the same fashion.

The Dionysian religion is one of peace, tranquility, and sensual exuberance (Diod. Sic. 3.63.2 ff.). These characteristics make the Dionysian religion a powerful promoter of a refined life, the source and vehicle of elevated culture, and a thoroughly Aphrodisiac civilization. The Dionysian religion develops a sensual-material existence and places the responsibility of its refinement primarily into the hands of women. Inspired by Dionysus, women make their highest aspiration the attainment of perfect beauty. Thus, Bacchus consorts with the Graces. The Boeotian women discover him in the company of Muses, who are holding musical competitions in his honor (Paus. 2.35.1, 1.2.5, 1.31.6, and 5.14.10; Diod. Sic. 4.4.3; Strabo 10.468; Pind., *Ol.* 13.25; *Schol. Pind. Ol.* 5.10a; Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 36 and *Quaest. conv.* 8.717a). As a priest of Dionysus, the poet Philiscus leads the guild of artists in a procession honoring Dionysus in Alexandria under the rule of Ptolemaeus Epiphanes (Ath. 5.198 bc). In an authentically Dionysian fashion, the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt held musical contests for Dionysus (Theoc., *Id.* 17.112 ff. and Ael., *VH* 4.15). The reputation of the Locrians as muses is rooted in the notion of the Bacchic cult that each *lepus dicendi* [talking hare] is a gift of Aphrodite (Lucr. 1.28). The Lesbian poetesses

centered their lives and aspirations on Dionysus. The women of the Ptolemaic royal family are perfect examples of a Dionysian stimulus: on Helicon, there is a statue of Arsinoë riding a Bacchic ostrich (Paus. 9.31.1); Cleopatra became the earthly embodiment of Aphrodite, much more because of her intellectual cultivation than her physical appeal (Plut., *Ant.* 27.3.4).

Woman turned the Dionysian mysteries into an interaction between the sensuous and suprasensuous and between physical and psychic beauty. The Dionysian rites teetered along the boundary between these two worlds until they ultimately plunged into the depths of base sensuality. In epithalamiums, Sappho railed against hetaeric degeneration and promoted the pure thoughts of the Orphic-Dionysian religion as the center of a higher female life. Nonetheless, Lesbos fell prey to the most corrupt and excessive hetaerism. The same fate afflicted all peoples of the ancient world devoted to Dionysian life. A religion that makes the sexual vocation of women its foundation for salvation may enable mankind to produce a spiritualized conception of nature in poetry and sculpture and to nourish the highest ideal of beauty. However, it is impossible for such a religion to stave off corruption and moral decline.

Dionysus used women to promote his reign. However, Dionysus undermined the religious rites of matrons and made them into sensual stimuli as a tool to extend his domain. A new gynecocracy arose. Dionysus toppled women from their Amazonian heights and broke their ancient power. Then, Dionysus restored their power through religious rites. Finally, Dionysus led women into a sensual-erotic life. Thus, Livy calls women *fons mali* [source of evil] (39.15.9). Because of the Dionysian mysteries, the Church Fathers call women *ianua diaboli* [door of the devil] and ἀμάρτημα τῆς φύσεως [sinful by nature]. Women were responsible for the expansion of the Dionysian cult, its sensuous and voluptuous nature, and the seduction of men. The roles of the genders were reversed. As an example, Heracles lays weapons he won from Hippolyte at the feet of Omphale of Lydia. As conqueror of the martial, misandristic Amazons, he becomes a slave of an Aphrodisiac woman (Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 45). In general, what women could

not achieve by force, they obtained through sensuous stimulation in service of the mysteries and their nocturnal celebrations. Heracles destroys the rule of women, then bows to it. He represents the relationship of the sexes resulting from the Dionysian religion. Again women towered over men. The Bacchic cult accomplished two events: it overthrew the ancient degenerate Amazonian rule of women and instigated a new sensuous-Aphrodisiac gynecocracy. Dressed in female clothing, men participated in the Dionysian cult of women. As men adapted to female nature, they became more Dionysian themselves. Ancient mortuary art reflects this reversal of sexual roles and the enjoyment of sex as a religious practice. The private collection of H. Muret in Paris amply illustrates these aberrations far better than words. Even more than women, men are the victims of a degenerate Dionysian lifestyle. Every erotic-sensuous civilization ultimately ends up the same: Women elevate themselves over men, and humiliate men through the tool of lust. Women furnish themselves with all the charms of a refined life. Finally, they alienate men from their masculinity. The role of women as insidious seductresses is especially evident in the Ptolemy dynasty. On the one hand, Cleopatra elevated Dionysian life to such a height that she seemed to her contemporaries as an incarnation of the Aphrodisiac divine nature. On the other hand, Cleopatra eradicated the final vestiges of male dignity in Physcon and Auletes. In general, Dionysian women contemptuously turned their backs on men because men had become so degenerate. Primarily, Dionysian religion molded the life of the ancients around the feminine and material aspects of nature. Dionysian religion follows the laws of corporeal life. It places freedom and equality among men as its highest goals. It quashes political differences, severs social fetters, and frees the working class. Democracy and tyranny of the individual are derived from Dionysian religion. Both Caesar and Pisistratus were empowered by Dionysian religion (Herodotus 1.64; Diod. Sic. 4.2.6; and Ath. 12.533c).

Dionysian religion promotes glamour and splendor in every aspect of life. It emancipates flesh. It makes nature the model of poetry and sculpture. Dionysian religion introduces sensuality into the conception of a future existence. All these

effects of Dionysian religion stalled the development of the peoples of antiquity at a material stage where the glitter of the displays of splendor and unrivaled refinement concealed its corruption and depravity. Mortuary art is the main source about these later conditions of Dionysian life, and it corroborates our points so far delineated about Dionysian conceptions: the mysteries promise a future existence as consolation for the sufferings in this world; human life is essentially an erotic-sensuous experience; other cults and myths are subsumed into the Dionysian faith; and women are elected and favored by Dionysus as the bearers of his culture.

In the history of women, there is nothing equivalent to the impact and contradiction of Dionysian religion. On the one hand, women practiced unrestrained devotion to a voluptuous sensual life yet held a belief in a salvation beyond death. In other words, the basest and the highest aspects of the female soul offered each other a hand of reconciliation. Such notions as struggle, self-defeat, remorse, and repentance do not disrupt the harmony of the sensuous-suprasensuous female life. Nothing separates the material from the spiritual world. The new Aphrodisiac-Dionysian gynecocracy was established on a double foundation of religious and sensuous-erotic practices. In our discussion of the Lesbian and Epizephyrian women, we shall examine in detail the nature of the Aphrodisiac-Dionysian gynecocracy and its impact on religious rites. Now that we have shown the high position allotted to women by Dionysus, it is our next task to examine the next level imposed by Dionysus, the paternal principle (Πατρῶος [Paternal] Paus. 1.43.5). We shall discuss the Dionysian paternal level in its relationship to ancient tellurism on the one hand and to the Delphic development of Apollonian paternity on the other hand.

CXI. We have always linked mother right to the Poseidonian stage of masculinity (Serv., *Aen.* 3.241). The rise of the paternal principle is an emanation and achievement of the powers of light. As a direct consequence of the powers of light, the paternal principle prevails over mother right. From the bottom to the top,

the force of light progresses through a sequence of levels by which it purifies and dematerializes itself. Specifically, light manifests itself in the stages of tellurian, lunar, and solar. The lunar stage is on the borderline between the tellurian and solar. Thus, the moon has a composite nature. The role of the paternity principle in the Dionysian cult is diverse and it depends on the nature and purity of light worshipped. Thus, we must consider Dionysian masculinity stage by stage as it progresses from materialism to spiritual purity.

The tellurian-Poseidonian stage appears in many accounts. Plutarch reports that “. . . both gods [Poseidon and Dionysus] are lords of the watery and inseminating principle. Thus, Greeks sacrifice to Poseidon Phytalmios [Guardian of Growth] and to Dionysus Dendrites [Preserver of Trees]” (*Quaest. conv.* 5.3.1). The term κύριος τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως [having power over moist substances] designates both Poseidon and Dionysus. The Egyptian counterpart of Dionysus is Osiris, whose inseminating phallus creates the waters of the Nile (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 33–38). Elean and Argive women called forth Dionysus from the waves of the ocean with blasts of trumpets. Dionysus is called ἄξιος ταύρος [venerable bull] (Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 36) and the god βοέω ποδι [with the hoof of a bull] (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 35). Nonnus calls Dionysus κερόεν βρέφος [the horned baby] (*Dion.* 6.165). In Cyzicus, there is a statue of Dionysus ταυρόμορφος [in the shape of a bull] (Ath. 11.476a). In Aetolia and Lower Italy, he is called βούς βουκέρως [horned bull] (Soph., *Ant.* 1118 ff. Βακχεῦ . . . κλυτὰν ὃς ἀμφέπεις Ἰταλίαν [Bacchus . . . you who guard splendid Italy]), whose beard drips with water (Soph., *Trach.* 13 ff.). In the shape of a bull, Dionysus spews inseminating water from his mouth over Ampelos (Nonnus, *Dion.* 11.155-66) and challenges him to a swimming contest (Nonnus, *Dion.* 11.7-53).

CXII. The paternal stage of the Dionysian religion is easily identified as devotion to the force of light. In this stage, Dionysus emerges as an emanation of the principle of light. As such, he is one of a series of great solar champions; he vanquishes female tellurism and thus mother right and Amazonianism. The

phallic masculinity of the Poseidonian stage was still subordinate to *gremium matris* [womb of the mother] (Cf. *Orphic Hymns* 27.8). Dionysus raised phallic masculinity to the uranian level and subjected material motherhood to it. However, Dionysus failed to develop paternity in its highest and purest form. Instead, the potential of paternity is fully realized in the lightness of Apollo. Dionysian paternity is corporeal and procreative whereas the Apollonian is spiritual and of νοῦς (mind) and of *ignis non urens* [fire without flame]. Dionysian paternity is lunar and bisexual whereas Apollonian paternity is solar and entirely removed from female association. There is a lasting and complete defeat of the maternal principle only at the Apollonian level of paternity. The decisive overthrow of womanhood is the result of the Apollonian-metaphysical principle. In contrast, Dionysian paternity is grounded in phallic materiality and sensuality, which ultimately results in succumbing to the rule of womanhood because it is likewise grounded in sensuality. The victory of man comes from the purely spiritual principle. If man does not reach the purely spiritual level, his apparent victories along the way will become only new subjugations because woman is the master of sensuality. Her sexual drives are stronger than man's and she experiences pleasure in sex tenfold (Nonnus, *Dion.* 42.210 ff. and Paus. 8.24.9 ff.). The historical development of peoples devoted to the cult of Dionysus, especially the Egyptian Ptolemaic dynasty, completely confirms this observation. Even though Dionysus topples women and subjugates them to his masculinity, he becomes the founder of a new sensuous-erotic gynecocracy and his cult serves as fountainhead for the deepest degradation of men.

Bacchic religion and lifestyle are completely consonant with each other, and both aspects are most apparent in the lunar manifestation of Dionysus. Of the two potentialities inherent in the moon, material tellurism and immaterial light, the latter is of a higher nature because it radiates from the sun, but the former ultimately prevails because of the overwhelming weight of matter. As a representation of the hermaphroditic nature of the moon, Lunus and Luna are represented next to and within each other (Pl., *Symp.* 190b). However, Luna

predominates. In common speech, *Deus Luna* is the accepted term for the moon (Tert., *Apol.* 15.1). According to ancient belief, women must dominate in marriage because the moon is female. In paintings of the bisexual Dionysus-Lunus, the soft lines of the female form push the masculine aspects into the background. In both art and customs, we see how the Bacchic cult emasculated the force of masculinity. In the domain of material life, masculinity remains unfulfilled. Furthermore, the domain of material life provides women with means to regain power. The Dionysian marital principle does not extend beyond the lunar-psychic intermediate level of the cosmic world order. Dionysian women are lunar in nature and thus they affiliate themselves with the Lunus aspect of a male god, e.g. Demeter-Ceres, Ariadne-Ariadela, Aphrodite, Athene, Artemis, Semele. Material nature prevails in these women. Women cannot divest themselves of material nature even at their highest level of development. As a gender, women are therefore represented as born from an egg (Ath. 2.57 and Eust., *Od.* 11.298). The moon unifies the various attributes of Dionysian women. Like Penia ever seeking impregnation, the moon eternally follows in the orbit of the sun to borrow golden light, which the moon radiates as its own silver glow, νόθον σέλας ἄρσεινι πυρσῶ [counterfeit light from the male torch of the sun] (Nonnus, *Dion.* 38.378). The inner core of the moon is erotic. Sexual intercourse, the highest Dionysian law, is performed constantly within the moon. Therefore, the moon attends lovers (Plut., *De Is. et Os* 52). As all earthly creations, a clutch of eggs thrives under a full moon (Columella, *Rust.* 8.11.11) when the queen of heaven nourishes the seeds of life on earth with its *udae ignes* [moist fires] (Apul., *Met.* 11.2; Plut., *Amat.* 13.756e; and Varro, *Ling.* 5.61). Even in animals, the moon arouses the same μανία [mania] that drives the Bacchant's wild (Ael., *NA* 4.10 and 9.6). In the progression of the heavenly bodies, the moon, the *familiarissimum nostrae terrae sidus* [star most familiar to our earth], is situated below the sun, from which it borrows its luster. However, the sun does not give the moon any of its inherent purity. By joining with the moon, the sun degrades itself and acquires a material nature in service of female matter.

The Dionysian masculine principle of light is restricted by its relationship with the lunar world. Bacchic paternity is entirely material, and its victory over motherhood is incomplete and unstable. It would seem that the Dionysian principle of light might yield to the purer Apollonian principle of light in order to protect masculinity from degradation and to free it once and for all from the shackles of substance. However, the baser Dionysian principle of light subdued the Apollonian. According to Nonnos (19.250 ff.), Dionysus and Apollo were in a contest for the favor of the gods. Dionysus offered them rich wine. Apollo lowered his head in shame because he could not offer anything better. Bacchus' sensual splendor prevailed over Apollo's spiritual purity as the unchaste libation of wine prevailed over the sober libation of milk and honey of ancient times (Macrob., *Sat.* 1.12.25; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 20; Diod. Sic. 5.62.3; and Strabo 13.621). Similarly, Apollonian day is ousted by Dionysian night in the Roman Bacchanalia. Wine is the appropriate expression of Dionysian divinity because of its sensuous and spiritual active powers, its orgies, its unification of all beings in love and friendship, its analgesic cheerfulness, its lasciviousness, and its vacillating moods between joy and sorrow; therefore, wine is passed around to the initiates in the *λύσιοι τελεταί* [festival of Dionysus with mystic rites] (*Suidas*; Justin Martyr, *Trypho* 69.2; and Röth 2.152-53). Therefore, a cluster of grapes is used as a sign of Bacchic initiation on countless cemetery urns: *Διονύσου καρπός, παυσίλυπος ἄμπελος* [fruit of Dionysus, the grape vine ending pain] (Eur., *Bacch.* 772). Dionysus won the favor of both gods and men with his luscious wine that arouses the passion for procreation in both men and women. Instead of Apollo, Zeus ceded the scepter of his power to Dionysus, the feminine, beautiful, hermaphroditic god of natural procreation. Thus, Zeus initiated a sensuous-Dionysian era (Phaedon 61c). The phallic conception of paternity prevailed over the metaphysical. The nudity and erotic sensuality of the Dionysian phallic cult extended even to mortuary art. The general dissemination of *fascinus, quo territoria cuncta florescunt* [charm through which all lands flourish] (Arn. 5.28 or 284.18M) illustrates best the power and weight of substance. Dionysus elevated

mankind, then led him back into the mire of hetaerism and a purely sensuous life. Through substance, Dionysus defeated Apollo. Dionysus' power ensued from the sensuous aspect of human nature. According to Iamblichus, Heraclitus argues that only a few people are capable of apprehending the pure and spiritual. Thus, a religious cult must accommodate human materiality. The supernatural is based on sensuality (*Myst.* 5.15.219 ff.). The Dionysian cult practiced this conception and fell victim to its consequences. Because the Dionysian cult did not safeguard the immaterial along with the material goods of mankind, it ultimately forfeited both. More than any other cause, the Dionysian cult contributed to the downfall of ancient civilization and to the irreversible degeneration of the people.

CXVII. We shall now trace the development of adoption from a maternal-natural level to a higher Apollonian conception. The maternal-natural is based on *imitatio naturae* [imitation of nature]. The Apollonian conception involves a second birth, in which a son ascends to a higher, purer sphere. For example, only after Heracles is adopted by Hera does he realize that his father is Zeus. The relationship of Heracles' first mother to his second mother is represented symbolically in his club. Heracles cut the club from the swamp and then it took root in the earth and grew green again (Paus. 2.31.10). Through a second birth, Heracles gets a heavenly father. Heracles is exalted as the son of Zeus (Serv., *Aen.* 2.491; Verg., *Aen.* 8.301 *salve, vera Iovis proles* [hail, true seed of Jove]; *Schol. Pind. Ol.* 6.115; Ael., *VH* 2.32; and Paus. 2.10.1). Dionysus is a more obvious example of a higher second birth from the father because Zeus even takes over the role of a childbearing mother.

The second birth of people erroneously presumed to be dead is relevant in this context. In "Roman Questions," Plutarch compares the Greek ὑστερόποτος [man presumed dead but returned alive] with the Roman term and concludes that both terms express the same idea:

Why is it that those who have been erroneously reported to have died abroad are not allowed to enter their homes by the door when they return but instead have to climb onto the roof and lower

themselves inside? Varro provides a fabulous explanation. He claims that in a bloody battle in Sicily, many men were erroneously declared dead. Within a short time after they had returned home, they all died except one, who found the doors shut against him when he tried to enter. The man fell asleep on the threshold. In his sleep, he had a vision, which advised him to climb upon his roof and let himself down into the house. He did so, prospered, and lived a long life. Because of this story, it became the custom to enter the house from the roof if one were falsely declared dead. (5)

Plutarch compares Varro's account of this Roman custom with the ancient Greek custom of treating people considered dead as impure. They were not allowed in temples or in social activities of any sort. Plutarch concludes:

Hence it is not surprising that the Romans did not allow people considered dead to enter by the door because the door is the way into a place of sacrifice. Those considered to have been buried are members of departed. They must descend from the open air above into that portion of the house that is exposed to the sky because they perform their rites of purification under the open sky. (5)

Two points become evident from this narrative. First, the *ὑστερόποτμος* [man presumed dead but returned alive] may not use the door but must enter his house from above. Second, this is a symbolic practice of purification for a person associating with and returning from the dead. This practice exemplifies the conception that a higher second spiritual birth follows the first maternal birth and corporeal death. A second birth redeems the impurity of the first birth, and the *ὑστερόποτμος* [man presumed dead but returned alive] receives the invigorating light of the father from above. Plutarch reports that Aristinus therefore purified himself and wrapped himself in swaddling clothes in order to see the light of day for a second time. The name *ὑστερόποτμος* [man presumed dead but returned alive] suggests an involvement with an exalted world. Varro's report is a mythical expression that one should pursue the vision of his dreams. Symbolically, one should enter his house from above in order to lead a happy long life. Aristinus is one such *ὑστερόποτμος* [man presumed dead but returned alive].

Exalted as the son of Zeus by Hera, Heracles is the prime example of the ὑστερόποτος [man presumed dead but returned alive]. The influence of the higher light principle is essential in the conception of a second birth. In this context, we should understand why Aristinus consulted Apollo at Delphi for an answer to the custom. The most ancient world and Christianity share a conception of a second birth. John says: ἀμήν ἀμήν λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ [amen, amen I say to you, unless a man is born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God] (3.5). Paul says: τέκνα μου, ὄσως πάλιν ὠδίνω μέχρις ὅς μορφωθῆ Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν [My children. I feel as if I am going through labor for you and the pain will continue until you are born again in Christ] (Gal. 4.19). Furthermore, this context clarifies why Nerva adopted Trajan: *Itaque non in cubiculo, sed in templo, nec ante genialem torum, sed ante pulvinar Iovis optimi maximi adoptio peracta est . . .* [the adoption took place not in his bedroom but in the temple, not before his marriage-bed, but before the couch of Jupiter Best and Highest . . .] (Plin., *Pan.* 8.1). In this case, Zeus plays the role of the father with no mention of a mother whatsoever. A second birth is a spiritual exaltation. *Adoptio in cubiculo* [adoption by marriage] is inferior to spiritual exaltation. *Adoptio in cubiculo* is to *adoptio ante pulvinar Iovis* [adoption before the couch of Jove] as sexual-Dionysian is to asexual-Apollonian paternity.

At the physical level, paternity is an inseminating force dependent upon a woman to bear the child. However, a man can never be certain whether a child is from his seed. This is the Dionysian intermediate stage of paternity. At the higher Apollonian level of paternity, it was a simple matter for Roman jurists to subordinate and even exclude the mother principle as evidenced by the exclusive use of the father's name. Nonetheless, the maternal principle persists in adoption theory. The battle between the natural and spiritual vantage points remains unresolved. Frequently, the *imitatio naturae* emerges as the decisive principle in law. Roman adoption theory distinguishes between the concepts of a male *imperium* and an Apollonian paternity. The *imperium* legally disqualified woman from adopting and from joining another family through arrogation (Gai., *Inst.*

1.104: *Feminae uero nullo modo adoptare possunt, quia ne quidem naturales liberos in potestate habent* [Women cannot adopt because they have no familial authority even over their own children]; *Inst. Iust.* 1.11.10 and Gai., *Inst.* 2.161 and 3.51). Women were disqualified from adoption until the period of the emperors. In individual cases, mothers were allowed to adopt through imperial decree *in solacium liberorum amissorum* [as comfort for the loss of their own children] (Gai., *Inst.* 1.101: *Item per populum feminae non adoptantur, nam id magis placuit; apud praetorem uero uel in prouinciis apud proconsulem legatumque etiam feminae solent adoptari* [Women are not adopted by the authority of the people; this is the received opinion. On the other hand, women too are commonly adopted before the praetor, or in the provinces before the proconsul or legate.] and Gell., *NA* 5.19.1 ff.). However, the following precepts are consistent with the Apollonian perspective. Adoption and arrogation are permissible for a man if he has no wife [*Dig. Iust.* 1.7.30: *et qui uxores non habent, filios adoptare possunt* [a person without a wife may adopt a son] and 1.7.37: *adoptare quis nepotis loco potest, etiamsi filium non habet* [Anyone is able to adopt in place of a grandson, even if he does not have a son]. Furthermore, adoption is permissible for men who are physically incapable of reproduction or for *spadones* [eunuchs] but not for *castrati* [castrated]. One sees that the principles entailed in *adoptio naturam imitatur* [adoption imitates nature] (*Inst. Iust.* 1.11.4), have been entirely abrogated. In Gaius' time, even the natural consideration that the adoptive son should be younger than the father was violated: *Sed et illud, de quo quaestio est, an minor natu maiorem natu adoptare possit, utriusque adoptionis commune est* [The question whether a younger person can adopt an older person is indeed common to both forms of adoption] (Gai., *Inst.* 1.106). On the other hand, Justinian decided on the side of natural reality: *Minorem natu non posse maiorem adoptare placet: adoptio enim naturam imitatur, et pro monstro est, ut maior sit filius quam pater. debet itaque is, qui sibi per adrogationem vel adoptionem filium facit, plena pubertate, id est decem et octo annis praecedere. . . .* [A younger person cannot adopt an older one.

Adoption imitates nature. A son older than a father would violate nature. In order to adopt or adrogate a son, one must be a full generation older than the adoptee, i.e., eight to ten years older] (*Inst.* 1.11.4-5). This material point of view in adoption law is consistent with Justinian's views in other aspects of family law. Concerning the same question, Cicero upholds the authority of natural reality and even extends its authority through his assertion that adoption should only be authorized as a remedy for an inability to have natural children:

Quod est, pontifices, ius adoptionis? nempe ut is adoptet, qui neque procreare iam liberos possit et, cum potuerit, sit expertus . . . Quid est horum in ista adoptione quaesitum? . . . Non aetas eius, qui adoptabat, est quaesita, ut in Gn. Aufidio, M. Pupio: quorum uterque nostra memoria, summa senectute, alter Oresten, alter Pisonem adoptavit: quas adoptiones, sicut alias innumerabiles, hereditates nominis, pecuniae, sacrorum secutae sunt. . . factus es eius filius contra fas, cuius per aetatem pater esse potuisti . . .
 [What is the law about adoption, your Excellencies? Clearly, adoption of children should be permissible only to those who are unable to beget children . . . What is to be questioned in this adoption? The age of the one who adopted is insignificant as in the cases of Gnaeus Aufidius and Marcus Pupius, who, adopted Orestes and Piso in old age. These adoptions, as numerous others, allowed the adopted person to inherit the name, the wealth, and the family rites of his adopter. . . . you have defied nature and you have become the son of a man whose father you could have been].
 ("de domo sua" 34-36)

Cicero's emphatic denouncement of a departure of adoption from its natural model suggests that the purely spiritual conception of paternity based on Apollonian authority of light was the prevalent practice. A man no longer needed to depend entirely on procreation in order to have a son because he could acquire one through a spiritual act of law, viz. adoption. However, Apollo issues the incorporeal word (*Serv.*, *Aen.* 3.85), and Zeus is its ultimate source (*Serv.*, *Aen.* 1.20). Zeus' children are born *exsecto matris ventre* [cut from the mother's womb]. They gain sight of light without the ordeal of natural birth (*Serv.*, *Aen.* 10.316). From the Apollonian perspective, even a bachelor may have a son as Athena issued from Zeus' head without a mother and as Apollo is considered *uxoris expers* [without a wife] and *nuptiis contrarius* [against marriage] (*Serv.*,

Aen. 4.58). At the Apollonian level, *imitatio naturae* has no authority; thus, there is no reason why a younger man cannot adopt someone older. Furthermore, it is not essential for the person being adopted to be present. The material-Dionysian perspective holds so little sway in Roman law that the adoptee does not enter into any legal relationship with the wife of the adoptive father. Furthermore, as a reversal of the natural relationship, cognation is considered strictly as a consequence of agnation (Ulp., *Dig.* 5.2.29.3). Therefore, the adoptive son is always motherless, and his relationship to the father is incorporeal without any pretense of a blood relationship. The establishment of a filial relationship through testamentary disposition is only possible when there is complete rejection of the notion of natural corporeality. Besides the legal recognition of male adoptive rights, the practices of the Roman people show their advanced notion of spiritual paternity.

Enacting a relationship with the child through a declaratory act and its instantaneous realization completely relieves fatherhood of any natural or sexual foundation. In other words, a testamentary adoption is primarily an intellectual act. Indeed, a son adopted through testament receives no material enrichment, nor the rights of agnation or gentility. Furthermore, adoption does not dissolve his preexisting rights. The significance of paternal adoption is on a much higher plane. It is the recognition of a spiritual equality of birth. The son selected through a legal testament becomes the public heir of the honors and distinctions belonging to the deceased. The highest honor of adoption is the appropriation of the name. Thus, adoption is considered mainly *in familiam nomenque* [into the family and name] or simply *in nomen adoptare* [adopting into the name]. In every instance, the ancients considered the *nomen* [name] and the *nominis mutatio* [change of name] as the essential aspect of testamentary adoption (See Bachofen's discussion of testamentary adoption in "Ausgewählte Lehren des römischen Civilrechts," pp. 230-34). Even though adoption generally made the adoptee an heir, this material benefit did not diminish but enhanced the spiritual significance of adoption. The adopted son becomes a legal heir to property. More important, the filial

relationship and the adoption of the family name allow the adopted son to acquire the familial honors of the deceased. The right of the adopted son to inherit property is extended to claims on the spiritual assets of the deceased. The institution of adoption gains an even higher status when both material and spiritual dispositions are combined. Thereby, adoption distinguishes itself from the institution of inheritance *sub conditione nominis ferendi* [under condition of bearing the name]. In this case, the adoption of the name of another person is an essential component of a legal disposition whereas *adoptio in familiam nomenque* [adoption into the family and name] makes adoption independent and apart from legal authority. As *sub conditione nominis ferendi* [under condition of bearing the name], adoption becomes an object of legal judgment. As *adoptio in familiam nomenque* [adoption into family and name], adoption has no intrinsic legal character. Thus, Caesar specifically mentions bestowing his name on Augustus *in ema cera* [in his last will] (Suet., *Iul.* 83.2) Thus, Tiberius could accept the inheritance from Marcus Gallius, a senator, but give up his name from adoption (Suet., *Tib.* 6.3). There was some debate about the legitimacy of separating these two testamentary dispositions. *Conditio nominis mutandi* [condition of changing the name] led to the question whether the terms of the testator's will were obligatory. According to Gaius, the praetors demanded the fulfillment of the testamentary terms whereas the jurists were more inclined to consider the terms of the will a moral but not a legal obligation (*Dig.* 36.1.63.10). In other words, testamentary adoption is more a spiritual than a legal issue. Adoption is less an issue of obligation than of entitlement. Cicero's "Letters to Atticus" provides a good example:

Dolabellam video Liviae testamento cum duobus coheredibus esse in triente, sed iuberi mutare nomen. Est πολιτικὸν σκέμμα, rectumne sit nobili adolescenti mutare nomen mulieris testamento [I see from Livia's will that Dolabella shares a third of her estate along with two others. The will requires Dolabella to change his name. It is a political problem whether a young noble man should change his name at the behest of a woman's will]. (7.8.3)

Cicero is skeptical whether Dolabella should be able to accept the offer of *adoptio in familiam nomenque* [adoption into the family and name]. Cicero says he has political not legal reservations about such an adoption. It is not a question of whether a woman should be able to adopt based on *potestas* [authority] because *potestas* does not play a role in testamentary εἰσποίησις [adoption]. His reservations are of another sort. Cicero argues that Rome does not provide any kind of public position for women. This case illustrates once again the domain of adoption. The spiritual exaltation imparted through adoption results in admission to the political position of the deceased. All the public honors of the adopter pass over to the adoptee. Public honors cannot be transmitted through a woman, at least according to patrician constitutional law, whose statutes Dolabella must observe.

The political aspect of testamentary adoption leads to the practice of making the adopted son the governmental successor of his adoptive father. In this fashion, Caesar adopted Octavius. The reports about this adoption are especially suited to illuminate the abstract and spiritual nature of paternity constituted through a testament. From Caesar's testament, Augustus acquired no rights of agnation or gentility. Instead, the *lex curiata* granted him rights of agnation or gentility when it reconfirmed his adoption. Both Appian (*B Civ.* 3.94) and Dio Cassius (45.5.3-4 and 46.47.4) make a point about Augustus' acquisition of rights. In contrast, Caesar's claim to a governmental position is based only on *adoptio in familiam nomenque* not on an enactment of the *lex curiata*. The Roman people acknowledged Augustus' appointment to rule by virtue of *adoptio in familiam nomenque* (Dio Cass. 44.35.2). Adopting the name of Caesar enabled Augustus to present himself to the Roman people as the spiritual heir of his adoptive father. Thus, Augustus became entitled to the family honor as well as the legal recipient of the inheritance. Every aspect of *adoptio in familiam nomenque* is immaterial by nature, and thus Augustus' point of contact with the Apollonian. It is entirely Apollonian to establish spiritual paternity through an intellectual act.

At its highest level of spiritualization, adoption does not involve the maternal authority of the great goddess [Venus] of the Julian imperial family, but rather the Apollonian force of light. In this spirit, Augustus presents himself as an Orestes figure avenging the murder of his father (Suet., *Aug.* 10.1 and Serv., *Aen.* 1.286). In the Heraion of Argos, a statue of Orestes bore the inscription, “Emperor Augustus,” according to Pausanias (2.17.3). Both Orestes and Augustus are Apollonian avengers of violated paternal right. Because Orestes’ mortal remains are linked to the notion of victorious fatherhood, they were included among the seven *pignora imperii* [imperial children] (Serv., *Aen.* 7.188 and Hyg., *Fab.* 261). There are numerous examples of the association of Augustus with Apollo. While worshipping at night in Apollo’s temple, Atia fell asleep. A serpent slithered in and slept on her. When she awoke, she noticed the marks from the serpent, which remained on her body her entire life. Ten months afterwards, she gave birth to Augustus. Thus, he is deemed the son of Apollo (Asclepias in Suet., *Aug.* 94.4). With reference to Augustus, Ovid says Apollo was one of Caesar’s household gods (*Met.* 15.865). On Octavian’s birthday, the holy laurel begins to green on the Palatine (Serv., *Aen.* 6.230). On the Palatine, Augustus erected a temple to Apollo (Suet., *Aug.* 29.1 and Serv., *Aen.* 8.720 and 6.69). Augustus deposited the Sibylline books (the only prophetic writings he did not have burned) under the pedestal of the Palatine Apollo (Suet., *Aug.* 31.1). In memory of the victory over Anthony and the Egyptian Aphrodite [Cleopatra] as well as Egyptian mother right, Augustus rebuilt the temple of Apollo in the foothills above Actium (Serv., *Aen.* 3.274). The appearance of Julian’s star on the day of Caesars’ funeral rites presaged the onset of the tenth age, of the Apollonian solar empire. The Apollonian-solar age replaced the Aphroditean-Julian age (Verg., *Ecl.* 4.10: *casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo* [pure Lucina, be gracious: thine own Apollo now is king!]; *Aen.* 1.286-90; and Plut., *De def. or.* 17). Apollonian authority alone empowers Caesar to appoint a spiritual son as his successor to rule the empire. Owing to Apollonian authority, the dynasty of Caesar becomes immortal. Whereas fatherhood ensuing from corporeal procreation is vulnerable to

termination because of childlessness, spiritual propagation is not bound by the fate of substance. Spiritual propagation shares in the eternity of god and conforms to its nature (Serv., *Aen.* 9.299). Without a mother and procreation, Gaius Julius Caesar is reborn in the person of Octavian (Dio. Cass. 46.47.5). In this belief, *Caesaris nominatio* [nomination to the office of Caesar] became the standard means of appointing the imperial successor. *Caesaris nominatio* developed out of testamentary adoption but separates adoption from its connection with inheritance under civil law. *Caesaris nominatio* marks the endpoint the entire development of paternity. Without maternal birth, without *acta Saturni* [acts of Saturn], through word alone without any connection to proprietary provisions and testamentary solemnity, *Caesaris nominatio* enables the admission into a filial relationship by simply naming the person Caesar. As Augustus became Gaius Julius Caesar's son and Caesar himself through adoption, the later emperors acquired filial relationship and the qualification for succession to imperial reign through the mere bestowal of the name Caesar (Lactant., *De mort. pers.* 20.3: *sed eum Caesarem facere noluit, ne filium nominaret . . .* [but he did not want to make him Caesar in order to avoid calling him his own son . . .]).

Caesaris nominatio is historical verification of the belief in the immortality of the Apollonian-spiritual fatherhood. The problem of childlessness in Euripides' *Ion* is resolved as a historical fact in *Caesaris nominatio*. Xuthus and Creusa face the utter darkness of death and destruction because they are childless. In contrast, the Apollonian *Caesaris nominatio* offers a continuation of personality in all its glory and importance. The law of substance can only be transcended by overcoming material mother right. Apollo ensures parents who behold his light above that their lineage shall last. In this context, we should understand Servius' assertion that Apollo takes care of children, works from afar, and deserves the appellation, *Patrous* [father] (*Aen.* 3.332 and 1.329). Sons of light mount the ancient thrones. Both Ion and Caesar are Apollonian names. Ion was a child of Apollo. Caesar was *exsecto ventre natus* [cut from the womb]; therefore, he is *Apollini consecratus* [consecrated to Apollo]. Rather than

individuals, both the names Ion and Caesar designate entire races of endless successors. As an individual, Ion cannot ensure the perpetuity of his race. However, he can do so as a participant in Apollonian paternity. Thus, Euripides says γὰρ δὲ ἔχει τυράννους, [kings now have the land] i.e., the land shall continue under the rule of the dynasty now and forever (*Ion* 1464). Augustus is comparable to Ion for the same reason that he is comparable to Orestes. The same Apollonian idea is a part of Ion as well Orestes, but from different directions. As the ally of all Apollonian heroes of light, the virgin goddess, Athena, safeguards both Ion and Orestes. Both the mothers of Ion and Augustus had sexual intercourse with Apollo and they both claimed that their offspring were from Apollo, not from mortal men. Both Caesar and Xuthus were childless, and Apollo gave them sons. Both Augustus and Ion believed that they were sons of Apollo, the heavenly god of light. Both Augustus and Ion mounted ancient thrones. Ion took the throne of Erechtheus, the father of his mother. As a second Romulus, Augustus took the throne of Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite. Besides a common Apollonian paternal nature, both Ion and Augustus come from noble mothers (Serv., *Aen.* 5.568). The perpetuity of the dynasty insures the welfare of the people for all times. In this tradition, Rome and Athens were the two centers of highly developed father right. Myth and history complement each other in revealing the law of evolution of the ancient world. Its apogee eventuated from the spirituality of the Apollonian law of light.

Elis

CXIX. Elis is a prominent example of a gynecocratic country. Furthermore, Elis was an important seat of the Dionysian cult. We shall examine Elis from both of these perspectives. At first, we shall investigate the ancient gynecocracy, then the later Dionysian gynecocracy of the Eleans. The ancient Elean nation extended from the so-called Elean lowlands, through which the Peneus flows, to Pisatis in the southern part of the region with the rivers Apheus and Olympia, and to Triphylia. According to Strabo, these three areas prospered at different times (8.354). Pisatis' glory arose with Pelops, the successor of Oenomaus. Pylos flourished under Nestor and his sons. The city of Elis prospered after the return of the Epean Aetolians, who were allied with the Heraclidae. Augeas subdued the rest of the Achaean tribes so completely that Elis and Pisatis are often confused with each other. Oenomaus and Pelops were associated with Elis and Augeas with Pisatis (Paus. 5.4.1 ff. and Strabo 8.356). Finally, Strabo claims that the Pisatans, Triphylians, and Cauconians devolved upon Lepreum after the fall of Messenia without leaving even a trace of their names (8.355).

We shall first discuss Elis. Heracles' battle with Augeas reveals several noteworthy characteristics of a gynecocracy among the Elean Epeans (cf. Strabo 8.338 and 341). According to Pausanias:

Augeas, the king of the Epeans, handed over the defense of his country against Heracles to Amarynceus, who came to Elis from Thessaly, and to Actor's sons, Eurytus and Cteatus. When Heracles realized he could not defeat Eurytus and Cteatus because of their great courage, he resorted to a secret act of violence. As Eurytus and Cteatus were traveling to the Isthmian Games, Heracles set an ambush for them at Cleonae and killed them. Their mother, Molione, devoted herself to discovering their murderer. She found

Heracles guilty. At the time, he was living in Tiryns in Argos. In the name of the Eleans, she demanded as retribution that the Argives recuse themselves from the Isthmian Games. When the Argives refused, she threatened to curse her own people if they violated her boycott of the Isthmian Games. Therefore, the Eleans have never participated in the Isthmian Games. Later Heracles led another army comprised of Argives, Thebans, and Arcadians against Elis. They plundered and ravaged the country. Heracles spared Augeas and turned over the reign to Phyleus. When the Elean women realized that only a small number of their men had survived the war, they made a vow to Athena that if she would grant them pregnancy after their first union with their husbands, they would build her a temple and name it Athena Mother. They named the place where they made love as well as the river flowing nearby Bady (sweet) because of the pleasure they experienced. After Heracles left, Phyleus conducted the affairs of state. When Phyleus returned to Dulichium and Augeas died of old age, Agasthenes, Amphimachus, and Thalpius assumed the reign. Agasthenes was a son of Augeas. Amphimachus was the son of Cteatus and Theronice. Thalpius was the son of Eurytus and TheraePHONE. Theronice and TheraePHONE were the twin daughters of Dexamenus, the king of Olenus. Amphimachus was killed at Troy. As a gesture of friendship to Amphimachus, Polyxenus, the son of Agasthenes, named his son Amphimachus. Eleius was the son of this second Amphimachus. Under Eleius, the Aetolians drove the sons of Heracles back to the Peloponnesus. An oracle announced to the sons of Aristomachus that they should make a three-eyed man leader of their campaign. When they encountered a man with a one-eyed mule, they understood the meaning of the oracle. Thus, Oxylus became the leader of the campaign and he ordered the attack by sea rather than by land. As a reward, the Dorians granted him the land of Elis. Oxylus was the son of Haemon, the son of Thoas, who fought with the sons of Atreus at Troy. There are six generations between Thoas and Aetolus, to the son of Endymion. The Heraclidae and the Aetolian kings have blood ties. The mother of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, and the mother of Thoas, the son of Andraemon, were sisters. Oxylus was banished from Aetolia because he accidentally struck and killed his own brother, Thermius, with a discus. (5.1.1-3.7)

CXXI. This excerpt provides sufficient information for us to properly understand the significance of the Elean women's vow and its connection to Heracles' attack upon their fatherland. For their fertility, they had to offer their

chastity afterwards. A vow of chastity was a common practice in ancient societies for the purpose of protecting the country. In times of danger to the country, Babylonian and Lydian women had a general obligation to make atonement to great Mother Nature for violating her natural law of sexuality through the exclusivity marriage. The Epizephyrian Locrians provide the most curious example of such a practice. Initially, the Locrians practiced hetaerism in the service of Aphrodite Zephyritis (Ath. 12.516a). Later, they renounced hetaerism entirely. However, when Dionysius the Younger threatened to destroy their city, they reverted back to their vow of chastity in order to ward him off (Ael., *VH* 9.8). Instead of chastity, another custom is for a woman to offer her hair as a sacrifice as Berenice offers a lock of her hair to her husband (Cat. 66.7 ff.). Another practice is to dedicate certain hierodules to hetaerism in the place of the matrons. For example, when the Persians invaded Greece, prostitutes prayed to Aphrodite for the salvation of the Greeks (Ath. 13.573c; cf. Philostr. *Imag.* 2.1 ff.). The vow of the Elean women is based on the same idea. When the country is in danger, they approach a great mother goddess with their greatest gift, the sacrifice of their maternal chastity. Their request to Athena that they may conceive after single intercourse with their husbands was an attempt to reduce hetaerism to a minimum. In the same fashion, the Epizephyrian women endeavor to evade their vow by satisfying it with a mere pretense. In this context, we can fully understand Pausanias' account of the Elean women's oath at Bady. Situated next to a river, Bady conforms in spirit to the general tradition of practicing hetaerism on a seashore, for example Cypriot girls (Ael., *VH* 3.42). Water is an Aphroditic element associated with procreation. Finally, it is important that the Elean women make their offering of chastity to Athena rather than to Aphrodite even though Aphrodite is native to Elis and notably associated with the tortoise (Paus. 6.25.1 and Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 75). In contrast to the Athena of Athens, who developed into an eminently spiritual goddess, the Athena of Elis remained true to her material maternal nature. In Elis, Athena was a lunar woman of the night as well a weaver at the loom. Furthermore, Athena was associated with the wild and natural

procreation of the swamp. She was affiliated with the swamp bird, αἰθυία [gannet] (Paus. 6.26.3; 1.5.3 and 41.6), with the horse of chthonic waters (Paus. 1.30.4, 3.25.9, 5.15.5 ff., and 8.47.1 ff.), and with Narcaeus (Paus. 5.16.7), from *nar*, *aqua*, νερόν (Ael., *NA* 4.11 *equa* [mare] is equivalent to *mulier libidinosa* [lecherous woman]). In this context, the relationship of the Elean women's vow to the Elean gynecocracy becomes clear. When women possess power, they are called upon to take responsibility first and foremost (Ael., *VH* 12.28). Accordingly, Molione protected her country against Heracles through her sons; she took it upon herself to exact revenge for the murder of her sons; and she pronounced the curse against their murders. Likewise, the Elean mothers offered their chastity to the great uranian mother in their appeal for help against Heracles, the enemy of female authority. Both actions accord entirely and are related to each other. The same narrative elements are present in every version of the legend: the victory of the Molioniae; Heracles' flight; Molione's curse; and the hetaerism of the Elean mothers.

In a third incident, the ever-victorious Elean gynecocracy presents itself in a different fashion. Pausanias mentions a Council of Sixteen Elean Matrons that served as an ancient judicature for public disputes:

As king of Pisa, Demophon inflicted great harm on the Eleans. When Demophon died, the people of Pisa claimed themselves blameless of his misdeeds. In response, the Eleans declared themselves ready to settle peaceably. To settle their differences, they selected the oldest and most noble woman from each of the sixteen cities of Elis inhabited at that time. These women worked out the peace treaty between Pisa and Elis. (5.16.5)

Though the Council of Sixteen Matrons lost its political authority, it maintained other purely cultic powers up to the time of Pausanias. Later we shall discuss another possible origin of the Council of Sixteen Matrons offered by Pausanias (5.16.4). For now, we shall pursue the judicial functions of matrons. In the treaty between the Celts and Carthaginians, Celtic women were empowered to adjudicate complaints made by Carthaginians against the Celts (Plut., *De mul. vir.* 6.246bc and cf. Diod. Sic. 5.32.2). Likewise, there is evidence of matrons

wielding judicial powers in the Germanic world (Tac., *Hist.* 4.65.4) and among many American Indian tribes. The gynecocracy in Elis deserves particular notice because of its uniform authority over the state and family. Previously, I pointed out that the gynecocracy of the family evolved into a gynecocracy of the state. As a rule, a gynecocracy of the state dissolves much earlier than the gynecocracy of the family. Elis provides a most curious example of the original status of women in public law. Molione and the sacrifice of the mothers to the service of Athena shed new light on the subject. We see the legal authority of women manifested in nobility imparted by maternal birth and in the division of the lands consistent with such female, maternal-tellurian principles as permanent borders and a fixed number. The Roman tradition follows a similar concept. The thirty *curiae* were named after the Sabine mothers (Liv. 1.13.6 ff.). The comparison between the Elean and Roman cases is even more apt since the Sabine women wielded the power to decide over battle lines and on the terms of a peace treaty, according to Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 284.85). His account places the Sabine women within a gynecocratic tradition similar to the one of Persian women, with whom the Sabine women are supposedly related. In addition, Sabine, Elean, and Gallic women perform as agents of peace and reconciliation. Motherhood is the principle of peace and the agent of a peaceful existence in contrast to crude male violence (Tac., *Germ.* 40.2-4 and Myrsilus of Methymna qtd. Clem. Al., *Protr.* 27). For example, the female conception of Mars is Quirinus, a god of peace. During the annual festival to Ares in Geronthrae of Laconia, women are prohibited from entering a grove dedicated to Ares (Paus. 3.22.6 ff.). In addition, Hera was worshipped as the goddess Hoplosmia in Elis (Lycoph., *Alex.* 614 and 858).

In the most ancient Elean tradition, the law of peace coincides with the high social standing of women. The reciprocal relationship between peace and womanhood places numerous historical facts into a proper context. The sacred city of Elis secured the divine peace during the Olympian Games (Strabo 8.358), and even creatures observed it (Ael., *NA* 5.17 and 11.8; Plin., *HN* 10.75, 29.106-7, and 10.28; and Paus. 5.14.1). This divine peace was personified as a female,

Echecheiria (Paus. 5.26.2 and Strabo 8.343). Peace and religion, two attributes especially characteristic of the maternal principle, are prominent among the Eleans. Because of this, the Eleans were able to develop games that eclipsed all others even though they were a politically insignificant tribe. In the discussion of Egypt, I suggested how the predominance of motherhood underlies large festive gatherings that transcend the borders of small territories so that an entire people may experience the brotherhood of the event (cf. Philostr., *V A* 5.26 and Pl., *Menex.* 237b-239a). The same is true of Elis. The tellurian-female principle extends further than the male-political principle. The tellurian-female principle touches people at a physical level and induces a sense of brotherhood originating from the mother. Thus, the entire human race derives its name κοκκοτιον from κόκκος [pudenda] and Κοκκώκας [Coccoca], as Artemis was called in Elis (Paus. 5.15.7 and 7.4.6). Ancient writers tell several versions of the embassy of Eleans to the court of King Psammis or King Amasis of Egypt for the purpose of organizing the Olympian Games with justice and fairness. To this end, it was decided that people from other countries should be invited to participate. The Eleans boasted they had arranged the Olympian Games according to the highest standards of fairness so that even the Egyptians could not improve upon their plans (cf. Ael. *VH* 14.43). Even though Eleans and Egyptians were rivals in this situation, they shared a gynecocratic tradition (Paus. 6.23.6; 6.20.16 ff. and 5.15.11 ff.; Philostr., *Her.* 15.9 ff.). The king replied that the Eleans could make the Olympian Games even fairer: “Provided no man from Elis participates” (Diod. Sic. 1.95.2). The Egyptian king meant that for complete fairness in the Olympian Games, the Eleans should be excluded because as sponsors, they should remain neutral; otherwise, partisanship to their benefit would be unavoidable (Herodotus 2.160). Perhaps this remark is overstated, but it throws light on an underlying idea of justice. Cynisca’s complaint about fairness of the Olympian Games belongs to such a notion of strict justice (Plut., *Ages.* 20) as does the prohibition against using one’s own horses in the competition (Paus. 5.8.3). Both of these examples contribute to the general fame of εὐνομία [eunomy], for which Pausanias praises

the Eleans, until Philip, the son of Amyntas, undermined it by bribing the leading men in Elis (4.28.4). In a similar vein, Plutarch discusses the punishment of Sambicus for having despoiled the shrine of Artemis (*Quaest. Graec.* 47).

The conservative tendency of gynecocratic nations manifests itself in Elis in the increasing power of an oligarchic rule, which Phormios, a student of Plato, traces back to a previously more democratic foundation (Arist., *Pol.* 5.5.8; Thuc. 5.47; and Plut., *Prae. ger. reip.* 805d). The so-called Οξύλου νόμος [law of Oxylus] forbidding loans secured on a portion of an existing estate appears to be an ancient customary law based on the religious principle of the sacredness of the earth, which does not tolerate such a *vinculum iuris* [legal bond] (Arist., *Pol.* 6.2.5). Because of an ancient curse, mares were not allowed to breed with donkeys on Elean soil. This prohibition has its foundation in respect for maternity, whose childbearing function is violated through intercourse with a sterile animal (Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 52; Paus. 5.5.2 and 9.2; Plut., *De placitis philosophorum* 5.14; Horapollon Niliacus 4.42; Herodotus 4.30). All these customs derived from religious sanctions. Molione's curse is one example; another is the practice of letting a god resolve a dispute through the ordeal of single combat (Paus. 5.4.1 ff.; Strabo 8.357). See Aelian for a bizarre application of the ordeal of single combat among Sacaeen women as their way of selecting a spouse (*VH* 12.38). In general, the Eleans were devoted to their ancient traditions and remained loyal to them even in their language. This trait of the Eleans appeared in their civil affairs no less than in their religious practices. Unlike forums of other Greek cities, in Elis the οἰκημα [place of residence] of the Sixteen Matrons was in a much older style than other buildings (Paus. 6.24.2). As a square number, 16 was among the holy numbers (Philostr. *VA* 3.30). Sixteen appears in the εχχαϊδεχασυλλαβοι [sixteen syllabic lines] of Sappho as well as in the numerical foundation of sixteen in Pelops' teams of four and eight horses (Philostr., *Imag.* 1.17; cf. Paus. 2.14.1 and Strabo 8.340). Sixteen has been preserved as a magical number even until recently though adapted to ever-changing territorial conditions (Paus. 5.16.6 ff. and 9.4. ff.). For fear of god, one respected the prohibition against the Isthmian Games

(Paus. 6.16.2, 5.2.5, and 6.4.5), thus maintaining the oldest historical tradition of the country. Bestowing more sanctity to brazen figures than human life is indicative of a conceptual level dominated entirely by substance (Paus. 5.27.9 ff. and 6.11.2 ff.; cf. Ael. *VH.* 8.3 and 5.15). These lifeless objects represent respect for the integrity of the body, which is the highest principle in matriarchies. In Plato's *Hippias Minor* (286a) as well as *Menexenus*, we find the most definitive and distinct assertion of the theory about the earth as a mother and her power to bestow nobility of birth: "We should celebrate Mother Earth and thereby celebrate the noble birth of heroes" (*Menex.* 237c).

The most famous Elean sophists, Pyrrho and Hippias, both privilege bare facts and outward appearances over the ethical and spiritual aspects of actions. Both Pyrrho and Hippias were influenced by Elean history and culture. They enjoyed the highest respect from their people, and they were considered the most distinguished representatives of Elis. At the beginning of Plato's *Greater Hippias*, there is discussion about the nature of beauty in general (286d) and about beautiful girls as a specific example (287e). The topic of beautiful girls automatically leads to a discussion of the Elean *καλλους ἀγωνες* [beauty contest] (Ath. 13.609a). Hippias was an important figure in the affairs of the state for Elis (Ath. 5.218c). According to Diogenes Laertius (9.11.64), Pyrrho was so respected in Elis that he was made a high priest and won a tax exemption for all sophists. According to Pausanias, there is a statue of Pyrrho near the Elean forum. Pyrrho's tomb is in Petra, a township of ancient times close to Elis (6.24.5). Diogenes Laertius reports numerous practices among the Eleans of subordinating intellectual activity to practical action as the best guiding principle of human life since it is consistent with natural law exemplified in the animal world of *αὐτάρεια* [self-contentment]. For the Eleans, substance and phenomena were the absolute standards. The Eleans doubted that anything transcends substance. Socrates explored the soul, but only the phenomenon and its singularity were significant for the Eleans. This purely natural view of life explains why Pyrrho so valued the Homeric simile of human beings likened to leaves on a tree or even to flies

because all life is destined to die. Instead of abstract ideas, Eleans cultivated their *πρακτικὴ ἀρετὴ* [practical competencies]. Thus, Socrates points out in *Hippias Minor* that Hippias was able to make everything that he wore himself (368b).

The Eleans were faithful to the most traditional and ancient forms of their language and religion: the Iamid family used dogs for haruspicy (Paus. 6.2.4); the Eleans used wild olive leaves as a victory crown in the Olympic Games (Dio. Chrys., *Or.* 31.110 ff.; Paus. 5.7.7 and 15.3; and Plin., *HN* 16.240); the Eleans used wheat bread as part of their ritual sacrifices (Paus. 5.15.10); an altar dedicated to Hera was made of ashes (Paus. 5.14.7); the fly was a prominent religious symbol; the Olympic Games originated with Cretan Heracles, the oldest son of the Idaean Dactyls born from Hera's five fingers (Paus. 5.7.6 and 8.1 ff.); in sculptures, a god holds a scepter in his left hand, an old tradition observed by Pheidias (Paus. 5.11.1); the prominence of motherhood depicted in works of art (Paus. 5.11.8, 19.1 ff., and 17.1 ff.); Sosipolis is located in a shrine to the left of the sanctuary of Fortune (Paus. 6.25.4); a Doric-style temple in Metroön houses statues of Roman emperors (Paus. 5.20.9 ff. and 6.19.10); along with these emperors are the twenty-one shields offered by the Roman general Mummius (Paus. 5.10.5); and the *θρόνος Ἀρίμνου* [throne of Arimnestus], the king of Etruria, who embraced the rule of motherhood (Paus. 5.12.5); in a hymn by Ion of Chios, Hermes is called the youngest son of Zeus (Paus. 5.14.7-9); the Eleans offered to Hestia first, and the Sixteen Matrons purified themselves with a pig (Paus. 5.14.4 and 16.8). These are all examples of the maternal principle, worship of maternal deities, and reverence for tellurian-Poseidonian elements symbolized by a horse (Paus. 5.15.5, 13.8 ff., and 10.2 ff.; Strabo 8.343). The tellurian-Poseidonian elements of Elean life are associated with the exceptional prosperity of the country, which is illustrated in numerous accounts of Elis: Augeas (Paus. 5.1.9 ff. and Apollod. 2.5.5); Narcaeus (Paus. 5.16.7); Oxylus, who would not show the thriving prosperity of Elis to the sons of Aristomachus (Paus. 5.4.1 and Theoc., *Id.* 25.13 ff.); and the *εὐανδρία* [abundance of good men] in the population (Strabo 8.358). Together, these accounts comprise an image consistent

with a gynecocracy as the core institution responsible for an advanced agrarian society. In this context, we may best understand the significance of the Sixteen Elean Matrons, who solved disputes with treaties rather than war. Thus, they mediated the murder of Demophon with peaceful atonement rather than bloody revenge. The Sixteen Elean Matrons are a specific example illustrative of the character of all maternal peoples: a prevailing tendency for peaceful development; a cultivation of religion and justice; *δεισιδαιμονία* [fear of the gods] and eunomy; the observance of traditions in private life, government, and religion; and *philoxenia* [love of homeland] (Strabo 8.358). Together, these attributes of a gynecocracy form the foundation of a prosperous country and a mighty bulwark against social destruction.

CXXV. Pelops exemplifies the tellurian, phallic-procreative level of manliness, which combines the powers of Poseidon with those of Hephaestus (cf. Paus. 5.14.6 and 9.40.11 ff.). A twisted sword is the symbol for this level of manliness as exemplified in the following (Paus. 6.19.6); the myth of Theseus as a descendant of Pelops (Plut., *Thes.* 3.2-3; Paus. 1.41.5 and 5.10.7 ff.); the cult of Apollo at Tarsus (Plut., *De def. or.* 41.433b; cf. Paus. 9.19.3); the legend of Melampus of Elis; the legend of Memnon (Paus. 3.3.8); and the legend of Peleus. At this level, fatherhood is entirely material in character and a material nexus is the unbreakable bond between husband and wife. Fatherhood is entirely materialistic in this arrangement. Thus, in Elis the heroes acquired divine honors along with their wives (Paus. 5.15.11 ff.; cf. 5.4.1, 6.25.2 ff., 3.15.1, and 4.28.4). Thus, in one common version of the legend, Rhea rather than Hermes provides Pelops with an ivory shoulder; in the Samothracian version, Demeter/Ceres fits Pelops with his shoulder (Hyg., *Fab.* 83). Thus, Pelops' ivory shoulder is his left one (Philostr., *Imag.* 1.30). Thus, Pelops is depicted on monuments of art embracing his wife, Hippodameia (Paus. 5.10.7 and 17.7 and Philostr., *Imag.* 1.17). Thus, the oracle decreed that the bones of Hippodameia be returned to Olympia from Midea in Argolis (Paus. 6.20.7). This final story is especially noteworthy because it connects Pelops with the first attempt at liberation from a

maternal union. However, Pelops was unsuccessful because Hippodameia was his equal in providing for the welfare of the country.

Our discussion of Elis continues with Heracles, the son of Amphitryon and the great-grandson of Pelops (Paus. 5.13.2). Free of any female association, Heracles was hostile toward the Eleans, who paid homage to motherhood. Even though Heracles was unable to enforce his authority upon them, he was able to complete the work of Pelops. Heracles dedicated a sanctuary to Pelops and sacrificed to him. Furthermore, Heracles celebrated the Olympian Games in Pelops' honor as earlier Pelops had dedicated the Games to Oenomaus (Paus. 5.8.1 ff. and 13.2). The relationship between the sons of Amphitryon and the sons of Tantalus developed out of the Olympian Games. Though Heracles completed Pelops' work, Heracles became his superior and conqueror. Heracles took over Pelops' position as founder of the Olympian Games. At the time of Lycurgus, Iphitus required sacrifices to Heracles throughout Elis (Paus. 5.4.5 ff.). The sacral customs of the Olympian Games are Heracles' work. Pheidon traced his right to hold the Olympics back to Heracles (Strabo 8.358). Heracles introduced the custom of crowning a victor with a branch of oleaster (Paus. 5.7.7) as well as the practice of making sacrifices only with the wood of white poplar (Paus. 5.14.1 ff.). Heracles erected an altar to Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5.13.8) as well as the athletic facilities (Paus. 6.21.3). He initiated the practice of expelling flies at sacrifices (Paus. 5.14.1) and the worship of the bones of Geryon preserved at Olympia (Philostr., *Her.* 8.17). Finally, Heracles established the reputation and priesthood for the sons of Iamus (Pind., *Ol.* 6.115 ff. and Pliny 7.205).

The treatment of women at the Olympian Games was consistent with Heracles' attitude toward women. Thus, we find the following accounts. According to Pausanias, women were prohibited from observing the events and even from crossing the river Alpheus during the Olympics. Women who violated the prohibition were cast down from the cliffs of Mount Tymphaeum (5.6.7). However, Pausanias also mentions that the prohibition applied only to married women, not to maidens (6.20.9). Another exception was the priestess of the

sanctuary of Demeter, surnamed Chamyne, who was permitted to watch the Olympian Games seated upon a white grinding stone sacred to Demeter (cf. Paus. 6.21.1). Aelian conflates the expulsion of women and flies (*NA* 5.17 and 11.8). Indeed, he adds that the flies restrained themselves better than the women because the women obeyed the training rules of chastity whereas the flies abstained of their own free will. After the Olympian Games, both the flies and women returned. An analogous situation is when the flies restrained themselves during the Apollinian celebrations on the foothills of Actium. However, the Olympian flies deserve more recognition than those of Actium, according to Aelian, because the flies at Actium left only after they had satiated themselves on the blood of an ox dedicated to them whereas the Olympian flies left without any tribute but only out of reverence for the divine majesty (11.8). In contrast to Aelian, Pliny (29.106 and 10.75) and Pausanias say that it was also necessary in Olympia to feed the flies some of the meat from the sacrificial bull before they would go away. Pausanias reports that according to “an Elean legend, while Heracles, the son of Alcmene, was preparing his sacrifice at Olympia, he was pestered by a swarm of flies. Whether it was his own idea or someone else’s, he sacrificed to Zeus, the Averter of Flies, so that the flies were driven across the Alpheus River. The Eleans followed his example and sacrificed to Zeus, the Averter of Flies” (5.14.1). Other witnesses report of women who attended the Olympian Games without punishment despite the prohibition or even won a prize with their own team of horses. Pausanias tells of a trick by a woman, Callipateira sometimes called Pherenice. She dressed herself as a gymnastic trainer and brought her son to compete at the Olympian Games. When her son, Peisirodus, won an event, she threw off her disguise and rushed over to congratulate him (5.6.7 ff.). The prohibition was thus lifted for daughters, sisters, and mothers of Olympian contestants though a new law was passed that the gymnasts had to appear naked during the contest (Paus. 5.6.8 and 6.7.2; Ael., *VH* 10.1). Pausanias reports of women who participated in the Olympian Games with their own teams of horses:

The Spartan king Archidamus had a daughter, Cynisca by name, who wanted to participate in the Olympian Games. She was the

first woman to breed horses and the first to win an Olympic victory. Even though other women won Olympic victories afterwards, especially women from Macedonia, Cynisca's was the greatest. (3.8.1)

Another woman who won a horse race at the Olympian Games was Belistiche of Macedonia (Paus. 5.8.11). We should also count the Egyptian queen Berenice, the daughter of Magas from Cyrene among these women (Hyg., *Poet. astr.* 2.24). It deserves mentioning that the female participants in the Olympian Games all came from societies in which women enjoyed respect and high standing, e.g. Egyptian, Cyrenaian, Macedonian, Spartan, and Rhodian. Women were subject to a second restriction at Olympia. According to Pausanias, the altar of Zeus was about equidistant from the Pelopium and the sanctuary of Hera (5.13.8). Stone steps led up to the *prothesis* [base of an altar]. One climbed up to the actual altar on ashen steps. Both the steps and the altar were made from the ashes of the burned hindquarters of sacrificial animals. On those days when women were permitted in Olympia, they were allowed to ascend up to the *prothesis* but only men were allowed to go beyond to the altar.

These reports of the ancients about the prohibitions for women at the Olympian Games present a most curious contradiction to the evidence of an Elean gynocracy and to the maternal-physical origin of the Olympic Games. In particular, the exclusion of women from the altar of Zeus and the Olympian Games stands in stark contrast to the exalted significance of Hippodameia at the Olympian Games. Obviously, this exclusionary policy developed in conscious deviation from the gynocratic conditions of the Epean-Aetolian people. The magnitude of the punishment, the resistance of the Macedonian and Spartan women to the prohibition, and the enmity against Heracles expressed in various myths show how deeply one sensed this contradiction. The new perspective came from the influence of Delphi. Pelops and the Olympian Games sprouted from the Apollinian seeds of a religion higher than Epean-Aetolian tellurianism. The Apollinian principle won supremacy over the Aetolians through the Heraclidae. We can observe this development in the divine worship of Heracles by order of

Iphitus, the son of Oxylus. The Heraclidae are the source of the Hyperborean legend about the origin of the Olympics, of the myth of Apollo's Olympian victory (Paus. 5.7.6 ff.), of the use of the Doric dialect in rituals (Paus. 5.15.12 and 2.27.3), of Doric temples (Paus. 5.10.2 and 16.1; 6.24.2 and 5), and of the introduction of Heracles himself as the dominant figure in the development of the Olympics and of the Elean people. After the Heraclidae, the Herculean-Apollinian spirit had to oppose the ancient maternal-material religion more decisively. It had to relinquish its association with the Libyan Ammonium and gynecocratic Egypt for an association with Delphian Apollo. It had to elevate Olympian Zeus to a higher level of nature than the Poseidonian-tellurian represented by the holy rivers Alpheus and Cladeus and by the prophecies of Mother Earth (Paus. 5.14.10).

It should now be clear why women suffered discrimination even though there is such ample evidence of an earlier gynecocracy in Elis. Women lost their high status with the advent of the Herculean-Apollinian creed, leaving only vestiges of an earlier gynecocratic power. The fact remains that neither the side for nor against Heracles was able to win a complete and decisive victory. The older maternal social order maintained extensive influence in Elis as evidenced in the worship of Sosipolis, the Council of the Sixteen Matrons, the Heraean games, and the predominance of maternal divinities (Paus. 5.15.4). Furthermore, we can observe the duality of the Elean national lifestyle even in the figure of Heracles. His ancient maternal side includes his origin from Cretan Ida as the eldest and foremost member of the Dactyls (Paus. 5.7.6 ff. and 8.1 ff.); his role as guardian of the temple of nocturnal Demeter (Paus. 5.13.8 ff. and 9.19.4 ff.); his status as a member of the most ancient race of Curetes (Paus. 5.14.9 and 8.2.2); and his descent from Alcmena. His Apollinian side includes his lineage as the son of Amphitryon (Paus. 9.27.6 ff. and 5.13.2) and his great deeds, which are attributed to his solar paternity. In Elis, both of these aspects of Heracles enjoyed equal authority. As Pausanias suggests (5.14.9), the base and lofty religious elements were so commingled that they were often indistinguishable. Instead of Heracles, Strabo credits the Aetolians as the founders of the Olympian Games (8.355).

However, Strabo's zeal for historical accuracy overlooks the gradual refinement and reformation of the cult, which we find in the mythical duality of Heracles.

It is understandable why the Herculean-Apollinian spirit was responsible for the exclusion of women from the Olympian Games. However, this was neither the final extent nor consequence of the Delphian viewpoint. Whereas women were not permitted under any circumstances within the domain of the Pythian shrine (Plut., *De Pyth. or.* 2.385c), maidens were admitted to the Olympian Games, women competed for prizes, Hippodameia won a victory crown, Cynisca was honored as a champion, and the maidens of Olympia participated in their own games called Heraea in honor of Hera in a stadium shortened by one-sixth of the normal length (Paus. 5.16.2 ff.). Finally, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne was considered sacrosanct under the protection of the white grinding stone of Demeter. In opposition to Heracles, Demeter appeared as a representative of an earlier Pelopian-Achaeon cultural stage, in which the great mother of the earth was the central figure. According to Varro (*Rust.* 1.2.11), the Cerealian egg was carried at the front of the procession at the Roman circus games. Here Demeter had maintained her rule more decisively than at Olympia. Nonetheless, no one dared to violate Herculean authority any further. Even though Demeter maintained her ancient high standing, women in general were excluded from the circus. The difference in status between unmarried and married women reveals the fundamental idea behind the demotion of women in society. Aelian (*NA* 5.17) traces the restriction of women back to the principle of σωφροσύνη [continenence]. Obviously, the guiding principle arose from the intrinsic connection between corporeal motherhood and the natural laws of corporeal death. The Olympian Games celebrated the overcoming of corporeal death through a Uranian rebirth. Thus, the mere presence of a mother at the events would have diverted attention away from a spiritual apotheosis to substance, the source of mortality. The idea of conquest over the tellurian required the exclusion of women, who served the tellurian-gorgonian law. However, chaste virgins were allowed to attend the Olympian Games because they had not yet participated in corporeal motherhood.

Thus, a virgin dedicated to a life of chastity was entrusted with the priesthood at the sanctuary of Heracles at Thespieae (Paus. 9.27.6 ff.). Only matrons serve decline and death; only they promote the law of substance through violation of σωφροσύνη [continence].

We can now see how a violation of continence corresponds perfectly to Poseidon's twice-repeated love for Pelops. We can understand that Heracles held games in honor of Pelops because of his higher principles. We can finally grasp why the oracle made the fall of Troy contingent upon retrieving Pelops' bones and Heracles' arrows (Paus. 5.13.4 and Philostr., *Her.* 28.3), why the guardian statue, the Palladium, was made from Pelops' bones (Clem. Al., *Protr.* 42), and why the *ossa* [bones] of Orestes, the descendant of Pelops, were considered one of seven pillars of the empire (Paus. 8.54.4 and 3.3.6 ff.). Pelops and Heracles strove after the same goal. Both raised themselves above the dismal law of pure tellurism. Pelops began the conquest over nature and Heracles completed it. Pelops was Poseidon's lover, and Heracles was Apollo's. Pelops conquered through phallic masculinity whereas Heracles conquered through the immaterial masculinity of light. Pausanias reports of a tale that explains why Heracles became more important than Pelops. Following the advice of the oracle at Delphi, Pelops' bones were returned to Olympia. Over time, they disappeared. The *ossa* [bones], their shrine, and the metal had all deteriorated consistent with the Poseidonian principle. In contrast, Heracles outlasted the vicissitudes of time. Symbolically, Heracles transplanted the oleaster, a tree that is evergreen with fresh blooms, from the land of the Apollinian Hyperboreans to Olympia, (Plin., *HN* 16.240). Only wood from the white poplar was used for Olympian sacrificial fires. Pausanias explains that the custom originated with Heracles, who discovered the tree on the banks of the Acheron (5.13.1-3 and 14.2; cf. Gell., *NA* 10.15.28). It is especially revealing that the Eleans worshipped Hades (Strabo 8.344) because he was their ally against Heracles (Paus. 6.20.19 and 25.2 ff.). Symbolically, Heracles' conquest over the Eleans manifests overcoming physical disintegration and conquering death. Heracles is depicted on Olympian monuments as liberator from

the bonds of substance in such scenes as his victory over the Amazonians (Paus. 5.10.9), as the liberator of Prometheus (Paus. 5.11.6), and as the grand champion whose native city tears down its own walls to welcome him home (Plin., *HN* 16.12).

Overthrowing the law of death is likewise exemplified in the expulsion of flies, which is considered a consequence of Herculean sacrifice. The blowfly feeds and breeds on corpses and rot. Its color is between blue and black like the demon in Hades, called Eurynomus, who eats off the flesh of the corpses leaving only their bones (Paus. 10.28.7 ff. and Lucian, “The Fly” 4). In its unabashed shamelessness (Lucian, “The Fly” 6, Cic., *De or.* 2.247, and Horapollon Niliacus 1.51) and greediness for blood, the blowfly demonstrates the merciless doom of death, to which all life falls prey. Indeed, the blowfly represents the law of maternal substance. Thus, it is feminine, for its origin is a girl, Μυία [Muia], who fell in love with Endymion as a rival to Selene, who turned her into a fly (Lucian, “The Fly”). Therefore, Heracles hated the blowfly; it was associated with the image of the gloomy demonic side of nature; since it was irreconcilable with Apollo’s pure luminous nature, its presence had to be expiated through the sacrifice of a bull; finally, it was equated with women because they bear the law of death in their wombs. Appropriately, women sang a dirge at Achilles’ cenotaph (cf. Paus. 2.11.7) about the frailty of life (Paus. 6.23.3 and 24.1) at the onset of night just before the commencement of the Olympian Games, which celebrated the male-Herculean principle of immortality.

The highest conception of the Apollinian was represented in the figure of Zeus as perfect spirituality. Thus, Zeus’ altar was higher than Hera’s altar, which represented the mother, and higher than Pelops’ altar, which represented the Poseidonian-male. Neither mother nor maiden were allowed to go beyond the *prothysis* of Zeus’ altar. In Zeus and Heracles, the opposition of life and death was resolved as a synthesis of unalterable being. Therefore, the distinction between mother and maiden was irrelevant. Both mother and maiden had to stay away from Zeus’ temple because they had participated in sacrifices offered to the dead

Pelops (Paus. 5.13.1-3). As substance is purified by fire, paternity replaces the mutability of motherhood with everlastingness. Neither woman nor man who had partaken of the funeral feast was allowed to have contact with the god at his highest level. If we look back upon earlier religions from this peak of religious development, we can well understand why Pausanias said that the Eleans honored Pelops above all the other heroes of Olympia as they worshipped Zeus above the assembly of the other gods (5.13.1). However, the worship of Zeus as the highest religious development was associated with Pelops. The notion of a divine immutable father arose from the cult of the dead and the lamentation over the transience of life. In contrast, Zeus is spiritual being beyond corporeal suffering.

Gradually and sequentially, the Olympian rituals overcame substance and repressed the maternal-female principle. Traces of all three developmental periods are evident in the Elean cults: the pure law of nature represented by Oenomaus; the higher human existence represented by Pelops; and the pure paternity represented by Apollo and Heracles. Though vanquished and driven into the background, the remnants of lower materiality were not exterminated. Even Heracles and Apollo had not completely sloughed off their lower materiality. For example, Heracles was in an eating contest (Paus. 5.5.4), and Apollo was celebrated as ὀψοφάγος [gourmand] in Elis (Ath. 8.346b). In these roles as feasters, both were still quite material. The muddy water of the Alpheus played a cultic role in the myth of Artemis as well as Zeus (Paus. 6.21.8 ff.). Furthermore, the worship of Zeus the Purifier was connected with Zeus of the Underground (Paus. 5.14.8). Likewise, we have the incongruity that the women of Bady were hetaeristic though women were the leading figures in the Heraean Games and in the cult of Sosipolis (Paus. 6.20.2-3). Women were excluded from the Olympian Games as well as from Zeus' altar because of their motherhood and material nature. In general, women were subordinated to men. However, there was a counter-tradition, in which Hippodameia rode the chariot along with Pelops and the other suitors. The daughter of Oenomaus even offered the crown to the victor. It was a woman's curse that prohibited the Isthmians from participating in the

Olympian Games. Until now, all these contradictions were unresolved and ignored by mythological studies. These contradictions are understandable if we consider them aspects of an historical cultural development.

CXXXIII. We have examined the development and traditions of the Elean people in three regions: Elis, Pisatis, and Triphylian Pylos. Even though each place was unique, they all followed the same law of progress. The light of Apollinian paternity outshone material mother right. At this final point, the various courses of development in Elis converged. Unity replaced multiplicity. As the distinct national elements became consolidated in the Elean name, the various religious ideas manifested in the Olympian celebrations were synthesized in the divine conception of Olympic Zeus. Elis offers a noteworthy cultural spectacle. The lowest and the highest levels of religious development manifested themselves simultaneously with equal force. Among the Eleans, the tellurian-Poseidonian cult retained equal status with the Apollinian spirit, which gained complete authority in the Herculean establishment of the Olympian Games. The survival of the tellurian-Poseidonian cult was primarily a result of the conservative nature of the Epean-Aetolian national spirit. On the other hand, the Apollinian-Herculean system came from the Doric influence of the Heraclidae, whose conquest of the Peloponnesus led to the establishment of the Olympic cult as well as of an Apollinian oracle conducted by the Iamidae in connection with Zeus' altar.

The Dionysian cult found fertile ground in the broad area separating these cultural and religious opponents, and there it mediated between them. Of all the traditional lands, Dionysus enjoyed the most secure footing in Elis. On the other hand, he encountered impassable borders. The physical foundation of the Dionysian cult fit well with tellurian Neptunism. However, Dionysus was similar to Pelops, who was associated with the Uranian side of the mysteries, which celebrated the masculine, beautiful god of light as the redeemer over death. The prominent role of motherhood in Elis must have greatly benefited the situation of the Bacchic cult. The high respect for motherhood found new confirmation in the Bacchic cult, whose religious rites were founded on the intrinsic connection of a

phallic master of both the tellurian and Uranian worlds to a woman and her spiritual faculties. In this context, it is especially significant that Plutarch considered the Council of Sixteen Matrons to be an association of Bacchic priestesses though in fact the institution extended back to primordial times. Although originally without any connection to the Dionysian cult, the Council merged with it in order to secure its social status and authority with a new foundation. A late example of the religious power of Elean women is in Plutarch's account of how the Council of Sixteen and Megisto contributed to the resistance against and the overthrow of the tyrant Aristotimus. With olive branches and fillets sacred to Dionysus, the Council of Sixteen Matrons confronted Aristotimus at the marketplace of Elis. In awe, the bodyguards allowed the women to approach Aristotimus. On another occasion, Megisto, the leader of the Council of Sixteen Matrons, challenged Aristotimus. As a sign of her disrespect for him and as a sign of her own status, she remained seated like a mother goddess (Plut., *De mul. virt.*, "Micca and Megisto" 15.250 ff. and Paus. 5.5.1). As a Bacchic assembly, the Council of Sixteen Matrons performed two choral dances, one dedicated to Hippodameia and the other to Physcoa of Orthia in Elis. Physcoa lay with Dionysus and brought forth Narcaeus. She and her son became the first worshippers of Dionysus (Paus. 5.16.7).

Because Elean women belonged to the Dionysian cult, they were included among the paintings in the Delphian Lesche [a room for conversation]. Among the famous women of Aeolian prehistoric times, Chloris is depicted resting her head on the lap of Thyia. This intimate pose represents their lifelong friendship. Pausanias claims that Thyia was a lover of Poseidon, the father of Neleus. Chloris was the wife of Neleus (10.29.5). Even though Thyia was associated with Neptune, she nonetheless remained a Dionysian character. Thyia was the first woman to celebrate orgies in honor of Dionysus (Paus. 10.6.4). Her name is the derivation of Thyiads, another name for the Bacchantes (Paus. 10.32.7 and 4.2 ff.; Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 35.364e). Since Thyia was a personification of the female-Dionysian mysteries and closely linked to the festival of the Herois (Plut., *Quaest.*

Graec. 12.293c), she brought Chloris into the Dionysian cult by association. Furthermore, Thyia and Chloris represent the progression of the ancient Minyan-chthonic cult to a Bacchic gynecocracy. It is remarkable that the women of Elis did not follow suit with the Dionysian tradition of a bloody frenzy, which we have observed among the women of Orchomenus, Laconia, and Argos. The localization of the myth of Proetides to Triphylia (Strabo 8.346 ff.) shows the significance of the victorious struggle of the chthonic-Melampus cult against the Dionysian cult in the Elean coastal lands. However, Dionysus ultimately prevailed as evidenced by the numerous shrines and cults in Elis as well as the festival of Thyia held in his honor (Paus. 6.26.1 and Plut., *De superst.* 170a). The deep-rooted gloomy severity of the ancient chthonic-maternal religion and the strict discipline of maternal power among the Elean women yielded to the worship of light in the Dionysian cult.

In Elis, the Dionysian custom of using wine at sacrifices remained limited (Paus. 6.20.2 and 5.15.10 ff.). Wine was not used for sacrifices at the altar dedicated to all the gods, and the Sixteen Matrons did not use wine at all in their religious practices. Furthermore, the nymphs preserved their standing in Elis as leaders in piety and devoutness. Even in Pausanias' time, the Council of Matrons continued to perform purification rites dedicated to Demeter with a pig and water to the exclusion of wine, which was considered unchaste (Paus. 5.16.8). One must view their practice as opposition to such new practices as Melampus' ritual of mixing water with wine and the prayer of the Elean woman to Dionysus as the steer-footed god of fertility that arises from the sea (Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 36.299b, *Thes.* 16.1 ff., and *De Is. et Os.* 35.364e-f). In contrast, the Council of Matrons adhered to a strict and conscious preservation of religious practices that excluded tellurian, phallic rankness. Their resistance to Bacchic wine is reflected in the depiction of Chloris and Thyia as calm and sensible women, who were associated only with the Poseidonian aspect of Dionysus, not with Bacchic arousal. Two other stories illustrate the victorious resistance of the Elean matrons devoted to Hera against the unchaste wine of Dionysus. Diodorus Siculus tells of

swine tipping over the wine casks stored in the temple of Hemithea at night (5.62.1-63.3). Macrobius reports that in the nocturnal ritual of Bona Dea, Bacchic wine was not permitted in the temple. Thus, the names of the ancient offerings were used instead. The vessel containing the wine was called a *mellarium* [honey-pot] and the wine itself, *lac* [milk] (*Sat.* 1.12.25; cf. Porph., *Abst.* 2.20). Mockingly, Pausanias tells how water was allegedly transformed into wine at the shrine of Dionysus (6.26.1 ff.; cf. *Ath.* 1.34a). On the one hand, this eccentric superstitious tale suggests that the sober Poseidonian religious practices of the Eleans stood in opposition to the sensual powers of Dionysus. On the other hand, the tale shows the means Dionysus employed to get control over the Eleans. According to Athenaeus, at least the men of Elis had fallen prey to alcoholism, dishonesty, and debauchery (8.350a and 10.442e). In this context we can better understand why Dionysus was called Leucyanites in Elis and thus associated with the river Leucyanias (Paus. 6.21.5); why Silenus had a temple to himself without the company of Dionysus (Paus. 6.24.8); why the altar of Dionysus was not attended by Bacchans as in Sicyon (Paus. 2.7.5 ff.) but instead by the Graces (Paus. 9.35.1 and Theoc., *Id.* 16.104), who went by the names of the three Proetides; why there was an attendant statue of Dionysus in the temple of Hera (Paus. 5.17.3); and why Dionysus was depicted there along with chthonic figures of death rather than in his role as a creative, phallic god (Paus. 5.20.3 and 19.6).

These cases above illustrate the persistent resistance of the native Poseidonian-tellurian religious convictions in Elis to the orgiastic worship of Dionysus. Furthermore, these examples prove that matronhood was a prominent and powerful institution among the ancients in Elis. Nonetheless, we must square the status of matronhood with the influence of Apollo, who became prominent in Elis because of the Heraclidae. As the paternity of Apollo became purer, more metaphysical and spiritual, the sensual paternal nature of Dionysus had to recede into the background. Thus, two forces worked against an autocracy of the Dionysian cult in Elis: on the one hand, the power and the status of the traditional chthonic-maternal cult jealously guarded by the matrons, and on the other hand

the Herculean-Apollinian notion of pure divinity institutionalized in the prophetic clan of the Iamidae. In the first case, there was the austerity of the maternal principle of Hera and in the second case, the splendor of the paternal principle of Zeus. In other words, Dionysus was unable to effect a genial lifestyle among the people because his efforts were thwarted on two fronts. Elsewhere, he had succeeded in transforming the entire society, especially among women. In Elis, the women rejected him. Dionysus was unable to overcome the opposition of the Elean women or to offset their supremacy. Because the women of Elis were so closely linked to Hera, they were barred from the Olympian celebrations and from the altar of Zeus. Even when the Sixteen Matrons practiced the new rites of Dionysus, they did not dare cross the Alpheus River or to follow the Apollinian Iamidae to the summit of Zeus' altar during the Olympian Games. The elevation of Zeus resulted in the humiliation of women. Even the Dionysian cult was unable to reconcile the forces of Hera and Zeus. In fact, Dionysus was also forced to submit to the power of Zeus.

The Epizephyrian Locrians

CXXXIV. We now leave the Eleans and turn to the Epizephyrian Locrians, a people who long maintained traditions of the ancient gynecocracy of the Lelegian-Aeolian tribe. Most of our information about the Epizephyrian Locrians comes from Polybius, who visited their city several times and maintained close contact with them. Concerning the foundation of the Locrian colony in southern Italy, Polybius reports:

Locrian ancestral nobility is derived from women, not from men; for example, those considered among the nobility are only from the so-called Hundred Houses. These ἑκατὸν οἰκιῶν [Hundred Houses] were those designated by the Locrians as the leading families before colonization. These were the families from which the Locrians were to select the virgins by lot to send to Ilium as a tribute as ordered by the oracle. Some of the women of these families who left with the colonizers and their descendants are still considered noble and called οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν οἰκιῶν [of the Hundred Houses]. Furthermore, the Locrians recount the following story: When the Locrians encountered the Sicels in Italy, they observed sacrifices led by a boy of one of the most celebrated and noble families. He was called the Phialephorus. Since the Locrians had no rituals of their own, they retained and adopted several Sicelian rites. However, instead of appointing one of their boys to be Phialephorus, they appointed one of their virgins because nobility among them was derived from women. (12.5.6 ff.)

Furthermore, Polybius relates that the Epizephyrian Locrians claimed they were descended from noble women in order to conceal the shame of their paternal heritage, allegedly slaves. “Therefore, the Locrians named their city after the women. They maintained they were related to other Locrians exclusively through female lineage. Likewise, they sustained ancestral friendships and alliances based on their female lineage” (12.6b.2).

. . . As is typical of a gynecocracy, a woman led the Locrians to their colony. As Dido led the Phoenicians to Libya, Aphrodite escorted the Locrians to southern Italy. In ancient accounts, Aphrodite frequently appears as the woman ruler, who governs her people and their cities (*Hymn. Orph.* 55.18-19; Plin., *HN* 3.74; Strabo 14.683 and 17.800; and Ath. 7.318b and 318d). Furthermore, in the role as the primeval mother of the Locrians, Aphrodite provided the religious foundation of the Locrian gynecocracy. We should understand the vow of the Locrian Maidens to chastity and servitude as a service to this gynecocracy. Like the Elean matrons in Bady, the Locrian Maidens offered their chastity to the protective queen of their city in times of danger. A fundamental requirement of a gynecocracy is for women to sacrifice themselves for the well being of their people. For example, the Hyacinthides were sacrificed for the safety of Athens. In a similar fashion, two Locrian maidens lived in servitude each year as atonement for Ajax's violation of Cassandra in Athena's temple in Troy (Plut., *De sera* 12 and Strabo 13.600). The Locrian maiden mentioned in Pindar's *Pythian Odes II* is best understood in this context. The Locrian maiden sings praise to Hieron (19.34-40) for having saved the Locrians from the hostile schemes of Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium (cf. *Pyth.* 1.50.99). By making the Ζεφυρία Λοκρίς παρθενος [Locrian maiden of the West] the center of attention, Pindar acknowledges the high position of Locrian women in general.

When we turn from the Epizephyrian colony in southern Italy to the motherland in central Greece, we find even more evidence of a Locrian gynecocracy. According to the excerpt from Polybius quoted above, the Hundred Houses were established in the native land of the Opuntian Locrians before they migrated to southern Italy. Especially in *Olympian Odes IX* in praise of Epharmostus the Opuntian, Pindar highlights the female aspects of the Opuntian Locrians. Pindar calls the city of Opus ματέρ ἀγλαόδενδρον [mother resplendent with noble trees] (20), consistent with Strabo's description of the area as a "fertile plain" (9.425). In the same vein, Pindar calls Opus the Πρωτογενείας άστυ [Protogeneia's city] (41). Pindar attributes the lineage of the Locrian royal family

entirely to noble motherhood, from which Epharmostus also descended (55 ff.). In addition, the name Opus is derived from μητροπάτωρ [mother's father] (64). In summary, we have three different manifestations of mother right: 1) tracing the lineage of Opus and his royal family back to Protogeneia; 2) the transmission of royalty through a female source; and 3) the naming of the children after the maternal parents. Even though Opus descended from Zeus and Protogeneia, Pindar mentions only the mother (64). The mother is also the source of the paternal nobility of a child because nobility can only be imparted through the childbearing womb of a mother. Dante expresses this idea in the lines to Maria: tu se' colei che l'umana natura / nobilitasti [you are the one who ennobled human nature] (*Paradiso* 33.4 ff.). Likewise, in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, Deianira asks Lichas about Iolè: "Who gave her birth? Who is her father?" (311). The sequence of questions indicates that the mother is primary and the father, secondary.

Protogeneia was the child of Pyrrha and Deucalion, whose main residence was in Locrian Opus or in Cynus (Strabo 9.425). Thus, the Locrians are members of the Lelegian "stone people" who were τῶν ἀπο Πύρρας [descended from Pyrrha] and λεχτοὶ ἀπο γαίης [picked up from the earth]. This vision of creation is entirely material and it is reflected in the Locrian notion of people "of the Hundred Houses." Aristotle, Hesiod, and Pliny (HN 4.27) document the affiliation of the Locrians with the Lelegian tribes. Furthermore, the Lelegians are related to other maternal peoples, the Carians, Aetolians, Thessalians, and Messenians. Protogeneia leads us to the Eleans, another maternal people. According to Apollodorus (1.7.2) and Pindar (*Ol.* 9.64), Protogeneia was the daughter of Deucalion. However, Pindar contradicts himself and makes Protogeneia the daughter of Opus from Elis (*Ol.* 9.58 and 62). A city called Opus was also located in Elis (Diodor. 14.17.8). Strabo claims that Eleans and Locrians revived their ancient kinship (9.425). The interrelationship of both tribes is apparent in the stories that Protogeneia came to Elis from Locris (Paus. 5.1.3 ff. and Apollod. 1.7.2.). Likewise, Pindar says Protogeneia returned to her Locrian homeland from Elis and remained there.

Conon relates another story connecting the Locrians to gynecocratic tribes (*Narr.* 3). Locrus and Alcinous were called the sons of Phaeax (or Physcius). Locrus moved to Italy and fathered Latinus, establishing an ancient blood relationship between the Phaeacians of Corcyra and the Epizephyrians. Both the Opician Capua and the Arcadian Caphyans were connected with Cabyê, the mother of the Ozolian Locrians (Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 15 and Paus. 8.23.6-7). The subjects of Teleboas, a grandson of Lelex, lived in an extensive area from Leucas to the islands on the west coast of Italy (Strabo 7.322). The ancient connection between Sicily and Lower Italy with the island Drepane-Corcyra, the neighboring islands, and the coastal areas of Epirus and Acarnania is based on Psophis of Arcadia, Zacynthia, and Sicania (Paus. 8.24.1 ff.), the emigration of Agrolas and Hyperbius from Sicily to Acarnania (Paus. 1.28.3), and Pyrrha and Deucalion's move to Aetna in Sicily. Finally, Graicus and Latinus were considered brothers as sons of Pandora, the daughter of the Lelegian Deucalion.

The importance of motherhood among the Phaeacians is exemplified in the noble figure of Arete. Every detail of Homer's depiction of her is consistent with the features of mother right (*Od.* 6.304-15 and 7.53-77). In the following lines, Homer suggests the profound difference in the status of women between the Phaeacians and the people of his own time:

. . . τὴν δ' Ἀλκίνοος ποιήσατ ἄκοιτιν
καί μιν ἔτις, ὡς οὐ τις ἐπι χθονὶ τίεται ἄλλη,
όσσαι νῦν γε γυναιῖκες ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν οἶκον ἔχουσι
[Alcinous took (Arete) as his wife and honored her as no other
woman on earth. She was so unlike women these days, who
conduct their households at the whims of their husbands.] (*Od.*
7.66-68)

Arete rules the household. Her husband, children, and the Phaeacian people treat her with religious respect. Whomever she takes under her protection is inviolable. Like Elean, Gallic, and German matrons, Arete serves as the highest judge of disputes among men. Arete is like Eriphylê, who mediated between Amphiaraüs, her husband, and Adrastus, her brother. Arete and Eriphylê are even more closely related, for Phaeax's mother, Corcyra, was a daughter of Asopus,

and a sister of Aegina and Thebê (Diod. Sic 4.72.1 ff.). Arete also appears as the highest judge in the conflict involving Medea and Jason when the Colchians demand Medea's return on Aeëtes' behalf. Even though Alcinous pronounces the judgment, Arete is behind it, and she is the one who saves Medea. As a sign of disrespect among Phaeacian women for the paternal principle, the twelve Phaeacian maidens, a present to Medea from Arete, mock the Argonauts for sacrificing to Apollo on the island of Anaphe (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 4.990-1227; Apollod. 1.9.25-26; and Ath. 1.24b).

Consistent with mother right, the youngest child is depicted as the most important in the *Odyssey*. Eurymedon's youngest daughter, Periboea, "the most attractive of all women," is the one who establishes a matrilineal regal line when she mates with Poseidon (*Od.* 7.56-57). In this family line, brothers may marry their sisters, a custom acceptable among the Aeolians (*Od.* 10.5-7). However, Arete is not the sister of Alcinous but his brother's daughter.

Nausicäa leading a mule team to the river mouth to do her washing is an illustration of Phaeacian gynecocracy. In a larger context, it is a scene of a real historical tradition of gynecocratic rights from primeval time. A gynecocratic lifestyle is at the foundation of the highly-evolved culture of amity, agriculture, and the cultivation of the arts, especially song and dance, on the island of Scheria (*Od.* 7.190, 6.259, and 8.252 ff.).

In Phaeacia, we find a religious cult and its symbols typical of mother right. Male power is conceived as Poseidonian and represented in the figure of a brazen ox, which was also worshipped in Olympia and Delphi (Paus. 5.27.9 ff. and 10.9.4). The phallic principle is subordinated to tellurism and to Demetrian motherhood consistent with the oldest conception of the sea as *gremium matris terrae* [lap of mother earth]. The canine symbol is maternal and tellurian. Silver dogs guard Alcinous' palace (*Od.* 7.91). Likewise, dogs were prominent symbols among the Locrians. Furthermore, the maternal-tellurian religious culture of the Phaeacians corresponds to the name Φαίαξ [Phaeax] derived from φαίος meaning "dark" as is the case with the ψολόεις "sooty" Orchomenians, with the

Cimmerians, the people near the land of the dead on whom the sun never shines, and with the dark Daunians (Ael. *VH* 12.38). Furthermore, the cult of the dead is an aspect of the maternal-tellurian tradition. Thus, it is significant that the Phaeacians provided Rhadamanthys, a judge of the underworld, with travel to Tityus, the son of the earth (*Od.* 7.323). Alcinous tells Odysseus about the Phaeacian ships that have neither pilots nor steering oars because “the ships understand the thoughts and minds of men” (*Od.* 8.555-66). The *Argo* is counterpart of these unusual ships, for it could speak and prophesy. Furthermore, Jason sailed it from Naupactus to the island of Scheria (Paus. 2.3.9). All these stories with their probable origins in Corinth share a common maternal-tellurian tradition.

The higher religious concepts that we previously attributed to the Argonauts apply to the Phaeacians as well. The unmistakable belief in life beyond death is preserved in the Homeric tradition. Most striking is how the Phaeacian ships sail hidden in clouds and mist (*Od.* 8.562) and how Odysseus’ magical sleep ends with the dawn (*Od.* 13.18-80). Here is a manifestation of the regimen of the night so indicative of mother right and its cultural stage. The progression of sleeping and waking represents the dawn victoriously overcoming darkness. In a similar fashion, Orpheus longingly waits on Mount Pangaeus for the majesty of dawn to abolish the holy mysteries of the night. Symbolically, Orpheus enacts the belief in resurrection arising from a sleep of death. Consistent with this notion, Odysseus portrays changeable human life always suspended between deliverance and ruin. His trials and death afford him passage into the shining home beyond: “[Odysseus] a man who had suffered many heartrending sorrows, vicious wars, and terrible waves at sea / but now he slept peacefully, forgetting of all that he had suffered” (*Od.* 13.90-93). At the first rising of the morning star, Odysseus awakes on the shore of his homeland. His journey was faster than a hawk and as quick as wings and thought, and it was joyful. The ship knows the homeland of every man. It leads those lost back home. The Phaeacians provide only safe conduct home but

not residency on their island because they are suspicious of strangers (*Od.* 6.278-91, 7.17, and 8.28).

In this episode, Homer draws from the intellectual world of the pre-Hellenic period of chthonic-maternal mystery cults. The entire episode of Odysseus' sojourn among the Phaeacians stands in sharp contrast to the other parts of the *Odyssey*. In this episode, Homer depicts a sublime image of the lost Pelasgian culture in Greece, in which the mysteries of a chthonic religion manifest a grand vision of the relationship between life in this world and the one beyond. Phaeacia is a culture based on mother right with all the markings of a maternal-tellurian cult: Arete's conspicuous majesty; the symbol of the dog; Neptune; the ceremony of the mysteries with sacred women; the ball; the white robes of the women; the magic cord for locking chests; and music and dance (*Od.* 8.372-79 and 438-45; 6.27-35 and 64). Finally, this episode shows the eunomy and peaceful happiness of a gynecocratic country arising from its religion. This portrait stems from historical circumstances not from Homer's imagination. It is not Homer's creation but a world he learned of. Homer has interwoven the story of Odysseus with real religious practices and events. Scheria is an island of the blessed. Furthermore, it is located far beyond the boundaries of the world. Moreover, it is removed from the standards of this world and treated as a fantasy and as a region in a world beyond with its eternal "zephyr." However, it should be obvious that Homer does not make the Phaeacians a purely legendary people. As suggested in *Odyssey* (6.8, 204 and 279), the ancients were of the opinion that Corcyra was located far from civilization. However, geography is not the issue. It is religion that distinguishes the Phaeacian world. It is a magical place like one of its ships endowed with a soul needing no pilot to transport the slumbering Odysseus. Like Homer, Hesiod identified Corcyra with Scheria (Paus. 2.3.9) and connected the Phaeacians with the Locrians and the Lelegians.

CXLI. I will end my delineation of Locrian mother right with an analysis of the story about the contest at Delphi between Eunomus of Locri and Ariston of Rhegium. Eunomus won the musical contest when a cicada lit on his cithara and

produced the sound in place of a string that suddenly broke. In the forum of the city of Locri was a statue of Eunomus with a cicada seated on his cithara to commemorate this event.

As Timaeus reports, Eunomus and Ariston were contestants in the cithara competition at the Pythian games. Ariston besought the Delphians to let him perform first because his ancestors had worshipped Apollo and they had originated from Delphi. Eunomus responded that the Rhegini did not qualify for any musical contest because even their cicadas, the most musical of animals, were mute. Nonetheless, Ariston sang well and he was expected to win. However, Eunomus gained a surprising victory, for which he is honored by a statue. During his performance, one of his strings broke. A cicada lit on his cithara and produced the sound. (Strabo 6.260)

This story provides a profound view into the noblest side of the Aeolian lifestyle based upon the rule of the mother. The cicada is the central figure because it is a Locrian religious symbol. To understand the myth, we must decipher the statue. The Eleans named the cicada τερτιξ [tettix] because of its loud song (Theoc. *Id.* 7.138). In many accounts, the cicada represents the motherhood of the earth and the matrilineal descent of the γηλενεις αούχδονες [original creatures arisen from the earth] (Philostr., *Imag.* 2.17 and Dio Chrys., *Or.* 44.595). According to Plato's *Symposium*, cicadas breed in the earth; thus, cicadas were viewed as the model of the oldest race of human beings that bred not one with another but all together in the ground (191c). The night and its dew couple with the earth to serve motherhood (Pl., *Phdr.* 230a and Plin., *HN* 11.93). Thus, Herse [sprinkled with dew] turned into a cicada after she and Hermes begot Tithonus. In turn, Tithonus and Eos had a child, Cephalus (Apollod. 3.14.3 ff. and Ov., *Met.* 2.708-832). The tettix appears here as dewy, fertile Mother Night. Thus, it is associated with the womb of darkness, from which the early morning light issues. The cicada also appears as Tithonus, the young day loved by Eos. The belief that the cicada can rejuvenate itself comes from this version. The cicada is like the sun that sets yet returns in its youth. Mother Night yields to the male power. The night is silent and the stirring of life comes at dawn. Accordingly, the female cicada is

silent but the male cicada sings its richest song once the sun has reached its highest point at noon (Plin., *HN* 11.92). In the spirit of this example, Plato does not allow a philosopher to sleep or be silent (*Phdr.* 259c-d).

This context makes it a simple matter to determine the religious level of the tettix. Its domain is not of the eternal, changeless light but rather of night-born day that routinely returns into the night (cf. Pl., *Resp.* 521c). The tettix is like Minos' son Glaucus, whom Polyeidus brings back to life. The tettix is like Minos' steer that changes its color three times a day like the blackberry plant. In all these examples, we see that the tettix represents the Locrian maternal principle. It is the same as the Aeolian practice of judging life by the standard of tellurian vegetation. However, the tettix rose from a purely physical to a higher mystical level among the Locrians. The mystical significance of the tettix has its foundation in material motherhood and the Demetrian mysteries. The perpetual flux of the plant world from decomposition to rejuvenation as well as the perpetual setting and rising of the sun serve as a model for the sublime hope of mankind. The tettix is a metaphor of this mystery. The tettix appears in a variety of manifestations. As a psychopompos, the Cretan tettix of Taenarum (Plut., *De sera* 17.560e) represents the conquering powers of the mystery rites over death and destruction in the underworld. The Cretan tettix is also associated with the citharist, Arion, who is honored by a bronze statue in Taenarum (Paus. 3.25.4 and 7 ff. and 9.30.2; Herodotus 1.23-24; and Fronto, *Ep.* "Arion"). Coins from Tarentum with Odysseus [Orpheus] holding a cicada in front of Cerberus render a similar depiction of the conquering powers of the mystery rites over death and destruction in the underworld (Paus. 9.30.4 and Dio Chrys., *Or.* 33 or 11). Concerning the mystery rites, Horapollon Niliacus writes "A cicada is a figure of a man initiated into the mysteries because it does not chirp through its mouth but sings a sweet song from the lower part of its back" (2.55). Likewise, Pliny points out that the cicada *unum hoc ex iis quae vivunt et sine ore est* [is the only living creature without a mouth] (*NA* 11.93). This peculiar characteristic of the cicada

became integrated into the symbology of the mysteries as if nature herself required silence and secrecy as the highest law of the mysteries.

The ancients considered the dewy heaven as the source of παιδείη [education]. The sky poured wisdom onto human souls from above (Horapollon Niliacus 1.37). Thus, both Orpheus and Pythagoras were reputedly nurtured on dew (Clem. Al., *Strom.* 5.684). Likewise, the cicada is nurtured from the finest dew and deemed blessed (Anac. 34.3). As a sign of wisdom, wise and older men wore their hair in a knot fastened with a golden cicada (Xen. *An.* 5.4.13 and Lucian, *Navig.* 3). In *Iliad*, the wise seniors of the Trojan race are compared to cicadas as they discuss the fate of Helen (3.151). In the case of Tithonus, *longaevitas* [a long life] causes his transformation into a cicada (*Aen.* 4.585). This attitude toward age is also apparent in the practice of selecting old men as garland-bearers for Athena (Xen., *Symp.* 4.17). Because the tettix returns to its youth after old age, it symbolizes splendid hope of the old people against approaching physical deterioration. Thus, the tettix is also a common figure on graves as a symbol of regeneration. We have now reached the point where the story of the cicada replacing the broken string on Eunomus' cithara becomes understandable. The tettix is a model of a journey through a corruptible tellurian body to a higher celestial rebirth. It represents faith in the rites of mysteries (Cic., *Leg.* 2.36; Isoc., *Paneg.* 6.59; and Apul., *Met.* 11.21). As further explanation of this obscure symbol of the broken string, I shall mention some similar occurrences. According to Pausanias (1.42.3), in Egyptian Thebes the Colossus of Memnon inscribed with the name of Amenophis III made a sound much like a string breaking when the first rays of the rising sun shone upon it. "The sound was most like a breaking string of a cithara or lyre" (cf. Strabo 17.816 and Philostr., *Imag.* 1.7). In a similar vein, Callistratus says that at rising, Day expressed joy and delight. At setting, she made mournful sounds (*Descriptions* 9). The story of Memnon of Ethiopia is closely related to the Locrian story. In "Lock of Berenice," Catullus (66.53) calls Memnon *unigena* [of one parentage], i.e. brother of the *ales equus Arsinoes Locridos* [the winged steed of Locrian Arsinoe] or

Zephyrus. Both Zephyrus and Memnon are symbolic figures in the cosmic drama of dawn being born from the womb of dewy night (Hes., *Theog.* 378-80). Both Zephyrus and Memnon represent the hope of overcoming death. One of many epigrams engraved as signs of reverence upon the Colossus of Memnon reveals Memnon's conquest over death: "Learn, Thetis of the sea, that Memnon lives and announces to the world that he is warmed by the torch of his mother . . ." (Philostr., *Her.* 26.16 and *V A* 6.4; Pind., *Ol.* 2.81). In a dirge to Adonis sung by an Argive woman, Theocritus (*Id.* 15.96 ff. and Plut., *Nic.* 3.1 ff.) expresses a similar theme of rebirth. Furthermore, women at the first rays of the sun carry Adonis in the dewy morning to the splashing waves of the sea (*Id.* 15.132 ff.) much as the Ethiopians worship the rising sun according to Lucian (*Iupp. trag.* 42; cf. Val. Max. 7.3.2). This divine perspective explains why the Colossus of Memnon in Thebes became a famous place of pilgrimage for Greeks and Romans (Philostr., *Her.* 26.16 and Ath. 15.680b). Even though the Colossus of Memnon is in ruins, Memnon comes forth out of the womb of the still night, sounding forth and announcing to the listening stranger his joyful message that he lives. Many visitors believe that Memnon is calling his mother, who sprinkled so many tears upon him even at his birth. The pain and bliss of motherhood and the intimacy of mother and child are represented in the figures of Memnon and his mother, Eos. The Greek cult of Memnon and the Aeolian-Locrian religious doctrine correspond in every respect. Lesbos has its own "song of the rocks" (Philostr., *Her.* 28.7-10). Tithonus, the husband of Eos, is transformed into a cicada. The story of the broken string and the tettix restoring its sound is the counterpart of the sounding Colossus of Memnon. The broken lyre depicted on a silver kantharos in the Département des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris belongs to this group of images. [See illustration.] Set upright on a pillar, a Bacchic-Orphic egg provides the broader context for the broken lyre as an image of the mysteries. The broken lyre and the egg function as a pledge of the mysteries, especially Orphism, of a spiritual rebirth after the death of the body.

A report from Heraclides Ponticus is of interest in this context. “It is not customary among the Locrians to mourn the dead. After a dead person is buried, there is a feast” (*Pol. frg.* 30). Why did the Epizephyrians celebrate death? Their expressions of joy about death resulted from their association with the mystery cults. Accordingly, they believed that the breaking of the string is a signal of triumph, for the missing sound from the string is replaced by the more beautiful harmony of the divine tettix. The Pythagorean and Lesbian Orphic cults had similar beliefs and practices. Pythagoreans forbade mourning and tears (Iambl., *VP* 33.234). Likewise, Sappho forbade her daughter any expression of grief over the death of her mother: “[I]n the house of those who serve the Muses, it is unfitting for us to lament” (*frg.* 150 and Maximus of Tyre, *Orations* 18.9). In earlier songs, Sappho had lamented the misfortune of death: “Death is an evil; otherwise, the gods would also die” (*frg.* 201); she had complained of Hades’ avarice for the dead (*frg.* 178); and she had mourned both Oetolinus and Adonis (*frg.* 140 and Paus. 9.29.8). She rejected the dirge for the higher aspects of Orphic-Dionysian mysticism. This change in attitude underscores her spiritual progress. Lesbos was one of the most famous sites of the Orphic-Dionysian cult, and Lesbian lyrical poetry was ruled by its doctrine. In the Bacchic religion, human sorrow and pain over the constant decline of life is so prominent that people themselves “are called tears.” However, sorrow and pain resolve themselves in the faith in a higher birth out of death as symbolized by the broken egg. It is within this context that Pindar names the Epizephyrians a “high assemblage” and claims that “Calliope adores them” (*Ol.* 10.14 and 11.19; *Pyth.* 2.21). Pindar does not just mean the Epizephyrian’s affection for music and their musical life but their religious affinity, which the ancients so well understood in the expression “beautiful, wise assemblage” (Lucian, *Salt.* 15-16 and Strabo 10.467). The cicada is a perfect emblem of the Epizephyrian people. It was considered “holy and musical” (Clem. Al., *Strom.* 5.661 and Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 8.7.3) and “wise” like a bee (Philostr. *Imag.* 2.12); moreover, the cicada is associated with the Muses, especially with Calliope (Artemidorus, *Oeonoscopica*

3.49; and *Anacreontea* 34.12). Pindar and Plato have remarkably similar accounts of cicadas. In *Phaedrus*, cicadas sing without food or drink until they die, then they return to the Muses. The most musical cicadas serve Calliope and Urania. The cicada is the model for a philosopher, who ignores his body in his incessant pursuit of divine knowledge (259). As in the poetry of Pindar, Plato connects spiritual life with the Muses, especially with Calliope, who cultivates heavenly matters above all else. The essence of the highest wisdom is represented by the tettix joyfully awaiting its approaching death whereby it attains unification with the eldest Muse. Thus, death is celebrated as the greatest of all victories.

In short, the noblest aspect of Locrian spiritual life was represented in the symbol of the cicada. Earlier, we explored the relationship of the cicada to the physical foundation of Aeolian maternal right. Now we can also see its metaphysical relationship to the mysteries. The cicada is immaterial. Its nourishment is a drop of the finest dew and its body is flesh without blood. The cicada is innocent and pure, almost like the gods. Therefore, mortals worship it. It is related to the immaculate bees. The cicada is the model of an initiate, who must “lead a pure life” consistent with decrees of the mysteries. Only the swallow is its enemy (Clem. Al., *Strom.* 5.661). Therefore, one does not allow swallows to nest under his roof (Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 8.7.3). Even in the mysteries, the cicada remains true to its maternal side. It is affiliated with the Muses, the feminine upholders of the mysteries. Thus, the cicada is often depicted with the Muses on sarcophagi. Like Calliope, the eldest of the Muses and the Orphic mother of Apollo, the cicada is associated with most ancient human beings. The highest and final step for the cicada is its admission into the Apollinian circle as is the case in the story about the cicada in the musical contest between Eunomus of Locri and Ariston of Rhegium in Delphi. Likewise, Anacreon links the cicada to Apollo. “Phoebus loves you; he blessed you with brilliant music” (*Anacreontea* 34). However, Pindar, Plato, and Philostratus acknowledge only its connection with the Muses. It is also significant that the cicada was worshipped by the Messenians as evidenced on their coins.

Furthermore, both Messenian and Locrian cults worshipped Proserpina-Kore (Livy 29.18.), a goddess well-disposed to Orphism (Eur., *Bacch.* 55 and *Rhes* 938 ff. and 963-66; Strabo 10.469; *Hymn. Orph.* 76.7 and 24.12; Philostr. *V A* 7.11; and Val. Max. 1.1.1).

The cicada completes a sequence of stages from chthonic motherhood to luminous Apollinian fatherhood. Cicadas were initially considered *Erechtheidai*, creatures sprung from the earth. Thus, they were associated with the most ancient tribes, the Athenians, Cretans, Cephallenians, and Messenians. Ultimately, the cicada became one of Apollo's creatures. From this perspective, the musical contest between Eunomus of Locri and Ariston of Rhegium deserves the most attention. Ariston based his claim for victory on the Apollinian heritage of Rhegium. In contrast, Eunomus could make no such claim because the Epizephyrians were purely maternal, indeed Aphroditic-hetaeric in their origins. Eunomus prevailed over Ariston as proof of the supreme power inherent in mother right of the Locrians and of the Aeolian people in general. It is significant that the offering of chastity of the Locrian matrons was a weapon in the battle against Rhegium. Here is a clear distinction between cities based on different religions. The Epizephyrians returned to Aphrodite, the most ancient queen of their city. Their return was met with resistance and struggle. The city was at a fatal turning point. Apollo and Aphrodite competed for their allegiance. The deepest and highest religious states confronted each other. After the Epizephyrian people had celebrated Eunomus' victory, they gradually fell prey to the Aphroditic lifestyle. The Epizephyrian Locrians should serve as an admonition of general historical experience that over time youth declines into incurable corruption: *nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet* [at birth our death is sealed, and our end follows our beginning] (Manilius, *Astronomica* 4.16).

Lesbos

CXLII. A study of Lesbos is an appropriate sequel to the Epizephyrian Locrians because both peoples are related nationally and historically (Paus. 10.24.1; Strabo 13.582; and Plin., *HN* 5.139). Sappho's homeland is an enigma. Classical scholars have struggled to understand Lesbian affairs without success. Contemporary scholars stand in awe and bewilderment when they observe the circle of Lesbian poetesses who emerged from the anonymity of private life to engage in public activities reserved for men. Sappho is the shining example in this circle. Christian concepts of morality have undermined the status of Sappho and her circle of poetesses. However, many other people have exalted them. Plutarch (*Amat.* 18.762) and Horace (*Odes* 4.9.9-12) praise Sappho best even in only a few lines. In any case, neither the friends nor foes of Sappho have anything of substance to contribute to our understanding. Historical events are difficult to explain, especially with a complex and accomplished figure like Sappho. By common consent, the ancients honored Sappho as a prodigy (Strabo 13.2.3 and Arist., *Rh.* 1398b). Sappho makes us realize the limits of our scholarship, which mainly touches on superficialities. We have not yet reached our limited potential of understanding Sappho. Scholars have explained the sexual practices of Lesbian women by the unusual practices of the Pelasgian and Aeolian tribes, by the matriarchal institutions of the Italian and Greek Locrians, and by the extreme independence of Doric and Spartan women in particular (Plut., *Lyc.* 18; Xen., *Symp.* 8.35 ff. and *Lac.* 2.13; Ael., *VH* 3.10-12). Certainly, all these views are important and legitimate. However, the most enlightening view is missing, namely the Orphic religion. We have touched on this view while examining the lives of Dionysian women and the Epizephyrian service to the Muses. Lesbian

women were followers of the Orphic religion, and its spirit saturates Aeolian lyricism, which was cultivated much more by women than men. I shall now prove the validity of this view by examining historical documentation, by comparing the principal ideas of Lesbian and Orphic poetry, and by clarifying the provisions of the Lesbian dowry laws.

There is extensive documentation of the prominent role of the Bacchic-Orphic cult in Lesbos (Clem. Al., *Protr.* 3; and Euseb., *Praep. Evang.* 5.36.3). However, one myth is particularly instructive. Reputedly, the Lesbians acquired their talents as Muses as their reward for having received and interred the singing head of Orpheus when it floated onto the shore of their island from the Hebrus River in Thrace (Pausan. 10.19.3). This legend explains why Lesbos was one of the most famous sites of Dionysian Orphism. Other sources provide further evidence. According to Nicomachus of Gerasa, a fisherman from Lesbos found Orpheus's lyre washed onto shore and gave it to Terpander (*Manual of Harmonics*, 1.189). Arion, the foremost player on the lyre, came from Lesbos (Fronto, *Ep.* "Arion"; Herodotus 1.23; and Gell. 16.19). Pythagoras resided there (Diog. Laert. 8.1.2). Even though these stories may differ in details, they confirm the fundamental connection between Lesbos and Orpheus. His treatment in the hands of Thracian and Lesbian women offers an instructive contrast. Whereas the Thracian women rejected Orphism, Lesbian women embraced and perfected it. Thracian women killed Orpheus. In contrast, the inhabitants of Lesbos buried his singing head with honor in Aeolian soil.

In order to understand why the Ciconian mothers violated Orpheus, we should examine the brand marks on their skins (Plut., *De sera* 12.557d). There are ample reports of tattoos on Thracian women even up to recent times. According to Athenaeus, Clearchus traces the tattooing of Thracian women to a similar practice among Scythian women (12.524d-e). Among others (Artem. 1.8 and Val. Max. 9.13), Herodotus reports tattooing for both men and women among the Thracians as a sign of noble birth (5.6). According to Dio Chrysostom, the tattoo is a sign of maternal nobility, "an emblem of noble birth," only for women (14.19). A

historical change in the status between men and women accounts for this discrepancy. Originally, only the queen and freeborn women wore a stigma. Afterwards, the stigma on boys became a sign of nobility bestowed from the maternal side. The prominent position of the mother is a manifestation of a lower and purely material stage of existence, one associated with hetaeric sexuality as reported by Herodotus (5.3-6) and others. As a representation of the sexual act, cloak pins were used to etch in lambda shaped marks. This form of stigma is related to the cross, and it is one of the most widespread symbols of the sexual act among the majority of both ancient and modern people. Orpheus opposed this lower level of religion. As a priest of Apollo, Orpheus proclaimed the doctrine of pure light and provoked the women to vengeance and murder. All sources corroborate that women resisted this purified doctrine. Every version of the legend indicates an intense conflict between the new religion and the ancient rights of women (Paus. 9.30.5 ff.; Conon, *Narr.* 45; Ov., *Met.* 10.80; and Hyg., *Poet. astr.* 2.7). From the perspective of the higher doctrine, tattooing of women came to represent their punishment for resistance. Though originally a sign of noble birth, the tattoo became a mark of shame for an offense. This accounts for the myth tracing the stigmas to the murder of Orpheus as well as the practice among the Getae of tattooing only slaves.

This account is consistent with Phanocles' comprehensive rendition of the legend. Likewise, this explains the polarity between ἀρρενες ἔρωτες [male eros] and the purely sensual and sexual desires of women. Orpheus redirected these powerful sexual desires toward something nobler. As an Apollinian prophet, Orpheus raised the human race out of the swamp of hetaeric sensual pleasure to a higher level of existence based on ἀρρενες ἔρωτες [male eros]. In *Metamorphoses* (10. 83 ff.), Ovid, a poet of a decadent age, inappropriately ascribes the sensuality of love to Orpheus. In fact, Orpheus supplants such vulgar love with a higher eros. The purpose of male love in its original purity is to affect a sense of moral shame (Pl., *Symp.* 182b). Male love is very significant in the history of religion. Earlier, we discussed male love and Pelops, who is linked to Mytilene of Lesbos.

His subservient relationship to Poseidon is equivalent to those between Chrysippus and Laius as well as Ganymede and Zeus. Initially, pederasty among the Cretans, Eleans, Megarians, Thebans, and Chalcidians had religious significance within this context (Ath. 13; Plut., *de lib. educ.* 15). We can best resolve these perplexing questions of male love by relying strictly on historical evidence. As Orpheus made eros a means for achieving Apollinian existence, the ancients, especially the Aeolians and the Dorians, involved masculine eros in public life as a means to virtue (Plut., *Lyc.* 18.2 ff.). Socrates attributes the initial improvement of mankind to ἀρρενες ἔρωτες [male eros], which liberated mankind from the restraints of materialism and promoted the soul over the body, with love transcending sexual drives. Thus, Socrates declares that ἀρρενες ἔρωτες [male eros] is the best means toward perfection (*Symp.* 211b). Xenophon concurs in his own *Symposium*, in which most of the conversation revolves around the same questions. Plato and Xenophon insured an important role for the Orphic notion of ἀρρενες ἔρωτες [male eros] in the evolution of mankind to a higher civilization.

The difference between the Thracian and Lesbian worlds is obvious and significant. The Thracian women revolted against Orphic doctrine and persisted in the sensual level of existence. In contrast, the Lesbian women adopted the Orphic life, overcoming their earlier Amazonian mentality for higher spiritual development with Sappho and her female circle at the peak. The central figures in Sappho's poetry are Aphrodite and Eros (frg. 198). Sappho's inspiration is the most ancient Samothracian-Orphic religious circle. One can see how Lesbian lyrical poetry owes its development to Orphic religious thought as its guiding star (Ov., *Her.* 15.15. ff.; Paus. 9.27.2 ff.; and Plin., *HN.* 36.4.25). The Orphic cult elucidates even the most perplexing practices of Lesbian women.

The counterpart of Orphic ἀρρενες ἔρωτες [male eros] is female eros, the love of a woman for another woman. The sole purpose of such love is to rise above the base level of sensuality and to transform the physical into psychic beauty. In this fashion, Sappho endeavored to elevate her sex. In this pursuit, she believed Eros inspired her soul to exceptional achievements and deeds (frg. 52).

Hers is not the voice of a caring mother but rather the voice of a woman with stirring passions. Religion is the ultimate and rich source of her enthusiasm, which embraces the sensuous and the suprasensuous, the physical and the psychic with equal passion. Sappho's creed involved love with the same sex. With a restless and trembling heart, Sappho wooed the Lesbian maidens. Driven by Eros, Sappho pursued all maidens, even those of lower social standing. Her aspiration was to ennoble and refine her entire sex. Wherever Sappho encountered physical beauty, Eros compelled her to create spiritual beauty as well. Both Sappho's songs and the madness of her heart came from Eros. Thus, she achieved greatness beyond the bounds of unemotional human sanity. In her poetry, Sappho continually pointed to the religious nature of her passions. She was averse to disorderliness and gracelessness even in one's clothing and outward appearance. Beauty was the center of her entire spiritual world and the origin of all ennoblement. Sappho valued spiritual beauty, the ultimate goal of life, over physical beauty. She abhorred and censored hetairism in all its forms as well as any emotion that disturbed the harmony of Orphic life. Sappho valued a virtuous face as the most beautiful adornment of a woman and as a sign of an inner cultivation of the soul (Ath. 13.564d).

By ascending from base to lofty matters, by spiritualizing the corporeal, and by uplifting sensual life to the level of the psychic, Sappho led her maidens beyond the limits of bodily existence and offered them a glimpse of immortality, the domain of exalted Eros. Sappho showed her maidens a golden vision of everlasting beauty, which neither worm nor decay could destroy and thus inflamed a yearning in their souls for the eternity of glory after death (Pl., *Symp.* 218e). In this light, Sappho's maidens considered jewelry, riches, and trinkets as girlish, petty, and superficial. Her maidens pitied the rich woman, whose soul was not uplifted by a higher aspiration, who would not receive roses from the Muses of Pieria but would vanish silently under dark shadows (Ath. 15.687a and Sappho frg. 55).

As the culmination, Sappho led her maidens up to Eros, who exhilarated and lifted their souls beyond the grief of death. Sappho expressed the prominent thought of Orphic religion when she declared it is an offense to lament over death in the service of the Muses (frg. 150a). She considered it a sign of joy not remorse that Orpheus's dying head drifted ashore singing to the music of his lyre. Solon's wish was to "hear such a song." Those who read Sappho's lyrical poetry as nothing more than another expression of the inexhaustible propensity for the pleasures of life entirely miss her higher purpose to refine her followers. One should not disregard the religious idea that saturates Lesbian lyrical poetry (cf. "Epigram to Terpander," *Greek Anthology* 2.113 ff.). The Orphic mysteries are the key to understanding Sappho's lyrics. Her song of Selene's love for Endymion is an example (frg. 199). The mysteries resolve the conflict between melancholy, lament, and suffering about death on the one hand and faith in immortality that makes mourning inappropriate on the other. Orphism is Janus-faced. Pain and lament rule one face; faith and joy rule the other. Both faces together conceptualize the idea that above a tellurian life of constant destruction is an eternal uranian life of consolation. The more tearful the lament the more the spirit turns to a higher religious doctrine of hope beyond this world. Here is the clearest concordance of the Orphic and Sapphic religious views. The music of the Orphic lyre is full of melancholy. It plays a song of woe:

*flebile nescioquid queritur lyra, flebile lingua
murmurat exanimis, respondent flebile ripae . . .*
[the lyre sounded sorrows and his lifeless tongue,
still murmuring sorrow, and the banks responded with sorrow . . .]
(Ov., *Met.* 11.52-54)

Along with Linus (Herodotus 2.79) and Ialemus, Orpheus is considered the father of the "threnos" (Diod. Sic. 3.67.2-4; and *Il.* 18.570). In this tradition, Sappho sings the *linus* at once melancholically and sanguinely. Sappho is like the Argivian woman who sings a dirge of fallen Adonis in Theocritus' "The Women at the Adonis Festival" (15.96-144). Sappho laments death as a misfortune, for were it not so, the gods would also die. Like a sensitive string on a lyre, her soul

vibrates to the tragic deaths of Hyacinthus, Niobe, and all the others. The Lesbian maiden's "song" becomes a "dirge." In the realm of the shades, Sappho's lyre acquires the magic and endowment of the Orphic lamentation and achieves its highest charm in the "dirge." In *Odes*, Horace portrays Sappho and her lyre in a similar role (2.13.23 ff.):

*Aeoliis fidibus querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus . . .*

[Sappho complaining on her Aeolian lyre about the girls of her country . . .]

As with Orpheus, the inhabitants of the underground obey the woeful melody of Sappho's lyre. Even unto Hades, Sappho accompanied the maidens of her country with songs of love and rapture. Sappho became despondent when her maidens failed to love her and serve the Orphic Muses. Proserpina favors only the kindred of Orpheus, on whose grave a nightingale sings a song with redoubled magic (Eur., *Rhes.* 938 ff. and 963-66; and Paus. 9.30.6). Hades has no authority over those who have emulated Orpheus in the service of Eros and the Muses (Plut., *Amat.* 17). Transformed into immortal virgins, Sappho's maidens danced along united. They exchanged the coarse garment of the tellurian body for a finer one woven by Athena in the region of the stars (Porph., *De antr. nymph.* 14). Leucos, the Lesbian lyricist, sang of such optimistic beliefs (Nonnos, *Dion.* 24.230 ff.), which are unmistakably associated with the Orphic mysteries. The reciprocal relationship between grieving and the higher hopes of the mysteries recurs in the poetry by Erinna, who was the most distinguished among Sappho's famous friends. In an epigram on the occasion of Baucis' premature death, Erinna wistfully complains of Hades' avarice and of the Three Fates spinning an inexorable doom of death. On the other hand, Erinna sings of the cicada (frg. 6.3), which is closely linked to the Muses, Calliope and Urania, as well as to salvation and the highest hopes of the mysteries (Plin., *HN* 34.57).

The ancients honored Sappho as a religious personage because of her service to Orphism. Plato and Antipater of Sidon added Sappho to the original nine Muses as the tenth one (*Greek Anthology* 9.506 and 66). As one of the

Muses, she performed duties to the Orphic mysteries as described in the Orphic hymn to the Muses (*Hymn. Orph.* 76.5-7). In a religious sense, Plato acclaimed Sappho as “the beautiful and wise one” (*Phdr.* 237c). Alcaeus called her “pure” (Arist., *Rh.* 1.9). Other ancients say she was “sublime and divine.” In contrast, Plutarch considered it to be a sacrilege to recite Platonic dialogues and sing poems by Sappho and Anacreon at a symposium (*Quest. conv.* 7.8.2). According to Maximus of Tyre, Anacreon wrote his poems exactly in the form and style of Sappho. Furthermore, Anacreon shared her moral “ethos.” Anacreon loved beautiful boys and valued their physical charms though he prided himself in his assertion that the boys loved him because of his wise sayings, beautiful songs, and eloquent discourse (*Orations* 18.9). Because of their similarities, Hermesianax made Sappho and Anacreon lovers even though they did not live at the same time (Ath. 13.599c).

Even more telling is how Socrates commemorates Sappho. In *Phaedrus*, he says of Sappho that she is the most beautiful one, who has filled his heart as rainfall fills a vessel and thus endowed him with the substance for a fervent eulogy to Eros (235cd). Socrates credits Sappho for his understanding of the higher Orphic god and for inspiring his mystical address on the secrets of the mysteries. In a similar fashion in *Symposium*, Socrates utilizes the words of Diotima of Mantinea to explain the most mysterious aspects of his doctrine of love. Socrates turns to Diotima to uncover what is hidden from him. Socrates surrenders himself to Diotima’s higher wisdom as if she were the inspired Pythia, and he concedes without reservation that he can hardly penetrate the depths of the mysteries (209e-10a). Socrates presents both Sappho and Diotima as sublime, perceptive, prophetic, and priestly personages. Sappho and Diotima possess religious knowledge. They reveal a mysterious god; the transport of their words is mysterious, as is the source of their inspiration. The grandeur of womankind results from an intimacy with the mysteries as I elucidated earlier. The mysteries are entrusted to the care and administration of a woman, who imparts them to a man. Sappho’s role as priestess is most obvious in her relationship to Socrates.

She represents the feminine affinity to beauty and love. Her lyrics are a depiction of Orphism. Thus, she serves as a mystagogue in the fashion of Eros (Plut., *Amat.* 19.765a and *Hymn. Orph.*, “To Eros” 58.9 ff.). Consistent with the Lesbian myth, Socrates thought that Sappho was influenced by Orpheus. Furthermore, Socrates’ celebration of Eros is much like Sappho’s. Socrates reveals and elucidates the most incomprehensible aspects of Sappho. It seems that Socrates, the greatest of all philosophers, selected the most fervent of women as his prototype for his conception of love. Sappho had personally experienced everything that Socrates represents as the power of Eros stirring the soul (Longinus, *Subl.* 10.1 and Sappho, frg. 52, 36, and 160). Socrates represents as a philosophical abstraction what Sappho experienced in real life. Both Sappho and Socrates promoted the fundamental Orphic goal of the gradual reformation of matter from the sensual to the spiritual, from the body to the soul, from beautiful people to beautiful morals and manners, and from the desire for procreation of the body to creations of the soul. They both advocated redirecting love to the same sex in order to achieve a higher civilized life. They shared other views more subtle yet even more extraordinary. In *On Literary Composition*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus narrates an extant Sapphic ode about the ardent pursuit of love for a beautiful maiden (23). Sappho’s anguish over Atthis’ unfaithfulness (frg. 49 and 131) is expressed in other words by Socrates when he advises one to test love for fidelity (*Symp.* 184a). Sappho declares it is madness of the heart attracting her to girls (frg. 1.18). Likewise, Socrates describes this madness as the demonic power of love, which can only offer the ephemeral when it is diluted with mortal sanity (*Phdr.* 244a, 251, 252de, and 256c). As Sappho complains that love allowed her no peace and drove her from her work on the loom to pursue young girls, Socrates makes use of similar words: “Love in its madness allowed me neither to sleep at night nor resist it by day; instead; love made me longingly seek wherever I might behold one of beauty” (*Phdr.* 251e). As Sappho admonishes Alcaeus that he would be able to speak freely if he only desired the good and the beautiful (frg. 137 and 171), Socrates says it is better to love openly than furtively and to fall in love with the

noblest and best individuals (*Symp.* 182d). As Sappho depicts Eros as a bittersweet creature (frg. 130), Socrates stresses the immutable connection between suffering and bliss. He points out that a person in possession of beauty can serve as a physician for unbearable pain (*Phdr.* 251c). Sappho describes the effect of the sight of beauty as a painful arousal, which silences the tongue, darkens the eyes, covers the head with cold sweat, and makes the limbs tremble; nonetheless, she calls the pleasure divine (frg. 21). Her words are similar to Socrates, who describes the sensations of a person aware of a higher beauty as shuddering, fear, fever, sweating, and strange heat (*Phdr.* 251bc). It is said of Eros that he roams about seeking a beautiful person, then instructs him in virtue (*Symp.* 209b). Eros declares that music is the science of love, and love is the creator of poets (*Symp.* 187c and 196de). Eros teaches that a person possessed with love is of higher divinity than a person loved. We can see in these lines that Sappho was a model for Socrates. What a sight it is to see two of the most prominent figures of ancient times in such a relationship—the wonderful Sappho and Socrates as her exegete. Eros' authority is manifested in her as a religious, sensual-suprasensuous aroused soul. Unconsciously, Socrates became aware through her words that unemotional intellectual activity never reaches the heights or profundity of the spirited female heart. Thus, Socrates says, "I know, Diotima, that I need a teacher" (*Symp.* 207c).

Socrates submitted himself to the wisdom of a woman, whose endowment comes from the realm of the mysteries. It is most remarkable how Socrates coupled speculative philosophy with the power of the erotic inspiration. Even though Socrates was Sappho's exegete, he became her rival. Thus, Maximus of Tyre (*Orations* 18.9) asks:

Does Sappho's older notion of eros match Socrates' newer vision? Sappho sought the love of women and Socrates cultivated the love of men. Both claimed that they loved many people and were captivated by their beauty. Socrates had his lovers Alcibiades, Charmides, and Phaedrus; Sappho had Gyrinna, Atthis, and Anactoria. Socrates' rivals for lovers were Prodicus, Gorgias, Thrasymachos, and Protagoras. Sappho's rivals were Gorgo and Andromeda. She chides and challenges her rivals with irony: "My

warmest greetings to the daughter of the house of Polyanax.” Socrates says “Hello Ion! . . .” Socrates says he had long admired Alcibiades, but he first approached Alcibiades when he was mature enough to understand the conversation. Similarly, Sappho says, “You seem to me to be a small graceless child” (frg. 49). Socrates ridicules the behavior and clothing of a sophist. Sappho derides Andromeda by saying “what crude rustic garb” (frg. 47). Diotima tells Socrates that Eros is not Aphrodite’s son but her companion and servant (*Symp.* 203e). Likewise, Sappho has Aphrodite say in a poem: “You and my beautiful servant Eros” (frg. 159). Diotima says that Eros thrives on excess and expires from scarcity (*Symp.* 203b). Sappho expressed the same idea in her words “bittersweet and pain bringing” (frg. 130.2). Socrates calls Eros a sophist (*Symp.* 203de), and Sappho calls him “a weaver of tales” (frg. 47). Socrates’ love for Phaedrus drives him mad. Eros strongly moves Sappho’s senses as the wind blows oaks on a mountain (frg. 47). Socrates reprimands Xanthippe for bemoaning his imminent death (*Phdr.* 117d). In the same vein, Sappho says to her daughter, “in the house of those who serve the Muses, it is unfitting for us to lament” (frg. 150).

These parallels suggest much more than a similarity between Sappho and Socrates. They connect spiritual realms of different times and cultures. The Eros who inspired Sappho and Socrates was no mere name but a lively, active divine power, the maker of their souls. Eros is the greatest benefactor for both public and private life (Pl., *Phdr.* 244ab and Plut. *Amat.* 18). Both Sappho and Socrates acknowledged Eros as the only source for the “restoration of the soul.” They both dedicated themselves to elevating their sexes by pursuing the urges of Eros. For both Sappho and Socrates, procreation with beauty is the point of departure of moral greatness (Pl., *Symp.* 207a). Following in the path of Eros, they reached a realm where real beauty resides, not its semblance. Both Sappho and Socrates believed Eros is of immortal substance.

The affinity between Sappho and Socrates should suffice to clarify Sappho’s true nature and to restore her reputation from the slurs and humiliation of the past centuries. Her mistreatment is a shame! Plutarch deserves credit for his recognition that the Orphic-Dionysian rites gradually elevate one through erotic inspiration (*Consolatio ad uxorem* 10.611de). Anyone in classical studies

who wishes to go beyond the mundane must share Plutarch's moral sensitivity. Like Socrates, it has become Sappho's fate to be either ridiculed or praised. One group sees her as fallen prey to lower tellurian life. Another sees her as the inspired servant of pure uranian Eros. A final judgement is yet to come. One sees and deifies his own precepts of life. It is not easy to persuade those with the cool disposition of the North so far removed from the spirit of antiquity and the Southern temperament that their concepts of morality and femininity are not valid standards in this context. It is equally difficult for those with a Christian consciousness to understand a law of morality that accepts sensuality, passions, and amorous friendship as successive means to purification and reformation. Ancient and modern world views as well as ancient and modern religions and cultures distinguish themselves in their attitudes toward the sensual and the suprasensuous in human. The ancient worldview conciliates the sensual and suprasensuous. The modern worldview makes them inimical antitheses. Therefore, only in ancient cultures could the notion of physical sensual beauty extend to morality. Only in ancient cultures can Eros (the beautiful, not stimulation) function at the center of religion as the developmental principle of divinity as well as of the divine in the human nature. Only in ancient cultures and religions could women enjoy such prominent authority in morality. One must use an ancient perspective in order to understand Sappho's religious character and the grandeur of Lesbian women. Furthermore, one must understand the affinity between Sappho and the Orphic lyre, whose supernatural essence permeates her erotic poetry. Orphism unifies the most ardent passions with the greatest self-restraint. Ironically, through uncontrollable sensual rapture, Eros leads beyond sensuality. Sappho and Anacreon's songs are products and depictions of a religious stage which equally encompasses life here and beyond.

CXLIII. Besides the Lesbian muse [Sappho], many others from Lesbos were closely involved in the spirit of the Orphic religion. For example, Arion [of Methymna] is considered the inventor of the Bacchic dithyramb, and Terpander [of Antissa] still played the Apollinian cithara even when the sensual, lamenting

lyre became more popular. Indeed, Sappho practiced every aspect of the Bacchic female life. She dedicated herself fully to the pleasures and pains of natural life. She perceived the intrinsic relationship of the sensuous and suprasensuous life. She experienced the thoroughly erotic ardor of the soul, refined through artistic activities, which cultivate the sweet pleasures and refine sensuous life into grace. Her other Bacchic attributes are transparent clothing, purple towels, multicolored clothing, colorful Lydian shoe straps, the cista, the wreath of dill and ivy, and the white egg. However, Sappho stood at the side of Aphrodite, not Bacchus. Sappho represents the maternal, not the paternal side of nature; she did not serve the phallic power of Dionysus but the more ancient servitude to the mother, in which the physical-female principle retained its rule undiminished, such as servitude of Iacchus to Demeter, Attis to Cybele, and the Curetes and Dactyls to Rhea. In contrast, Dionysian Orphism elevates the masculinity of the son to a higher majesty (Verg., *Aen* 1.664). Furthermore, Orphism reassigns the highest authority over the mysteries, viz. over rebirth and salvation, from the mother to the phallus as the highest generative luminous power. Sappho sings primarily of such female deities as the Charites [Graces] and Muses, who originated in the pre-Aeolian period according to Myrsilus. Likewise, she sings of Peitho [Persuasion], Latona [Leto], Niobe, and Artemis with the epithets Arista [Best] and Calliste [Fairest] (Paus. 1.29.2). Moreover, Sappho sings of Hera leading the maidens in a choral dance with a golden lyre in her hand. Above all, Sappho sings of Aphrodite. One completely intact ode offers us insight into the intimacy of the relationship between Sappho and the Great Mother [Aphrodite] of all life. Other fragments complete the picture of Sappho's childlike, unreserved, trusting, and true devotion, which hides nothing of her heart from the Heavenly Queen [Aphrodite]. Sappho expects the Heavenly Queen to fulfill her every wish and to provide her soul with peace from passions aroused by Eros (Plut., *De mus.* 3; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.7; Paus. 5.14.8; Arist., *Pol.* 8.7.15; Ath. 14.625d; Philostr., *Imag.* 2.1; Plut., *Amat.* 13; Pl. *Symp.* 180c; *Hymn. Orph.*, "To Aphrodite" 55.7; and Philostr., *V A* 1.30). The fragments remaining from Sappho's lyric poetry attest to her union

with Aphrodite. In general, Lesbian lyric poetry is the perfect expression of the divine nature of Aphrodite. As motherhood embraces the whole sensuous world as an indistinguishable totality, Aeolian lyrical poetry makes no distinctions in the domain of nature. Sappho does not make distinctions or separations; instead, she sees uniformity in the entire creation. She senses an inner coherence of life and a fusion of the various organisms participating in the principal of life, as Eryximachus, the doctor, in Plato's *Symposium* (186b) relates. Mankind joins tellurian vegetation as its most beautiful evolvement. Sappho derived her most splendid images from flowers and trees as representation of female existence. Thus, Sappho compares a helpless lost girl to a hyacinth that is trampled upon by shepherds in the mountains. Similarly, Sappho compares a blooming virgin to a sweet apple reddening on a bough so high that apple pickers cannot reach it (frg. 105a and b). In the same vein, Sappho compares marriage to a flower plucked by a strange hand and to vines climbing along an elm tree. Sappho sees the rose as the most beautiful image of Aphrodite and women. Because one's inner character should be reflected externally, only maidens crowned with flowers may gain divine favor (Catull. 62.39 ff. and Sappho frg. 81).

However, this view of life results in the subordination of human existence to the laws of the physical world and the dedication of the soul to the thrills of sensuous phenomena. Sappho is merely susceptible to the sensations of nature. Like Aphrodite, Sappho is more passionate than profound. Her poetry is more painting than description. It is primarily melodic. Every syllable of her verse is musical, flourishing in the colorful splendor of nature, caressing and sweet. Her poetry is entirely domestic and popular with feminine sensibility. Her language is especially true to nature. It is at once simple and artistic. Her poetry is erotic and yet pure like floral decorations of a resplendent earth. In every way, Sappho is a facsimile of Aphrodite. Both know only love and unity but not disruption or hostility (Pl., *Symp.* 195b and 197d; Sappho, frg. 120). Unlike her contemporary Alcaeus (Strabo 13.2.3 and Hor., *Odes* 4.9.7), Sappho kept her distance from the political controversies of her homeland. Instead, Sappho belongs to the peaceful

bliss of the spring and the warm halcyon days lingering over the land and sea. For Sappho, Hesperus glistens in the heavens as the mildest and most beautiful of all the silvery stars. Whatever rosy Eos separates, Hesperus unites. It is he who reunites the mother hen with her chicks and restores calm to the treetops (frg. 104a). A sound of profound melancholy resonates in her longing for the peace of the evening (Demetr. *Eloc.* 141 and 166; Catull. 62.20 ff.). “Look how still! Now the sea is calm and the winds are still! But not the misery deep in my breast” (Theoc. *Id.* 2.38 ff.).

With sentimentality so unusual in antiquity, Sappho greets the full moon shining above the earth (frg. 34). She sings of the cool water splashing through quince branches, inducing slumber (frg. 2). She is overcome by her feelings at midnight, sitting alone, watching the moon and the silvery stars run their course (frg. 154). Sappho is closest to Urania at night when the moon wins ascendancy over the sky from the sun. Then Aphrodite is enthroned as οὐρανίη γῆ [heavenly earth] in the sky (*Hymn. Orph.* 38.2) and Phaon is next to her as the nocturnal temple guardian (Palaephatus 48). Thus, Sappho also sang ardent songs of love for Phaon.

Like Aphrodite, Sappho reflects the mentality of the lunar world and its inherent relationship to the female-physical principle of nature. Aeolian lyric poetry arouses the sublunary world. The dual law of nature with its illusions and magic of continually mutable life is the deeper source of that unrest and eternal longing of emotions that fluctuate between pain and ecstasy and become even more aroused by the sounds of the Lesbian lyre. Sappho’s poetry does not possess the clarity and serenity of an Apollinian temperament. Like Aphrodite, Sappho does not attain exaltation. Rather, Sappho is better suited for the elegiac lament, which draws its substance from the deepest feminine sentiments and the never-ending drama of the destruction of flourishing beauty. Even in songs for milling and marriage songs, a melancholic sentiment predominates. It is a sentiment resulting from a conviction that the fulfillment of the highest female calling comes from making the most difficult sacrifices and succeeding through submission. The

Lesbian song “grind, mill, grind” (Plut., *Conv. sept. sap.* 14) is such a song for milling. Even today in Greece, operating the mill is the business of women. The beautiful song by Catullus, *Vesper adest, iuvenes, consurgite* (LXII) [Evening is come: youths rise up] is a fine example of a marriage song with alternating choruses between maidens and youths (cf. Hom., *Il.* 18.570). Sappho has mixed feelings about the turning point of marriage. On the one hand she says, “I shall always remain a maiden!” (frg. 44A) and on the other she bemoans her loss of virginity: “maidenhood, maidenhood, where have you gone so quickly?— Never again shall I return once I have left you” (frg. 114). Aphrodite herself has made love so bittersweet for girls. Descending from her heavenly seat, she fills shimmering gold cups with nectar at the marriage banquet and she doubles nighttime so that the lovers may embrace longer (frg. 2).

As a poetess of both nature and women, Sappho expresses every emotional aspect of Aphrodite. In folk tradition, Sappho and Aphrodite are indistinguishable. For example, both fall in love with Phaon. Sappho even plunges to her death from a cliff at Leucas for his sake. Sappho and the Aeolian world in general belong to the intermediate stage of intellectual and spiritual development. As the moon is situated between the sun and earth in the cosmos, the “*psyche* (soul)” comes between “*noûs* (spirit)” and “*soma* (body)” in human beings. Diotima places Eros at this intermediate level, for he is neither ugly nor beautiful but something in-between; neither mortal nor immortal but in between; neither human nor god but both; neither wise nor ignorant but philosophically in the middle; not uniform and absolutely pure but of dual origin (Pl., *Symp.* 202b-204c). As the moon combines the laws of two different worlds in itself, the Aeolian cultural stage did not overcome the female-physical principle but merely reformed and idealized it. Thus, Aeolian culture at its height was characterized by limitations, uniformity, and sensual restrictions. Nonetheless, Aeolian culture was neither strict nor free but rather intuitive. Aeolian culture was ruled more by drives than reflection, and it was always torn between two conflicting emotions (frg. 51). Sappho laments that women in particular hover between raving and presence of mind, opulence

and diligence and between excitement and composure (Ath. 15.687a). Thus, women are entirely ruled by female-physical Aphrodite, not paternal Apollo. Women partake of Aphrodite's greatness and limitations and join her on the dizzy heights where passion and reason are held in eternal discord.

It deserves special attention that Sappho left Aphrodite's lunar domain when she wrote of Prometheus. Accordingly, he journeyed to the sun, the seat of the highest Eros, to light his torch on the pure rays of daylight. Indeed, Sappho failed to lead her people to the Apollinian heights. It is disturbing to realize that despite Sappho's devotion and efforts to elevate her people, they would soon fall prey to the basest form of Eros. Sappho's fame as a muse would yield to the rumors of prostitution and sensuous sexual love of one's own sex. The island Lesbos has since been marked as the source of "Lesbianism" (Luc. *Dial. meret.* 5.2). One may blame this decline on the excesses and materialism of neighboring Asia (Ath. 14.624) or on the ample vineyards of the island along with the sensuous development of the Bacchic cults (Ath. 1.29bc). It is a sobering reminder that a religion is doomed to disaster like Phaethon if its foundation is in nature because the material world bears corruption within itself. As Athenaeus says, there is a danger of licentiousness in beauty (13.624b) and after a short flourishing spring, it soon withers and wanes.

Mantineia

CXLVI. The classical sources connect Sappho and Diotima and lead us from Lesbos to the Arcadian city, Mantineia. The figure of Diotima has been poorly understood until now. She should be placed in the same religious context as Sappho and the Aeolian Muse. Thus, we solve the question of where Diotima acquired such profound wisdom of the mysteries so honored by Socrates. Furthermore, we may end controversy whether Diotima was a historical personage. I admit that later references to Diotima are derived from the Platonic dialogues. In any case, Socrates' definite and specific account of Diotima does not suggest fiction: "She possessed a high degree of wisdom in prophecy among many other things. Her sacrifices won a reprieve from the plague for the Athenians, and she taught me the art of loving" (Pl., *Symp.* 201d). In the course of the dialogue, Socrates frequently mentions his visit to and his discussions with Diotima: σέ, ὦ Διοτίμα, ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐφοίτων παρὰ σὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα μαθησόμενος [I have admired you for your wisdom, Diotima, and for what I have learned under you] (Pl., *Symp.* 206b). Whether such a conversation actually took place seems to me a completely pointless question. Even if we consider Diotima fictional, the questions remain the same: Why did Socrates solicit knowledge of Eros from a woman? Why is his teacher a woman from Mantineia rather than from Athens? Of course, even a fictional account must relate to actual circumstances. In particular, Diotima's association with Aphrodite and Eros is rooted in a cult, as is the case for Sappho. We have sufficient evidence for these claims.

In the vicinity of Mantineia is a settlement named Capyae of Anchises (Strabo 13.608). Inaccurately, Capys is considered in this context as the son of

Anchises, the grandson of Assaracus (Servius, *Aen* 1.273; Verg., *G* 3.35; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.62.2; and Apollod. 3.12.2). In the *Aeneid*, Virgil relates Anchises' travels in Arcadia (8.152). Pausanias claims that Anchises' tomb is located at the foot of ὄρος Ἀγχίσσου [Mount of Anchises], near the ruins of a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite (8.12.8). Seven furlongs from the χωρίον Μελαγγεῖα [Hills of Melangeia], where the Mantineans get drinking water for their city, lies the Well of the Meliasts, where Dionysian orgies are celebrated. Nearby are a shrine to Dionysus and a sanctuary to Black Aphrodite (8.6.4-5). As a memorial to the naval battle at Actium, the Mantineans dedicated a temple to Ἀφροδίτης Συμμαχίας [Aphrodite, Comrade in Arms]. Nicippe, the daughter of Pasea, dedicated the cult figure of Aphrodite to the temple (8.9.6). Aphrodite served as an alliance goddess because of her mutual relationship to Mantinea and Rome, in particular to the Julian family (Manilius, *Astronomica* 1.798). As a subordinate, Eros accompanies Aphrodite, and she addresses him as *mea magna potentia* [my greatest power] (Verg., *Aen* 1.664). Diotima recounts that Eros became the companion and servant of Aphrodite because he was conceived during her birthday celebration (Pl., *Symp.* 203c). Diotima is in agreement with Sappho on this point. All the Mantinean cults are linked to the Samothracian circle of gods (Plin., *HN* 36.25). According to Mnaseas (*Scholia in Apollonium Phodium Veteria* 1.917), Demeter holds the highest position as Ἀξίερος [the venerable one] among the Samothracian Cabiri (Cf. Strabo 10.472). Pausanias provides documentation for Mantinea (8.8.1). Herodotus (2.171) is the main source of information about the Pelasgian Arcadians. He represents Demeter as the greatest goddess of initiation for Arcadian women (Cf. Paus. 9.25.5 and 2.22.2). In Alesium and Samothrace, Demeter and Rhea appear together as equals (Paus. 8.10.1 and 2; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 548; and Hermann, *Orphica* 492). Demeter's association with Persephone and the Dioscuri likewise reflects the Samothracian system, in which Demeter is Ἀξιοκέρσα [the very holy] among the original dyad of the Cabiri (*Scholia in Apollonium Phodium Veteria* 1.917; Servius, *Aen* 3.12; and Varro, *Ling.* 5.58). The preeminence of motherhood

characteristic of the Samothracian/Pelasgian system manifests itself in Mantinea in the accumulation of such feminine dieties as Vesta, Autonoe, Latona, Athena, Hebe, Penelope, and Maera (Paus. 8.9.2-3; Plin., *HN* 28.39; Herod. 2.49-51; and Bachofen, *Gräbersymbolik* 142.2 and 153.4). Both Mantinea and Arcadia have the closest cultural relationship to Samothrace. The national characteristics are the same. Herodotus describes the Arcadians (2.171) as similar to the Samothracians (2.51). He cites the Pelasgians as the first inhabitants of the island and as the originators of the Cabiri rites. These are the same Pelasgians who lived in Athens, then migrated to Imbros and Lemnos (Herod. 6.137 and 5.26; Strabo 9.401). Arcadian emigrants brought along the Samothracian cult of the Cabiri with them to Pergamum. Electra belongs to both Arcadia and Samothrace; in the latter, she is called Αξιόκερσα [commander of the army]. Likewise, Dardanus travels from the Near East to Italy via Samothrace, Crete, and Arcadia, spreading his religious culture (Paus. 1.4.6 and 8.24.2; Apollod. 3.12.1; Dion. Hal. 1.61; Strabo 7.331; Servius, *Aen.* 1.380, 2.166, 325, 3.12.148, and 8.285; Diod. Sic. 5.28.2; and Clem. Al. *Protr.* 12).

These documents leave no doubt about the roots of Diotima's religious doctrine, her teachings of Eros and her solemn priestly character. Everything about her comes from the Pelasgian/Samothracian world, whose center is motherhood and its service to the mysteries. The Καβειρικὴ τελετή [Cabiri rites] make the bearing womb the source of all significance. The mother is the source and origin of life; for example, Pelasgus is the son of the soil (Paus. 2.14.4, 8.1.4. and 2.22.1; and Apollod. 3.8.1). Immortality comes from the mother; for example, Demeter bestows it upon her lover, Iasion, the brother of Dardanus (Hes., *Theog.* 963 f, Diod. Sic 5.49.1 f.; and Theoc., *Id.* 3.50). Authority resides in the mother. Even though Arcadian Zeus is called μητροπάτωρ [father of the mother] (Clem. Al., *Strom.* 5.724.11. and Dion. Hal. 1.62.1), a daughter not a son succeeds the mother as in the case of Demeter and Persephone. The religious model of hereditary succession exclusively to the daughter is an obvious feature of mother right. Isis, Mise, and the mother of Midas belong to this tradition as

well (*Hymn. Orph.* 42.9). In death as in birth, the mother alone is relevant. Like a panicked bird flying wildly through the countryside, Demeter seeks her missing daughter; on the high rock walls of Sipylus, Niobe weeps everlasting tears for her dead children; like the women of Caria and Lesbos singing a threnos, the Gorgon sisters, the three virgins, lament Python's death; Ino is called *flebilis* [lamentable], and Aerope, *tristis* [gloomy]. The διδυμοι [twin sisters] of the Memphis Serapeum mourn Osiris's death; and in Plato's *Menexenus*, a woman gives the epitaph (Porph, *Vita Pythag.* 16). A dying person returns to the womb of the mother whence he came. The Arcadian expression κρηστοι [good citizens] corresponds to the Athenian expression Δημήτριοι [Demetrian] as documented by Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 52 and *Quaest. Graec.* 5). According to Aristotle, these expressions were addressed to the deceased. As well as the child's physical caregiver and provider, the mother is also his hope in death, his source of confidence attained through rites, which diminish the horrors of one's doom. The τελετή, [rites] come from Demeter. They are brought to Arcadia and practiced only by women. The mother is the source of all cherished and spiritual blessings. At this level of religion, the masculine principle manifests itself primarily as Poseidonian water power and as dark Hades τελετή, [the very holy] as is the case in the Samothracian mysteries and in the corresponding cult of Poseidon in Mantinea (Paus. 8.5.5, 8.10.1 and 37.9; Pind., *Oi* 11.10.72. 83). The mother embodies and controls procreative power. The role of the earthly mother is matched at the level of the moon, the level at which the Samothracian system elevates matter. Electra, Harmonia, Aphrodite, and all the Samothracian mothers are aspects of the celestial earth. As their subordinates, the Cabiri/Dioscuri produce the fire events of the lower atmosphere of the earth; Achilles, Bellerophon, Phaeton, and even Arcadian Zeus perform at this level as well (Cf. Plut. *plac. philos.* 2.13; *Hymn Orph.* 38.2, 3.8, and 38.4; Aristophanes, *Pax* 277; Diod. Sic. 5.49.6; Ap. Rhod. 1.917; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.37; and Clem. Al., *Protr.* p. 8). This religion is confined to the world of material phenomena and the flux of natural life. Matter and womankind rule this religion, which does not transcend

the border area of the moon, the symbol of the highest feminine source of doctrine and of the mysteries. In the τελετή, [holy story] regarding Demeter and Dionysus, Orpheus addresses the priest of the mysteries as Musaeus: φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί - - σὺ δ' ἄκουε φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης ΜουσᾶΙ [I will speak as is the custom . . . You but listen, offspring of the light-giving moon, Musaeus] (*Orph.* 245; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 13.12.5; Justin Martyr in Hermann, *Orphica* p. 447; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* pp. 438-43; and Plato, *Resp.* 364 e.). Material/maternal nature and creation is the highest σοφία [wisdom] inherent in this level of religion and in the Samothracian rites.

Within this context, the figure of Diotima is completely understandable. Both her religious teachings and sacrifices to rid the plague are aspects of an ancient wisdom, which Eusebius terms φυσιολογία [study of nature] (*Praep. evang.* 3.16.4) and Cicero calls the knowledge of the *natura rerum* [the nature of things]. Thus originates the myth about Aeolus receiving instruction in φυσικὴ θεωρία [studies of nature] from his wife Hippo, Chiron's daughter (Clem. Al., *Strom.* 1). The view of Theano as the first woman philosopher is likewise significant (Cyril. *Adv. Iul.* 4 and Clem. Al., *Strom.* 1). Finally, Hyginus' account of Agnodice and midwifery becomes understandable (*Fab.* 274.10). Womankind can successfully participate in a philosophy with a physical foundation. The religious authority of womankind is merely a reflection of the standing in the divine world granted to Demetrian motherhood. The mysteriousness of the Pelasgian/chthonic religion and the ceremonial characteristic of womankind are indispensable and connected through an intrinsic nexus. Antiquity offers us many instructive examples for this connection. The Danaids impart their rites to the Pelasgian women but not to the men (Herod. 2.171). The rites of the Theban Cabiri come from Demeter. The preservation of these rites is connected with Pelarge, who precedes her husband and is honored with a pregnant sow (Paus. 9.25.7). The daughter of Pallas, Chrysê, gives her husband, Dardanus, the rites of the Great Gods as a wedding gift (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.3 and Photius, *Lexicon* p. 268). Likewise, Caucon, the grandson of Phylus, conveys the τελετή

τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν [mysteries of the Great Goddesses] from Eleusis to Messene (Paus. 4.1.5). During the restoration of Messene on the slopes of Mt. Ithome, Caucon reveals to Epiteles in a dream:

ἔνθα δὴ τῆς Ἰθώμης εὐρη πεφυκυῖαν σμίλακα καὶ μυρσίνην, τὸ μέσον ὀρύξαντα αὐτῶν, ἀνασῶσαι τὴν γραῦν. κάμνειν γὰρ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ, καθειργμένην θαλάμῳ, καὶ ἤδη λειποψυχεῖν αὐτήν [Where he shall find a yew tree and myrtle growing on Ithome, he should dig between them and rescue an old woman; she is enclosed and suffering in the brass coffin and she is already unconscious].

Within a brass urn is a scroll of thin foil placed there by Aristomenes with a description of the mysteries of the Great Goddesses brought from Eleusis by Caucon (Paus. 4.26.7 and 4.20.4). In this case as well, a woman is responsible for the preservation of the rites. The Messenian holy inscription is consistent with Pausanias's account, mentioning τὰν δὲ κάμπτραν καὶ τὰ βιβλία [the casket and the books]. According to Pausanias, the three daughters of Celeüs conduct the mysteries (1.38.3). In Messenian Inscription IV. 1.20, they are called ἱεροὶ γυναῖχε [holy women]. At Eleusis, Demeter is received by Baubo and amused by Iambe (Arn. *Adv. nat.* 5.25; Paus. 1.39.1; and Apollod. 1.5.1). According to Apuleius, Lucius is first initiated into the mysteries of Isis and afterwards into those of Osiris (*Met.* 11.27). The mysteries are so closely coupled with the feminine principle of nature that even the Dionysian rites are celebrated at night, remaining at the level of motherhood rather than evolving toward the higher splendor of a masculine god (*Hymn. Orph.* 79.9, 52.4, and 54.10). The egg, the image of the bearing womb, is central to the mysteries. Men even wear women's clothing. Garlands are made from the branches of the *materna myrtus* [mothering myrtle], and female deities are the teachers. (Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 2.31, Aristophanes, *Ran.* 330, Tzetz., *Lycophr. Cass.* 1328. Bachofen, *Gräbersymbolik*, pp. 25, 26, 65, and 87, and *Hymn Orph.* 24.10). The significance of women and especially of mothers is evident in the accounts of the Roman Bacchanalia (Livy 39.13.8). Demosthenes attacks Aeschines, charging him with having recited from

Orphic books at night during the consecration of his mother in his youth (*pro corona, or.* 18. 259). The Delphic festival called Herois involves a mystical practice traceable back to Semele, which only the Maenads understood (Plut., *Quaest. Graec.* 12). Also, only the Maenads may assemble the *licnite*. *Hierophantides* [priests] or *prophantides* conduct the rites. Especially worth mentioning is the initiation of the Emperor Hadrian into the Eleusinian mysteries (*Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* 432 and 435, Dio Cass. 69.11.1, and *SHA Hadr.* 13.1). In *Charta papyracea Graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris* (Romae, 1788), Schow elucidates the inscription discovered by Worthley in Eleusis in 1785 relating to this event. It is worth noting that in accordance with sacred decree the priestess conceals her real family name and calls herself Μήτηρ Μαρκκιανοῦ, θυγάτηρ Δημητρίου [mother of Marcianos, daughter of Demetrios]. In connection with Demetrian nature, motherhood and its *fertilitas* [fertility] is especially emphasized (Cf. *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* 1436, 1440, and 1446). Since mothers bring their children to the initiation, only mothers' names appear on the catalogues of Demeter (*Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* 1207, 124, 1193). The initiation by women resumes in Neoplatonism. Proclus is initiated into the ὄργια καὶ ἡ σύμπασα θεουργικὴ ἀγωγή, [rites and the whole sacred way of life] by Asclepigenia, the daughter of his teacher, Plutarch of Athens (Marinus, *Vita Procli* 28).

As well as written documents, there are pictorial representations of the prominent role of women in initiation rites. The most important examples are two silver canthari from the Bernay collection, both kindred to the broken lyre with the Bacchic egg (See Plates VI and VII). The woman appears here in the most prominent position. In an impressive active pose, she is portrayed as an inspired revealer of the mysteries; in contrast, the man appears as submissive and obedient. Like Socrates with Diotima, there is a bearded old man dressed in the robes of a philosopher, who is eager to learn the secrets from the priestess sitting next to him. She is proclaiming the act of salvation from a scroll, the βιβλίον [book] of the Messenian inscription. She is in the role of Themis instructing Zeus. The relief

of the Pompeian cista portrayed in the annals shows the definitive connection between the philosopher learning from a woman and the mysteries since Eros himself is present with the insignia of the rites, decorated with taenia and cista. Similar to this piece is a depiction of Socrates and Diotima made of sardonix in the Parisian Cabinet (Lenormant, *Trésor de numismatique, Gal. mythol.* p. 146). Both depictions attest to the high status of women in religious doctrines and mystery practices. In fact, wherever we look we see the dominance of women in rituals. Absorbed in contemplation, a woman stands before the mystery egg, held by other women. Along with the Bacchic egg, Telete is feminine as are the vast majority of grave terracottas and the heads entwined with flowers on the numerous grave vases especially in Southern Italy, where the belief in the mysteries for both sexes was connected with Kore's epiphany. Girls carry the holy scriptures to Eleusis (Theoc., *Id.* 4.25). A large number of grave terracottas portray Eros, cuddling a sitting matron, as a genius of the mysteries (Raoul-Rochette, *Troisième mém. d'antiquité chrétiennes*, 1838, pl. 3.1). The most sublime conception of the mysteries is tied to Io, the moon cow adorned with ribbons around her horns and the Dionysian holy man who expresses the wish *καλή με γυνή φοροῖη (Διονύσιον ἐς χόρον), καθαρὸν θεμένη νόον* [may a beautiful woman of pure mind carry me away (in the Dionysian dance)].

All of these examples are expressions of the same idea. Though seemingly different, they are intrinsically related manifestations of the mysteries in the chthonic/Pelasgian religion, in which the mother stands at the head of the family and the entire culture as the source of all corporeal and spiritual well being. Socrates finds a source of wisdom in this world absent in the Attic and Ionic traditions (Cf. Porph, *Abst.* 2.16). The metaphysical notion of Eros as well as the conception that the divine and the eternal reside in beauty come from a propheticess of the aboriginal race of the *προσέληνοι Ἀρκάδες* [Arcadians, who are older than the moon] (Paus. 5.1.1 and 8.4.1; Plut., *Quaest. Rom.* 76). The Arcadians were a maternal people, who resisted the later intrusion of Hellenic culture (Porph, *Abst.* 2.16). The Arcadian woman had magical powers, even to conjure the moon down

to the earth. Socrates returns to an earlier level of understanding, to Pelasgian matrondom, renowned for its charge and execution of religious rites. Thus, Socrates acknowledges the value of pre-Hellenic culture in its reverence of Pelasgian woman. Diotima does not belong in the category of famous woman at all. She must have appeared patriarchal in comparison to the lustrous hetairism of the Attic/Ionic world. Aspasia attracted all the attention though some other hetairai made names for themselves. In contrast, Socrates takes Diotima out of obscurity. She is not entirely an anomaly in her culture. Her individual distinction is in the degree, not the nature of her intellect.

CXLVII. The reports about Mantinea portray a city that shares the essential characteristics of Diotima: an association with a pre-Hellenic cultural period, an affiliation with the ancient Pelasgian mystery cults, and *δεισιδαιμονία* [fear of the gods]. Polybius claims that Mantinea is the oldest city in Arcadia (2.56.6). It is a city that distinguished itself in the cultivation of music, dance, and philosophy, three endeavors intricately involved with religion, especially with the mystery cults (Plut., *De mus* 32; Lucian, *Salt.* 7f; Strabo 10.467-68; and Timaeus Locrus, *de anim.*17) . . .

Diotima's homeland remained true to the oldest forms of Pelasgian culture. Mantinea embraced the principal characteristics of a gynocratic lifestyle: "good lawful order, justice, presence of mind," tradition, and piety. Democratic equality of all citizens ensues from the dominance of chthonic motherhood in Mantinea as we have likewise observed in Lycia, Crete, Egypt, Locris, and Elis . . .

Everything we know of Mantinea is consistent with the Samothracian religion and rites. It is thus understandable that the entire way of life of this renowned Arcadian city stands in opposition to the Ionic/Attic culture. In short, the priestly and sublime Diotima solves all puzzles.

CXLVIII. Before we turn from Aeolian and Pelasgian women to Pythagorean women, specifically from Sappho and Diotima to Theano, I will

furnish several illustrative details about Pelasgian mother right. What Hesiod (*Op.* 130) writes about the silver race of man confirms the exceptional relevance of the maternal principle to the Pelasgian world as well as the traits of this level of religion. Motherhood is made the center of the entire domestic and civil life of the silver race of man in the words ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῆ ἔτρέφετ' ἀτάλλων, μέγα νήπιος, ὧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, [But a boy would grow up alongside his cherished mother for 100 years, merely a massive baby, within the house]. The designation of the mother as κεδνη [cherished] evokes the image of the most intimate love between mother and child since the mother is the source of all its physical and spiritual well-being. At the beginning of human civilization, motherly love is the only bright spot in an otherwise dismal moral existence of the family. Pelasgian religion and culture are predicated entirely upon motherhood. Thus, Hesiod mentions only the mother and her loving care of her child. It is culturally significant that mothers are responsible for the overthrow of the most ancient gods. As commanded by Gaia, Cronus, the youngest of the Titans, tosses Uranus's testicles into the ocean (*Hes., Theog.* 164-90). Through the machinations of Rhea and Gaia, Cronus himself is overthrown by the youngest of his sons, Zeus. Cronus swallows only his male children. In contrast, he does no harm to his daughters, Hestia, Demeter, Hera, and Hecate (*Hes., Theog.* 413-50). Except for Oceanus, all of Uranus's sons obey their μητρὶ φίλῃ, [dear mother] (*Apollod.* 1.3).

The rule of motherhood and its cultural significance is depicted in Aratus's *Phaenomena* (96-136). In the night sky holding a golden ear of grain in her left hand, Dike, the daughter of Astraea, rules over the silver race of man. Here, matriarchy is associated with the symbol of agrarian fruitfulness. Woman stands for justice, peace, and order as the substance of a higher civilization. Therefore, Dike is associated especially with women (*Phaen.* 102 f):

ἦρχετο δ' ἀνθρώπων κατεναντίη • οὐδέ ποτ' ἀνδρῶνοῦδέ ποτ'
 ἀρχαίων ἠγήνατο φύλα γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀναμιξ ἐκάθητο καὶ
 ἀθανάτη περ ἑοῦσα • καὶ ἔ Δίκην καλέεσκον • ἀγειρομένη δὲ

γέρονταζήε που είν άγορη ή υρυχόρω εν άγυιηδημοτέρας ήειδεν
επισπέρχουσα θέμιστας

[Dike herself came down against men. But the earliest race of men and women did not come to an at that point; for she sat as a judge, mingling with mortals even though she was a God. They called her Justice; and she, gathering the Elders either in the assembly or in the wide streets, sang public oracles in a frenzied rage.]

The fundamental significance of the Pelasgian mother is expressed in γραῦς [old woman]. Γραῖα ἔγη και Δημητηρ [Earth and Demeter] designate the primary physical meaning. Thus, the Atticans use Εγγήρως and Ελληγηρις, both meaning the “land.” The bearing, nourishing, propagating motherhood underlies the relationship among *cresco* [I am born], *creare* [to create], *Ceres* [Demeter], *Cerus*, *Κηοιες* [goddess of fate]. Intrinsic in Γεννητικη-Kandake [birth-ability], Στήτη [woman] or Κλείτα [fame] (Theoc., *Epigr.* 18.2) is the notion of the mother and her role in conception, birth, and feeding. This is the basis for the sovereignty and distinction of women; thus, Γραῖα [old woman], Γεννητικη [birth skills], and Στήτη [woman] are connected. In Orphism, the term is μητέρος άγλαδόν ειδος [shining figure of a mother]. Therefore, the fourteen Athenian priestesses were called Γέραιραι [women elders] despite their youth, and they wore the maternal emblem of Demeter. It is perfectly understandable that γεραιραι κοινώς [elders of the people] designates ἱερειαι [priestesses]. πρέσβα [ambassador] and πρέσβειρα [ambassador] (*Hymn. Orph.* 27.13 and 10.2), Maia (Iambl., *VP* 11.56 and Porph, *Abst.* 4.16), and τήθη, άκαλήφη [grandmother, thorn] are analogues. Likewise, Πέλειαι and Πελειάδες [both are children of Peleus] are analogues as are the names of the Dodonian γραῖαι [old women] (Strabo 9.404 and 410) because in these words the notions of maternal fertility, maturity, and nobility coincide. γραῦς [Old woman] is discovered in the coffin with a lead scroll with of the Andanian mysteries (Paus. 4.1.5). Demeter is herself γραῦς [old woman] (Paus. 1.391) as well as the Argivian mothers in Euripides *Supplices* (9.42). Other γραῦς are the δαιμόνια θαλάσσια [spirits of the sea] who are bald from birth. The

daughters of Phorcys are γραῦς [old women], whose maternal nature is indicated by one eye and tooth (Hes., *Theog.* 270-3). The priestly and religious rites connected with γραῦς [old woman] are especially conspicuous in all of these instances. Only in the Pelasgian world is corporal motherhood considered so sublime. In fact, γραῖα [old woman] is exclusive to Pelasgian peoples and Pelasgian, chthonic cults in Dodona, Andania, and especially Lesbos. Γραῖς [old woman] and Γραῦς [old woman] pertain to the Lesbian Aeolians, the descendants of Orestes, a matricide. According to Hesychius and Tzetzes (“Lycophron” 644), Γραῦς [old woman] is the ancient name of Tanagra in Boeotia, a transference of the mother’s name to a locality.

The word γραῖα [old women] is the basis of the folk name Γραικοί, *Graeci*, [both Greeks] a metronymic appellation like Opici from Ops. All evidence indicates that the Γραικοί [Greeks] are an older human race than the Hellenes. Callimachus and the *Etymologicum magnum* use the designation Γραικός [Greek] as well as the Romans, who faithfully maintained the ancient Pelasgian names. The matrons who celebrated the *sacra Cereris* [rites of Ceres] were called *Graeca sacra* [Greek rites]. This appellation stems from the intrinsic relationship of the Pelasgian-Demetrian cults to Greek motherhood. Especially instructive however is the mention of Γραικός [Greek] in the Hesiodian κατάλογος γυναικῶν [Catalogue of Women], which establishes the maternal genealogy in Pelasgian prehistoric times. According to Laurentius Lydus (*Mens.* 4), Latinus and Graecus are brothers from the noble house of Deucalion, both sons of Pandora, fathered by Zeus. Whereas Hellenes is derived, from πατρικῶς [father’s side], from Hellen, the son of Deucalion, the Graeci claim Pandora as their tribal mother. According to Hesiod, Latinus and Agrius are the offspring of Circe and Odysseus (*Theog.* 1011-13).

All evidence shows that the supremacy of motherhood is the characteristic feature of the pre-Hellenic cultural stage. Thus, Hesiod’s notion of μήτηρ κεδνή [cherished mother] becomes more credible as an actual historical feature as well as his races of man. In this context, the scholia of Proclus are especially important

because they confirm the cultural stage of mother right. The lunar middle stage of the cosmos corresponds to the silver age. The silver of the moon is situated in the middle between the chthonic iron and gold of the sun: ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος σεληνιαῖος, διότι καὶ ἡ σελήνη σκιᾶ δεκτική, καθάπερ καὶ ἄργυρος ἰοῦ χτλ [Silver is moonlit because just as silver tarnishes, so shadows creep across the moon]. Commingled with material and immaterial nature, the silver race does not belong to the solar-spiritual but to the lunar-psychic existence. The demigodliness of heroism, the σύμμικτον ἔκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων [mixture of gods and men] corresponds to the silver race. According to Strabo in his discussion of the Pelasgian people (5.221), it is this quality that accounts for the distinction of this ancient race: Πελασγούς τε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡρώων ὄνομα καλέσαντες, οἱ ὕστερον ἀπ' ἐκαίνων πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπώνυμα πεποιήκασι • χτλ.. [Many Pelasgians were called by the names of heroes, who then made many names for newer races]. In every case, maternal materialism predominates. Especially instructive are the comments about the significance of immortality through the mother.

Ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγωγον ζωὴν μᾶλλον διέπρῃσαν, τούτους ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν θεοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπου παρέδοσαν • ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρακτικὴν ἀρετὴν, τούτους ἀνάπαλιν ἐκ θεαίνης μὲν μητρὸς, πατρὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπου. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω μὲν θεῖα, καὶ τὸ ἀνάγωγον καὶ τὸ πρακτικόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀρρενωπὸν, ὡς ἐρρωμενεστέρας ὄν ζωῆς, τὸ δὲ θηλυπρεπές, ὡς υφειμένον κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀπαθέστερον, τὸ δὲ συμπαθέστερον τοῖς θνητοῖς.

[Whoever gives prominence to a spiritual life is born from a divine father and a human mother. Whoever gives prominence to material virtue is born from a divine mother and a human father. For both are divine, the spiritual and the material, but one is manly because it is a more vigorous way of life while the other is

womanly since it is more submissive to power. Also, the spiritual is less sympathetic to mortals while the material is more so.]

The various stages of corporeal and spiritual existence pertain to the individual person as well as to the development of the entire race. The immortal father designates a higher evolvment than the mortal mother. Divinity from Γεννητικη [birth skills] manifests itself in a more material lifestyle whereas πρακτικη ἀρετη [practical excellence] from the father, is more spiritual, ἀνάγωγον τοῦ βίου [elevation of life]. One is συμπαθέστερον [more sympathetic] and the other ἀπαθέστερον τῇ θνητῇ φύσει [produces less sympathy for mortality]. The Pelasgian cultural stage with its immortality embedded in the mother distinguishes itself by what is typically called πρακτικη ἀρετη [practical virtue]. The ἐργατίνης Πελασγός [Pelasgian husbandman] (*Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* 3. 1323 and Paus. 8.4.1) turns into ἐγχειρογάστωρ [agent of the stomach] (*Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* 1.989) with the cultivation of plains with abundant water. We can now see the inherent correlation of mother right to the various manifestations of a πρακτικη ἀρετη [practical excellence] directed toward a totally material life. Because of θηλυπρεπής [femininity] and σεληνοειδής [moon-like quality] the Pelasgian silver race of man was especially exposed to the inescapable decline of any lifestyle devoted to physical existence. According to Hesiod, material engrossment is the cause of the decline of this race of man, which later peoples have looked back on as a lost time of happiness and prosperity. Next to the mother is her son, coddled in mature love, μέγα νήπιος [a huge babbling baby] (Hes. *Op.* 141). Proclus' observations about the decline of Asia are remarkably similar to the downfall of the Pelasgian tribes because of their ignominious sacrilege against god and man especially in their richest and most luxurious residences.

The noblest aspect of the Demetrian lifestyle is its mindfulness of life after death. In connection with τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόιοι [those living under the earth], Proclus underscores this Orphic and mystical aspect of Pelasgian agriculture. (*In R.* 4/9).

Consistent with the plantlike origins of human beings in Hesiod's genealogy of the silver race, the φυσικὴ ζωὴ [natural life] and agriculture are considered the basis of the καθαρὸς λόγος [pure thought] and the Orphic mysteries: ὁ μὲν Ὀρφεὺς τοῦ ἀργυροῦ γένους βασιλεύειν φησὶ τὸν Κρόνον, τοὺς κατὰ τὸν καθαρὸν λόγον ζῶντας ἀργυροῦς λέγων, ὥσπερ τοὺς κατὰ νοῦν μόνον χρυσοῦς [Orpheus says that Kronos ruled the golden race and he also said that they lived by pure notions, that is, by the mind alone]. Considering the previous evidence in this study of the inherent correlation of the mysteries with chthonic-Pelasgian cults of the pre-Hellenic period, there is no longer any doubt that the Neoplatonists of the 5th century adopted ideas of late Orphism. Both the mysteriousness of religion and the preeminence of motherhood belong to the oldest human societies.

The noblest legacy of the Pelasgian world found secure refuge and strong protection in the mysteries against Hellenism, which was hostile to anything mystical because it was founded on the masculine/spiritual principle with its orientation in this world. One should have no doubts about the true and pure preservation of the old Pelasgian world of ideas in the new Orphism conveyed in Pythagoreanism and the Platonic schools. As evidence, one need only appreciate the constancy and invariability of religion and the ἀχιντον [inviolability] (Herodotus 6.134 and Servius, *Aen.* 3.701) ensuing from the holy awe of the mysteries as well as the sense of νοῦος ἀχαιοὺς αἰστος [ancient customs are the best] (Porph., *Abst.* 2.18). From this perspective, it is thoroughly proper to call the fragments of religious songs Orphic hymns. Even if the name is inauthentic, the expressed thoughts are authentically Orphic. The Pelasgian world maintained a continuous relationship to Orphic teachings even under the pressure of Christianity. The correspondence between the Orphic and the Pelasgian perspectives is extensive as is their profound opposition to the Hellenic intellectual world. One should not forget that the Hellenic world utilized the ruins of the Pelasgian perspective until the religious needs of an afterlife awoke anew. Then, the profound ideas of the ancient Pelasgian/chthonic cults were revived. In Dionysian Orphism, the religious rites of motherhood with a belief in

salvation through a sublime son of the pure light conveyed the scepter of the Hellenic Zeus to Dionysus.

The decline and the revival of the Pelasgian worldview are reflected in the destiny of the female sex. With the decline of the Pelasgian worldview, the lot of women sinks back into darkness, and with its ascent, women gain their old esteem and grandeur again. Pythagorean women had their roots in the ancient Pelasgian world of the Demetrian aspect of nature. Diotima exemplifies the perfect expression of feminine priesthood. There can be no doubt that civil mother right, as in the case of the Lycians, managed to survive in later times by taking refuge in the mystery rites of women. It is also definite that each new ascent of women involves a new application of the chthonic, mystical cults of the Pelasgian world. In the next section, we will examine more closely the standing of the maternal principle in the Pythagorean religion.

Pythagoreanism and Subsequent Doctrines

CXLIX. Pythagoreanism restored the principles and the mysteries of motherhood as is evident in a series of phenomena, of which the prominent position of Pythagorean women is the best illustration. I undertake to compile the most important of these phenomena that clarify the dissimilarity between the Pythagorean culture of motherhood and Hellenism . . .

CL. Maternal supremacy in the Pelasgian world is absolute in religious practice, which Pythagoras claims is the source of true feminine greatness. The maternal religious vocation is evident in every aspect of human life. Women are entrusted with protecting the scripts and mysteries. Thus, Pythagoras entrusts his mystery scripts to his daughter Damo since only a woman can resist the temptation to reveal the secrets to the uninitiated. In turn, Damo passes on the mystery scripts to her own daughter, Bitale.

Women are also responsible for religious instruction. Thus, Diotima instructed Socrates, and Themistoclea, a priestess of Delphi, taught Pythagoras most of his moral doctrines according to Aristoxenus of Tarentum (8.1.8). In a similar fashion, Orpheus gained his wisdom from his mother Calliope (Iambl. 28.146). In several myths, Pythagoras is identified with Orpheus, and both are alternately considered the author of the Pythagorean scripts (Clem. Al., *Strom.* 1).

Hermippus provides another example of the close relationship of the maternal world to Pythagoreanism. While Pythagoras dwelled in Hades, he asked his mother to record the events (Diog. Laert. 8.1 and 41). In other words, the foremost doctrine of Orphism, the teachings of the afterlife, is first revealed to a woman because of her intimate connection with Demetrian nature.

Motherhood asserts its authority in the sacred Demetrian ceremonies in stark contrast to the Dionysian ceremonies, in which the masculine god has risen to the highest level of light to fulfill the hopes of the mysteries. He is the deliverer, savior, and redeemer, the conqueror of Hades. The Dionysian ceremonies establish a continuation and a complementary conclusion to the holy story. As the son of Zeus and ruler of the world, Dionysus represents the highest development of the doctrine of salvation. However, the authority of women in religious ceremonies remains undiminished by Dionysian masculinity. In fact, women followed the paternal development of Orphism to its limits. At Delphi, Dionysus became a follower of Apollo. According to Plutarch, Dionysus was as important at this shrine as Apollo (*De sera* 28). However, after having shed the night and darkness, Apollo reached the twelfth solar number, the highest purity of light, whereas Dionysus reached only the eleventh level, celebrated by eleven Dionysiades.

The Pythagorean doctrine is derived from the prophecies of priestesses. Readings of the Orphic scriptures were accompanied by mimes of the Bacchantes and Horae. In triennial festivals throughout Greece, Dionysus was celebrated as the great savior of the world (Röth 2.691 and 711 ff.).

The story of Medea and the Argonauts also illustrates the key role of women in religious activities. Because of her religious powers, Medea is superior to Jason, who dares do nothing without the assistance of her occult science.

A common religious foundation connects Theano to Diotima and Sappho as well as Pythagorean to Pelasgian and Aeolian women (Lucian, *Eunuch* 7). Egyptian, Carian, Lycian, Macedonian, and Locrian women devoted to the service of the muses and poetry; Lesbian/Aeolian girls, Diotima from Mantinea, and finally Theano, all belong to a pre-Hellenic culture in which conceiving and bearing female sexual organs are paramount in the domain of natural life. Womanhood is at the center of the Demetrian mysteries offering hope in a world beyond. As a counterpart to Sappho mourning the death of Adonis, Pythagoras sings a dirge in which he laments his own mortality. A linus is also one of the

Pythagorean musical forms, developed by Orpheus, Achilles, and Sappho (Iambl. 28.139).

As Sappho expresses the mystery of hope by repressing grief, Pythagoras censures expressing pain (Porph, *Vita Pythagorae* 59). Like Sappho and Diotima, Pythagoras privileges a destiny to come, the restoration of the soul and the elevation of life. One should lay aside no burden; one should not return after a departure; and one should not look back in dying, but greet death as deliverance.

In contrast to a general preference of the color white over black (Iambl. 21.100) and the right side over the left, Pythagoreanism prefers the left side and black because of the preeminence of motherhood and the night. In *Natural History*, Pliny attributes the belief to Pythagoras that names with an uneven number of syllables are a sign of potential physical disabilities on the right side whereas an even number of vowels indicates a disability on the left (28.33). At the higher levels of the mysteries, these relationships are reversed. Chthonic, maternal nature, the left, should be overcome, and the masculine, spiritual right, the principle of light should triumph. Originally, left was the good side, ἀριστερός [the best] and εὐωνυμός (of good name). Now, the left is associated with decline and the right with life and light (Iambl. 28.156). In Plato's *Symposium*, the dedication to Eros goes around to each person from the right. Likewise, Pythagoras requires that one enters the temple from the right and removes the right shoe first, for right is divinity, the light, the monad. The Orphic mysteries direct us toward the light, to Helios, the highest and most spiritual representation of masculinity. Even as a boy, Pythagoras watched the rising sun. Orphism prohibits the killing of the white cock because it represents the morning sun, the vanquisher of tellurian darkness. To this purpose of existence we recognize Sappho's aspiration to light the wheels of the Chariot of the Sun with Prometheus' torch. Like Diotima, Sappho establishes her ethical laws based on an abstraction derived from the physical, a progression step by step from the material to the immaterial. This progression from below to the top, from left to right, from dark to light, from the feminine to the masculine, from ὕλη [material] to εἶδος

[form] is interwoven into Pythagoreanism. It is the materialistic foundation of Pythagorean philosophy that leads to a consideration of the highest divinity by directing one's view to the moon and starry night sky where the mysteries of nature are especially significant (Porph, *Abst.* 4.8). Pythagorean wisdom and its peculiar mathematics have their origins in this intermediate cosmic state, and here Pythagoreanism merges with the Pelasgian/Aeolian intellectual world of a feminine core. As *ὀυρανιγγή* [celestial earth], Demeter returns to heaven, where she serves a maternal dual existence as earth and moon and as chthonic and celestial hyle. Furthermore, Demeter represents the entire Orphic doctrine of becoming and being and of mutable and immutable life derived from the intermediate position of the moon. The Muses are associated with Demeter. The most significant attributes of the Pythagorean religion are elevated to the purest and most spiritual expression in the Muses. They represent the magnificence of femininity, the maternal quality of the consecration and of the mysteries, and the consolidation of the tellurian and celestial worlds, of the here and the hereafter, of life in a unified harmony. The Muses are the heavenly models of an astral law that rules the movements of the physical and psychological world in accordance with harmony.

The maternal reigns supreme in all aspects of Pythagoreanism and the Demetrian rule of the mother is its foundation. The prestige of women is reestablished with the chthonic cult of mysteries of the Pelasgian world. In opposition to the Hellenic evolvment, Pythagoras restores the old religion. He is a second Orpheus and champion of women and their religious character and dignity. It is as if a vanished world of long ago arose from the grave. Pythagoreanism stands in sharp contrast to everything in the Hellenic culture of the 5th century BC. In every aspect, Pythagoreanism embraces Orphic principles and ceremonies. According to Iamblichus, whatever bears Pythagoras's name possesses a whiff of lofty antiquity. Everything returns to its origin. The religious doctrine revitalizes the most ancient Orphic, Egyptian, and Asian ideas and images. An unqualified belief in god and divine revelation underlies everything

mythic. Everything in daily life, as well as the affairs of state, is traced back to god and revelation as an unchanging foundation (Iambl. 30, 86, 130, and 174).

The close connection of this school of thought to the mysteries and maternal supremacy is obvious as well as its similarity to historical manifestations of the ancient gynecocratic life especially that of the Locrians. However, it deserves mentioning that like all cults founded on the supremacy of the mother, Pythagoreanism ascribes masculine power to the tellurian/Poseidonian level, where the earth rules over the waters. Thus, Pythagoras was greeted by the river Nessos with the famous *salve Pythagora* (Iambl. 134). Warmth is superior to water and gold is added to water (Iambl. 153). A wise man rules the ocean to its depths as the story of catching fish illustrates. Pythagoras receives instruction from Egyptian priests and Thales [a sage at Miletos] that water is the principal substance. One should lustrate with seawater (Iambl. 153). On Crete, one is purified at sunrise on the seashore and at night on the bank of the river. Supposedly, Hippasus drowned at sea because he deviated from Pythagoreanism. In the tradition of Apollo and the Argonauts, Pythagoras adheres to the maternal/tellurian view that one's hair should not be cut. The more mythical, the more significant these stories became for religion. The Pythagorean ταῦρος [bull] (Iambl. 13.61) has its counterpart in the Dionysian bull, which the women of Argos and Elis call forth from the engendering waves with the expression ἄξιε ταῦρε ἄξιε ταῦρε [honorable bull, honorable bull] as well as the bull represented as Hebon with dripping beard or with water streaming from its mouth by the Italic peoples. Pythagoras' golden thigh identifies him with Dionysus, a god of two βιμητῶρ [mothers], first a mother, then a father. The preeminence of the bearing womb and the Pelasgian/Poseidonian stage of masculinity intrinsically contradict each other. It is especially significant that Pythagoras is identified with the Pelasgian Apollo, who is killed by the Python, rather than with the Hellenic Apollo, who conquers the Python.

All this leads us back to the pre-Hellenic peoples and their cults. All this reveals an affiliation with an earlier world and a conscious struggle between the

chthonic mysteries and Hellenism. Pythagoreanism extends back as far as the earliest religions and the great culture of the ancient Pelasgian world. Pythagoras had contact with the chief centers of ancient civilization: Samothrace, a crossroads along the trade route between Europe and Asia; Eleusis, the holiest cult site next to Samothrace; Phrygia; Egypt, Phoenicia, Arabia, Babylon, and Asia in general. In comparison to the Hellenic intellectual world, Pythagoreanism is depicted as most decidedly Oriental. However, Pythagoreanism is distinguished more so by its adherence to feminine prerogatives in the traditions of the Thracians, Getae, Celts, Iberians, and especially the Hyperboreans (Iambl. 27, 28, 30, 127, 151, 173 and Röth 2.264-66). The ancients agree that Pythagorean Orphism accommodates a revival of the original Thracian Orphic mystery cult and furthermore that Pythagoreanism embodies the negation of Hellenism in all its aspects. Thus, Greece rejected Pythagoras and his teachings. Pythagoras found his followers in the lands to the west, among the Lucanians, Messapii, and Peucetii. Most of the renowned Pythagoreans lived in the cities of Magna Graecia (Plut., *Cleom.* 7.4 and *Ar., Lys.* 1237). Through Pythagorean doctrine, women beheld a restoration of their earlier distinction and power, which were threatened by the influence of Hellenism. This accounts for the spirited devotion of women to Orphic practices and the willingness of Crotonian women to make a sacrificial offering of their most cherished robes and jewelry. In short, Pythagoreanism accounts for the profound participation of women in the cultivation and promulgation of Orphic doctrine as well as Socratic and Platonic philosophy (Iambl. 36.267 and Diog. Laert. 3.46 and 4.1-2). Pythagoreanism contended for the restoration of the ancient mystery religions as well as for the majesty of women. Pythagoras emerges as an advocate of women, a defender of their rights and sacredness and their high rank in the family and state. He characterizes the oppression of women as a sin of men. A wife should not be subjugated but fully equal to her husband. Phintys calls the mother the master of the house (Stob. Flor. 3, 65, 31). Husband and wife share both life and possessions. In *Praecepta coniug*, Plutarch traces the Roman prohibition against a husband and a wife

exchanging gifts to this notion. It is significant that Pythagoras repeatedly emphasizes the equal status and merit of the female and male mental faculties. As examples of this opinion, Pythagoras cites the cases of Hephaestus ensuing exclusively from his mother [Hera] and Athena from her father [Zeus] (Iambl. 8.39). Plato's famous myth in the *Symposium* of the original unity and combination of the two genders is similar in spirit. We recognize in Pythagoras and Plato a decisive resistance to the increasing degradation of women resulting from the expansion of the Ionic-Attic culture. The standing of women was not elevated by the development of sacred prostitution or by the occasional outburst of anger from wives.

Platonic views of the importance of motherhood are connected with Pythagoreanism and the Demetrian mysteries of ancient Orphism. In *Metaphysics* (1.6), Aristotle points out this link. Syrianus writes of the similarity among Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato. Tzetzes reports the story about Plato purchasing Philolaus's books from the hands of Pythagorean women. Though perhaps not historical, this narrative evidences the view of the ancients. The notion that all citizens are brothers and are bound by love and duty to fend for the motherland comes from the conviction that people all come from the womb of the earth. This is a most ancient Orphic belief shared by Pythagoreanism. Likewise, Proclus underscores the κοινώνια κατ' εἶδος τῆς ἀρετῆς [commonality of virtue among men and women] and the κοινή παιδεία [common upbringing] as Socrates taught and as the Aeolic and the Doric peoples put into practice. Though Aristotle criticizes Lycurgus's laws for ignoring women (*Pol.* 2.6), he overlooks that in earlier times women were considered holy and sacrosanct and thus protected by religious reverence grounded in Demetrian motherhood (Paus. 3.14.5). Likewise, the Romans acknowledged the untangibility of women by excluding them from civil laws (Val. Max. 8.3.3. and Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.6). As the tyranny of the state imperium upon Roman life increased, the counterbalance of religious veneration became even more indispensable. In myths and events, religion emerges as omnipotent, always powerful enough to repel any attempt of the male political

imperium to extend itself inappropriately (Verg. *Aen* 8.336 ; Plut. *Quaest. Rom* 56; and Val. Max. 2.1.2, 5.2.1 and 9.12.2).

The intrinsic correlation between a religious belief and its manifestation in society is unmistakable in the Christian cult of Mary and the restoration of a new political gynecocracy. Bodin points out that the first four queens were all named Mary: “*ainsi voit-on quatre femme de même nom avoir fait ouverture à la gynécocratie ès royaume de Hongrie, Norvège, Suède, Ecosse et Angleterre*” [thus we see four women of the same name reveal gynecocracies in the kingdoms of Hungary, Sweden, Switzerland, and England] (*Les six livres de la république*, 1.6.5). A famous vase named Ptolemy’s cantharus on display in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris depicts a noteworthy correlation between heathen and Christian traditions. The scenes of Bacchus and Ceres indicate the original Dionysian source. The cup passed from Dionysus, the great savior of the ancient world, into the treasure of the Christian saint of the same name. At least since the 9th century the cup has been stored in the abbey of Saint-Denis. According to Marion Dumerson, the cup was served full with consecrated wine for the French queens to drink on coronation day. Here is a final reverberation of the high honor bestowed upon women by the Dionysian cult. The extent of Orphic/Pythagorean mysticism in Gaul is indicated by all the silver bowls in the treasure of Bernay as well as by the unexpected variety and sensuality of phallic objects discovered in French soil displayed in the collection of Muret in Paris. Finally, Orphic/Pythagorean mysticism offers an important historical point of departure for understanding several prominent traits of the French disposition.

CLI. The reversion to the philosophy of the pre-Hellenic period as manifested in Pythagoreanism attained its consummation in the Gnostic doctrines of the Carpocratians. The final era of declining heathendom reinstates the very conditions that mankind must overcome in order to make the transition to a civilized life. Like a twin brother, the end of the development resembles the beginning. A second childhood comes to pass, sharing the helplessness of the first childhood but not its hopefulness. Prohibitions on the robustness of youth are

beneficial at the beginning, but they become a symptom of emergent degeneration and the end. At the outset of this work, we have compiled evidence from the ancients about premarital societies in order to illuminate the cultural significance of marital mother right, which even Tacitus misrepresented (*Germ.* 40.3). Now our final task is to examine the relapse into an entirely tellurian way of life, whose foundation is the material-maternal *ius naturale* [natural law]. Consistent with my previous procedure, I have selected one single example among a range of historical sources, namely Carpocratianism, which St. Irenaeus (*Against the Heresies* 1.24), Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.7), and Theodoret connect with Gnosticism. Carpocratianism originated in Cyrene and Egypt. The most devoted disciples came from Africa, where maternal rule in religion, state, and family continues even today. The Christian cult of the Virgin is a manifestation and extension of such maternal preeminence in Occidental countries. Carpocrates was from Alexandria, Egypt. His son, Epiphanius, was born of a Cephallenian mother. Synesius got his education in Alexandria, and in 410, he was made bishop of Pentapolis in Africa. Even though he was a professed Christian, he should be counted among the Alexandrian Gnostics since he was closely associated with Hypatia. As Gnosticism in general, Carpocratian Gnosticism reestablishes the ancient preeminence of maternal materiality. Gnosticism stands in definitive opposition to the spirit of Christianity. Gnosticism emerges as the most forceful reaction of the material/feminine fundamental idea of the Orient against the paternal/spiritual principle of the new religion.

The doctrine of Carpocratian Gnosticism reveals the original Oriental principle of authority viz., the *ius naturale*, derived from the maternal nature of Aphrodite. The law of material creation diffused through everything tellurian overrules positive laws as violations of natural equality. The law of material creation rejects individual claims on women and goods. It prohibits disparity. It views possession as a violation of right, an illegitimate violation of the community. The Carpocratians committed themselves to fight against this violation and to restore the purity of the material *ius naturale* by declaring in their

second inscription to repress the violation of the law. The first inscription calls the execution of this principle of perfect peace. This designation matches the conception of Aphrodite as the great mother of earthly peace and the corresponding expressions of Orphic hymns. The mother is restored as the being responsible for all her children. She bestows equally with flawless fairness and never casts out anyone. As Apollonius says, the mother is innately *iustissima tellus* [earthly justice] (Philostr. *V A.* 1.15.32 and 3.33 and 34). A community of women is an outcome of this fundamental concept. Thus, it is an obligation for the closest blood relatives to mix with mothers and sisters (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 4.7.11) and to copulate in public like animals. This phenomenon confirms our observation that at the end of human evolution the earliest bestial conditions shall return (Porph. *Abst.* 3.10). Hetaerism corresponds to swamp vegetation, the lowest level of wild natural life.

According to Carpocratian doctrine, descent from the side of the mother is the sole possibility as is the case in a swamp cult. This answers many questions. Epiphanius was declared divine in Cephallenia, his maternal homeland, not in his paternal homeland, Alexandria. The reason for this resides in the fundamental principles of the sect itself. Accordingly, the motherland became the site of the rite and the new moon determined the time of the rite. Swamp, moon, and maternal genealogy are closely connected, and they are all enclosed in the κτεῖς [vulva] like an egg. Both κτεῖς and an egg can be found on Gnostic monuments. The conscious return to these oldest conceptions manifests itself in the alternating writing style from right to left and from left to right. The connection of this practice with the preeminence of motherhood and the domination of the left side was discussed earlier.

These instances illustrating the feminine/material foundation of Carpocratianism account for the participation of woman in the cultivation and dissemination of the sect. Especially named is Marcellina (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.25.6). She is akin to a Dionysian priestess, who nightly performs Carpocratian mystery rites modeled after the most degenerate Dionysian ones.

Matter notes that the considerable role women played in the history of Gnosticism is remarkable (*Histoire critique du gnosticism*, Paris 1828, 2.204). Helena wielded immense influence over Simon Magus. In most accounts, Nicolas' wife is blamed for the schism among the Nicolaitans. These are examples of the influence of women in the spirit of the sensual, Dionysian mystery cult.

In fact, it is worth noting that mainly gynecocratic families were involved in the religious efforts of the later period, and they lived an elevated feminine spiritual life. Some examples are Proclus and Nicolaus from Lycia; Hipparchia from Thrace; Themisto from Lampsacus; Arete and Ptolemy from Cyrene; Lasthenia from Mantinea; and Agallis from Corfu, who credits Nausicaä with the discovery of ball playing, an activity closely associated with the Orphic mysteries (Ath.1.14). Thus, the most ancient and new doctrines are intricately related. The threat of destruction to the old religion awakened once more the slumbering consciousness and summoned those people into battle who had been pushed aside by Hellenism and who had played no part in the spiritual development of the ancient world for a long time.

For this reason, Carpocratian priests in Cyrene awarded the Samian wise men prominent positions. This confirms the Oriental orientation of Pythagorean Orphism. Pythagoreanism serves as the link between the Cyreniac and Italic doctrines. Both base their mystery cults on the authority of the material/maternal principle and its symbol, the κτεῖς [vulva]. Pythagoras fought against hetaerism and raised tellurianism to the level of chaste Demetrian motherhood. He stressed the superior rank as well as the higher destiny of mankind in contrast to the other creations of the earth (Iambl. *VP* 22.101). On the other hand, the foundation of his entire religious doctrine comes from the ancient Asian/Pelasgian tradition, which makes the conceiving and bearing motherhood of matter preeminent in this world and in the world beyond. The nature of his entire philosophy is based on the material/sensual feminine, whose cosmic body is the moon and whose descendents are sages. The Epicureans, the Cyrenaics, and especially the Carpocratians acknowledged the same conceptual foundation. However, the

Carpocratians followed the logic to an extreme form, which Pythagoreanism had rejected and fought against. Diogenes Laertius illustrates how the Pythagorean school ultimately leads to Epicurus (15). In *History of the Pythagorean Philosophy*, Ritter contends that the connection is fictional (56) even though Philargyrius (*Georgics* 4.219) confirms it as well as Athenaeus. The striking similarity between Epiphanius and Apollonius of Tyana is undeniable. Furthermore, the doctrine of the Carpocratians corresponds without exception to the Orphic/Pythagorean principles of one justice for all tellurian creation, of the rule that among friends everything is held in common (Iambl. *VP* 33.229), of communal living, of shared meals, and of pure love. These beliefs and practices are realizations of the material community of Dionysus and Osiris, both equally masters of all life. Thus, the cross, a symbol of sexual union, Hermes Chthonios, the Dioscuri, Artemis Ephesus, and Demeter Axiokersa appear together on Cyrenian monuments. Epiphanius, the founder of Carpocratianism, is called a Platonist, and Plato is called *haereticorum patriarcha* and *haereticorum condimentarius*. It is undeniable that the same feminine/material principle underlies the Platonic notions of a community of goods and women and the union of brothers and sisters (*Resp.* 461d and e) as well as the doctrines of the Pythagoreans and Carpocratians. Likewise, the birth of a fully armed warrior suggests the idea of the host, the martial and philosophical guard. The ancient maternal conception of the dog recurs in Carpocratianism and in the Ophitian Gnosticism of the Templars.

Pythagoras and Epicurus are associated with Thot, Cronus, and Zoroaster. Through this connection, Carpocratianism acquired its religious doctrines with a pronounced regimen of feminine materialism. That leads us back to the materialistic and hetaeristic foundation of Phoenician/Egyptian doctrine; Cronus is the bearer of absolute law, which the silver race of men venerated; Zoroaster represents Persian masculinity and passion for glory.

We see once again the entire circle of people who practiced the most extensive form of maternal tellurism. Carpocratianism is conscious of its

connection to the original situation of the Asiatic world, and it undertakes to revive it with such determination because it has a presentiment of its downfall. The maternal swamp principle and tellurian hetaerism stand in opposition to Christianity and its spiritual paternity. The lands of sensuality, the Orient, Africa, and Syria, take up the battle with the great determination. Later events indicate that the battle was not hopeless. Under the influence of the magical charm of Asia, the Christian Templars failed to uphold the victory of the spiritual principle over sensual, natural, maternal, and dualistic Ophitian Gnosticism. The numerous Baphomets collected in Vienna completely confirm von Hammer's investigations of phallic and most intense sensuality of the Gnostic/Templar mysteries. Furthermore, such scholars as Burkhardt and Silvestre de Sacy have proven that the semi-Christian peoples of Lebanon have continued their Aphroditian worship of the κτεῖς [vulva] even today.

The clash of the material with the paternal spiritual permeates the life of the individual person as well as our entire race. This clash determines our fate, all the ups and downs of our existence. Victory and defeat take their turns and challenge us to ever-new vigilance, ever-new struggles. The destiny of Pythagoreanism provides the most integral historical evidence of how difficult it is for mankind to win the struggle against nature and its feminine/material principle. It may be said of Pythagoreanism that its principles and grounds are more useful as a means to ascend to the highest state of being than for investigating nature (Arist. *Metaph.* 1.8.26). Nonetheless, Pythagoreanism as instructed by Plato and his followers and realized in Epicureanism and in the Carpocratian mysteries indicates that when there is a combination of the physical and metaphysical such as the lunar, mathematical middle stage of the Orphic/Pythagorean cult of nature, the weight of the material, of swamp excrement, and hetaeric lust will ultimately prevail. What is rooted in material and nature, crops up again. Dog days inaugurate and commence the cycle of the ancient world. Ascending from below toward the top, the Orphic doctrine does not escape the fate of falling from on high unto the deep. The noble aspects of the

Pythagorean mysteries are offered up to the sensual and ultimately fall prey to the lowest heterism. Rome used the concept of the state imperium to combat mother right, as did Athens with the Apollonian concept of fatherhood, both without lasting success. With the democratic corruption of the state, the feminine principle forces its way here and there to the front. Even though the first of the emperors set the *leges Iulia et Papia Poppaea* [the Julian laws and Papia Poppae] against the material *fecunditas* [fertility], this ancient foundation of family law gained ever-greater authority during the course of time. In similar fashion, Aristophanes' account of a city of birds reminds us of the spiritual state of the Athenian people, in which Rhea and the Orphic aboriginal egg of mother night emerge as the foundation of a general equality and of an arrangement of life ensuing from the feminine, material principle. Wherever we look, we encounter the same truth: people cannot maintain the triumph of pure spiritual paternity if their religious standpoint is rooted in materialism. Spiritualism of the perfect, paternal god results from the demolition of materialism, not from a development and gradual purification. Even the best efforts of philosophical thought would never succeed in bridging the gap between the two worlds. Therefore, Paul emphatically opposes Oriental doctrine privileging feminine substance: "For the man is not of the woman; but the woman is of the man" (1 Cor. 11.8). Therefore, the church fathers made such a point of relating the establishment of a human brotherhood ensuing from the power of one father to our common origin from a single womb: *fratres autem vestri (paganorum) sumus iure naturae, matris unius* [but we are your brothers (of the earth) under the law of nature, of one mother] (Ephraim in Stob. *Flor.* 2. p. 266, 20) and *at quanto dignius fratres et dicuntur et habentur, qui unum patrem Deum agnoverint, qui unum spiritum biberint sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae eiusdem ad unam lucem expaverint veritatis* [and how worthily they are called and considered brothers, who recognize one God, the Father, who drink from the one spirit of holiness, who afraid of the one womb of the very same ignorance come to the one light of truth] (Tert. *Apol.* 39.8.9). The entire difference of both religious systems may be

explained by the opposition of a corporeal sisterhood ensuing from the mother and of a spiritual brotherhood derived from the father. The pre-Christian viewpoint is based on the former whereas the Christian viewpoint is based on the latter. This profound opposition dividing these viewpoints extends into every aspect of old and new civilizations, and it lends to the one as well as to the other thoroughly contrasting characters. From this, I draw substantial assurance about the conclusions of my investigation of antiquity and of my understanding of the course of social development of the present world.

The Cantabri

CLXIV. In my preceding discussions of mother right in Lycia and Egypt, I cite Strabo for his characterization of Cantabrian gynecocracy and the practice of hereditary succession exclusively through daughters (3.165). This reminds me of a study entitled “*Le droit de famille aux Pyrénées*” by Eugène Cordier published in the *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* (Paris 1859, pp. 257-300 and 353-96), whose results offer a notable confirmation of my basic ideas. Furthermore, it makes the most obscure part of Strabo’s observation about sisters providing a marriage dowry for their brothers entirely understandable. Nonetheless, I have some questions. First there is the question about the source of Strabo’s claim (3.166) especially since he himself complains about the unreliability of statements concerning the Spanish. No other writer corroborates Strabo’s claim, not even with a reiteration. However, as the companion of Gallus Aelius in Egypt, Strabo is a contemporary of Augustus, whose wars against the Cantabri are frequently mentioned among classical historians.

These wars made the Cantabri better known, and the bearing of a gynecocratic lifestyle upon their great courage may have contributed to the attention that the Romans devoted to the details of the family life of the enemy they feared so much. With the highest praise, classical historians acknowledge the Cantabri’s ultimate love of freedom and their abiding devotion to their homeland. As a result of these noble traits, they had heroic courage, which elevated them above the Asturians, who are so often associated with the Cantabri. As noted earlier, there is an intrinsic correlation between courage and a gynecocracy. The influence of family law on the entire organization of Cantabrian life as reported by Strabo becomes even more significant because the Cantabri are indisputably

one of the members of the great united Spanish family of nations. In the Iberians, we encounter anew all the characteristics we have observed as aspects of the gynecocratic life of other races. Wilhelm von Humboldt is in complete agreement with the testimonials of the ancients when he ascribes a tendency toward calmness as the fundamental character of the Iberians (*Gesammelte Werke* 2. 158 ff.).

What the ancients (Strabo 3.164-5) noted about the unbridled wildness of these people, especially of the northern tribes, does not invalidate this point. It only proves how much these otherwise peace-loving people were enflamed to anger and desperation by the Romans, who undertook to destroy their ancestral freedom. It is indeed noteworthy that the Cantabri, whose gynecocracy was most regulated, were respected more than all the other Iberians for their contempt of death. The Cantabri were only involved in small skirmishes (Strabo 3.158 and Flor. 2.17.3), never in broad expeditions of conquest such as the one that swept the Gauls from their forests to Asia; furthermore, the Cantabri were never drawn into ignoble demonstrations of their contempt for death like the Gauls, who would offer their lives as a price for a cup of wine. The heroic courage of the Iberians ensued from such noble motives as love of country and freedom, which they defended ferociously, and from personal loyalty, which gave rise to the votive death (Val. Max. 2.6.11; Strabo 3.165; and Plut., *Sert.* 14).

This essential Iberian character also characterizes the Celtiberians and even the pure Celtic tribes, which were influenced by the Iberian culture. Whereas the Gauls were unable to overcome their boastfulness and ostentation, the Celts were entirely free of such traits, as were the pure and mixed Iberians. Diodorus limits the tendency toward pederasty to the Gauls (5.32). Strabo praises the Celts for their great moderation in their activities and diet and for valuing purity above life (3.4.16). Their love for purity, which Diodorus notes (5.33), is closely connected with the virtue of the soul. Internal and external filth are twin sisters and signs of primitive development. Even the custom of cleansing the entire body and especially the teeth with urine (Strabo 3.4.16) is actually a demonstration of the zeal to care for one's existence and health even though the Greeks and

Romans mistakenly viewed this practice as proof of Iberian savageness and an uncivilized culture (Diod. Sic. 5.33).

While all of these examples plainly indicate the profound influence of the maternal principle on the culture of the Cantabri, the strictest exercise of father right among the Gauls is an especially revealing counterexample. Even though Plutarch attributes to the Gauls the custom of selecting women as arbitrators for tribal disputes, Livy shows that the practice was adopted from the Iberians or Ligurians. We can connect the mother principle in Sicily, Corsica, Aquitaine, and the coastal kingdoms west of the Rhone with the Cantabri because these places were originally occupied by Iberian tribes. In almost the same words, Plutarch and Polyaeus point out how the justness of female judgments was consequential in the maintenance of intimate relationships and friendships among the individual families as well as among tribes and cities of the people. Gynecocratic people develop self-restraint and devotion to their native soil, which manifests itself more in the courageous defense of the beloved homeland than in conquest of foreign lands.

Since agriculture is the main occupation in a gynecocracy, women must develop sufficient physical strength to practice it. A woman managed the household and fields alone. With only a short interruption of this hard work, she would give birth to a child, bathe it in the nearby river, then give it over to the care of a man, who resided with her without any of his own resources except perhaps a small dowry from his sister. The Romans and Greeks considered the Cantabrian way of life barbaric, and they regarded women doing work in the fields as proof of their servility. However, it is actually a noble aspect of a matriarchal society widespread in pre-Hellenic/Pelasgic cultures. In all aspects of life, the early Iberian tribe appears to have been an original family of people. It is especially significant that the oldest of the Greek tribes that embraced mother right migrated into Spain, especially the northern parts, the lands of the Cantabri. It is also significant that the Iberian gynecocracy was connected to a cult of the moon. Even though the origins of the Iberian civilization and Cantabrian family

law are apparent, it is remarkable that this civilization has been preserved through the millennia in the Basque regions of France and Spain, especially in the area that extends from Lourdes over the Pyrenees and into Spain, in particular in the valley of Barège.

The fundamental idea behind everything in this culture is a concern for the preservation of the family residence and of the family name associated with it. All the individual parts of the legal system are subordinated with hard logic to the principle of the family. The right of primogeniture has its source in this viewpoint. However, it remains an open question how much we should call this view ancient Iberian since the Cantabrian attitude toward the complete emancipation of both sexes flies in its face. In contrast to the Germanic feudal legal system, the right of primogeniture for the Cantabri pertained to either the son or the daughter. In the latter case, all the younger brothers became her dependents. In Cantabrian custom and law, woman is the sole representative of the family, whose name both husband and offspring assume.

Another interesting aspect of Cantabrian gynocracy is that a daughter who received an inheritance always married a younger son without an inheritance. She never married the eldest son because that would have forced the younger son to leave the family residence thereby toppling the whole social order. The younger child conveys his rights to his wife. He loses his name when he moves into her house and should he leave, he must leave his children behind. He tills his wife's land, but he has no legal authority except to give his consent, no right to represent his wife at court, and he plays an unnoticeable role in family affairs. Should the right of primogeniture fall to a daughter through several generations, we would have a model house of a Cantabrian family in which the genealogy is traced back to the mothers of the mother like the Lycians. Strabo cites a case in which a sister provides a dowry for her brother, which suggests to Strabo that in early Cantabrian practice, everything the brother had obtained in war or through work went to his mother, then her daughter. Only a man's penury can explain his dependence on his sister for charity.

In order to explain Strabo's words, interpreters have taken into account the two wedding presents prescribed by Germanic law: the morning gift, the *donum matutinale*; and the purchase price, which the wife gets as a trousseau. These two are unrelated however. The law of Barège recognizes the Cantabrian dowry for the brother in its ancient sense and evidences how completely different it was from both the German gifts but rather entirely similar to the Roman dowry. What the maiden acquires from a marriage by German law, the young man acquires by the law of Barège. The young man is dependent on his older sister for everything. He is supplied with a dowry so that he may be allowed to join the house of the heiress of another family. The dowry is modest, however, since it reduces the resources of one's own family and increases those of outsiders. In the event of a divorce, the brother as well as his children return half of the dowry to the house of his mother.

The connection of the law of Barège with the ancient Cantabrian custom manifests itself in the commonality of *maritus a sorore dotatus* [husband endowed by his sister] in the most precise fashion so that the kinship of the two systems is beyond doubt. It is common among French and Spanish writers to conflate the Basques with the Cantabri. Juvenal even alternates Basques with the Cantabri in his *Satires* (15.93 and 98). In light of Humboldt's investigations, there is no doubt about the Iberian core of Basque nationality especially since it is completely certain that the pure Iberian tribes occupied the territory up to the southern slopes of the Pyrenees. Furthermore, throughout the course of time, the rest of the Celtiberian inhabitants of Spain moved extensively from all parts of the country into the mountainous regions of the north, where Sertorius found his final refuge. Here the Celtiberians vigorously defended their ancient customs, which had long endured the influence of time and the invasions of other peoples. There is no consequence to the mixing of Iberian with the outside blood of the inhabitants in the isolated high valleys. It would be inappropriate to doubt the connection of the Cantabrian family with that of the people of Barège. Such a long and comprehensive continuum of a way of life unifying good and bad is

probably the most illustrious sign of the immanent conservative power of gynecocracy. At the same time, it serves to clarify the people's acceptance of inheritance practices that violated the interests of so many. How a gynecocracy dominated the lifestyle of the Pyrenean herdsmen is only comprehensible when one sees it bound to the national spirit. Such deep roots developed over thousands of years, connecting the newest with the most ancient. It is true that the Basque language is derivative of the Iberian.

We now see the gynecocratic components of family law as analogous to the dialect. It is thus comprehensible how the ancient cast of thought of the Basque tribes has retained its coloration even today. This stability manifests itself in specifics as well as in general. One example is the preservation of the Cantabrian footwear, by which Seneca distinguished the Iberians from Corsicans. Today, there are remains of immense stone mounds along the border of Gaul. As Humboldt explains, each person placed a stone on a spot whenever he left or returned home. The original sense of this custom is consistent with the maternal/tellurian conception of the human race in this respect, which we explicated earlier in the context of Pyrrha's stone tossing and which is useful in explaining the collective expression of the matronymic numbers. Every son of a mother is a stone tossed backwards. Maternal nations are ruled by the idea of the additional number, not by the idea of a continuous succession, which is characteristic of a paternity. Thus, the image of a maternal nation is a pile of stones, which increases by one as a person departs or dies. Several examples from Iberian thought support this opinion. The notion of personal succession is entirely absent in the foundations of the Iberian inheritance system. Not the person but the house and its locality appear as the principal. Preservation and permanence are matters of the house not the individual, who becomes sacrificed mercilessly.

Furthermore, it is especially worth noting that according to Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.2.6), the Iberians erected as many obelisks around the tomb of a warrior as enemies he had killed. However, Strabo (3.164) attributes this practice to the Callaicians, who, according to the Spaniard Orosius (6.21), formed a province

with the Cantabri, whose society had no religion whatsoever according to Greek observers. It is impossible to explain this in any other fashion than the exclusive or predominant service to the dead, which also explains the black color of Iberian clothing, which Diodorus observed (5.33). We have affirmed the practice of worshipping the dead as frequently resulting from the prevailing maternal tellurianism, in other words as connected with the notion of tossing stones backwards.

We find the same inability to articulate a deity as well as the predominant service to the dead among the Malaysians of the Marian and Caroline Islands, where mother right and its corresponding culture have been especially cultivated according to Louis-Claude de Saulces de Freycinet in his *Voyage autour du monde [Voyage around the World]*, 1817-1820.

In the valley of Campan, the importance of uterine sisterhood has found noteworthy recognition. Not by law but by custom, the property of a second husband is equally distributed among all the children including those of the first husband. The natural equality of the children in respect to the mother applies as well to all the fathers she has selected (Cordier 373). Especially surprising is the continuation of a custom attributed to the Iberians by Strabo of treating the father as a woman in childbed after the birth of a child (3.165). The popular belief that the father's physical contact with the newborn child is good for its health reflects an aboriginal custom rooted in an entirely different mode of thought. All these customs and practices pertain to domestic life. The old survives longer in a family whose organization is most closely connected with customs. However in the case of the Basque peoples, there is such a close reciprocal relationship between the state's regulation of the public life with the domestic constitution that the participation of women in public life is no surprise (Cordier 394). In the history of the valley of St. Savin in the region of Lavedan, women have a right to vote in public assemblies not only as a general practice but also as a matter of a law passed in 1316, with only Guilhardine de Fréchoy voting against it (Cordier 378).

In Azun, another valley of Lavedan, by virtue of a law from 10 June 1798, both men and women were summoned to vote their consent for the apportionment of community property, with 56 for and 45 against (Cordier 378). This event clarifies the old law in its entire scope and points to the general social upheaval of the previous century as the actual reason for the corruption that broke in from the outside. Thus, the family law ensuing from the most inner character of Iberian folklore extends its most noteworthy aspects up to the threshold of the most modern stage, which views this older tradition as an obscure phenomenon. Cordier has reminded his age of a forgotten piece of history and contributed more than any of our contemporaries to the clarification of the gynecocratic epoch in the world without being aware of it. From his observations of the Basque people, he derived his general perceptions about the organization of folk life based on the maternal principle; about the civilizatory significance of a gynecocracy, its connection with conservative stability, with an observance of domestic customs, with peaceful security devoted to work, and with a distinct preference for democratic simplicity and cultivation of life; and finally about the groundlessness of the pronounced opinion that women were subjugated among the so-called barbaric peoples. Cordier's views find the most complete confirmation in the many corresponding writings that furnish us with reports about the oldest Greek peoples.

Wherever motherhood was able to maintain its standing, these same social characteristics manifest themselves. Despite differences of the times, nationality, and locality, the harmonious, benevolent, and nurturing cast of mind can be traced back to a national character that developed by observing the rights of motherhood. This tradition links the various Basque tribes. It has been preserved in the right of asylum as well as in the protection of women in labor against any judicial seizure (Cordier 375 and 377). Eunomy and an aversion to litigation ensue from a maternal mentality, which Athenodorus observed and his friend Strabo praised in the inhabitants of Petra (16.779). Likewise, the proclivity of the Nabataeans toward peaceful living, their penalization for reducing property, and their sense of

civil equality ensue from a maternal mentality (Strabo 16.783-4). For the same reason, in the case of the Dorian Rhodians, their benevolent treatment of the poor, which Strabo considers a traditional custom concurrent with their eunomy (14.652), and their principle of equality is based on a natural sense of moderation, which has its roots in the accentuation of maternity on Rhodes. The diverse phenomena that emerge from the lifestyle of maternal people of all times throughout the world may be condensed into a few comprehensive perspectives, which lie so deeply within human nature that they will stand from now on as certain possessions of our scientific historical knowledge and they will be corroborated through many further observations.

Description of Lithographs

On the following pages is a collection of lithographs of antiquities, which have been mentioned in the course of this work. Most of these antiquities are connected with the Dionysian-Orphic mysteries.

Plate I

Bronze candlestick now in the Museum of Karlsruhe. See page 260 in text for description.

Plate II

Marble fragment of Telete with a Bacchic egg in the Staatliche Antikensammlung in Munich. Compare page 260 in text.

Plate III

Tomb from Fallari in southern Etruria, discovered and sketched by Rudolf Müller of Basel. On both sides of the doors are male and female sexual organs enclosed in rings. The male organ on the left is intact. Even though I have examined numerous gravesites in this area, I have never encountered one with a depiction of sexual organs. Dionysian religious concepts are clearly represented here. As Eustathius notes from his commentary of the *Iliad* (1.459 and 12.167), the κτείς [vulva] is similar to barleycorn. Barleycorn was the prize of the festival games of Eleusinia. Both Isis and Demeter are associated with the celebration of μόριον γεννητικόν [birth-ability].

Plate IV

Grave painting from a columbarium in the Villa Pamfili near Rome, now in the Staatliche Antikensammlung in Munich. Carlo Ruspi drew this copy in the size of the original. The three eggs with two colors deserve special attention because this color scheme is found very often in works of art representing Dionysian Orphism. This same alternation of colors occurs in other Orphic symbols. The mirror, grape, and ivy leaf on numerous funeral urns are of two colors divided in the middle by a distinct borderline. Figure 6 of Plate VIII provides an example of the very frequent alternation of white and black taenias.

Plate V

Terracotta figurine of Io, the moon cow from a grave in Agrigentum, now in the Museum of Karlsruhe. (See page 260 in text.) Io is a common depiction in graves.

Plates VI and VII

Drawings by Muret of silver kantharos from the treasure of Bernay, now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. (See page 259 in text.)

Plate VIII

Figure 1. Lekythos in the Louvre collection. The inscription HPE indicates Hera or the deceased as Hera. Her right hand is pointing toward the earth as a sign of death. The egg in her left hand is a sign of the mysteries.

Figures 2 and 4. Drawings by Muret in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, described by M. Chabouillet in *Catalogue des camées* (Paris, 1858). The hieroglyphic inscription *Osiris iustificatus* on Figure 4 makes the significance of the egg clear. A consecrated person is reborn through death in the Osirian mysteries. One need only consider the expressions σώμα Διονυσιακόν [Dionysian body] and Βάκχος ἐκλήθη ὄσιωθείς.

Plate IX

Figure 1. Drawing by Muret of a vase painting in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. The grapes are a common sign of initiation.

Figure 2. Vessel in the Louvre collection with a depiction of an egg monument. Both eggs are white. An Orphic sphere is at Dionysus' right arm. The egg and omphalos are connected through their mutual relationship to Gaia. The impact of Dionysian Orphism on mortuary art is obvious in the use of such Orphic symbols as the sphere, mirror, hoop, and wheel.

Figures 3 and 4. Drawings by Muret of ancient works of art in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris. Figure 3 is a brass pendant depicting a stork nipping a phallus with its beak. Figure 4 is a coin from Mende as indicated by the marginal inscription [MI]. A stork is perched on a donkey's croup.

The phallic and erotic signification of the stork arises from its connection with the swamp and marshy lowlands as well as with Poseidonian elements, which the Pelasgian religion considers the source of procreative powers. As reported by Myrsilus Lesbios, the stork is the people's holy animal, king, and leader (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1. 23-28). The Pelasgian race got its name from the divine stork as Ardea and the Rutuli got theirs from the heron. The identity of πελασγος [stork] and Πελασγος [Pelasgus] is obvious. It is worth noting that Larissa is the name of the major Pelasgian city. The daughter of Pelasgus is called Larissa (Paus. 2.24.1 and Hygin. *Fab.* 145.2). Modern Greeks call the stork το λελεγι. instead of πελασγός [stork]. Nonetheless, it renders the sense of the ancient popular name of the Lelegians, a people who worshipped Hera. The reduction of the word πελασγός [stork] to πε [penis] and Lar [tutelary deities] is indisputable. The stork is discernible in both of these stems. In both of these pieces of art, the masculine, procreative power of Lar and πέος [penis] is apparent.

Vignette on title page.

Relief on a lekythos in the Louvre collection. Enclosed in an egg form is Thetis mourning the loss of her son, Achilles. It is an appropriate image for the title page of a work about mother right. The picture reminds us of the most prominent characteristics of the gynecocratic system: the immortal mother and her inferior mortal husband; a mother's love and care and her destiny to grieve; and a woman's threnos over the abrupt demise of her beautiful offspring. These are all aspects of the divine mother. At the same time, the brass armor reminds us of the magnificent son whose Promethean striving prepared the victory of paternal Zeus and elevated Hellenic paternity and the concept of eternal life above maternal nature.

Plate I

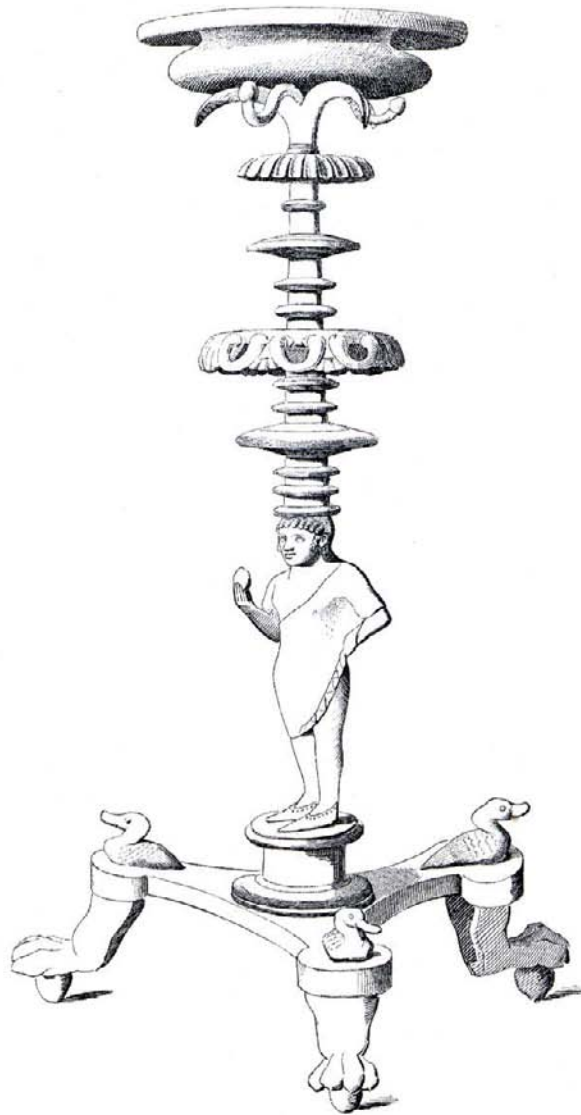


Plate II



Plate III

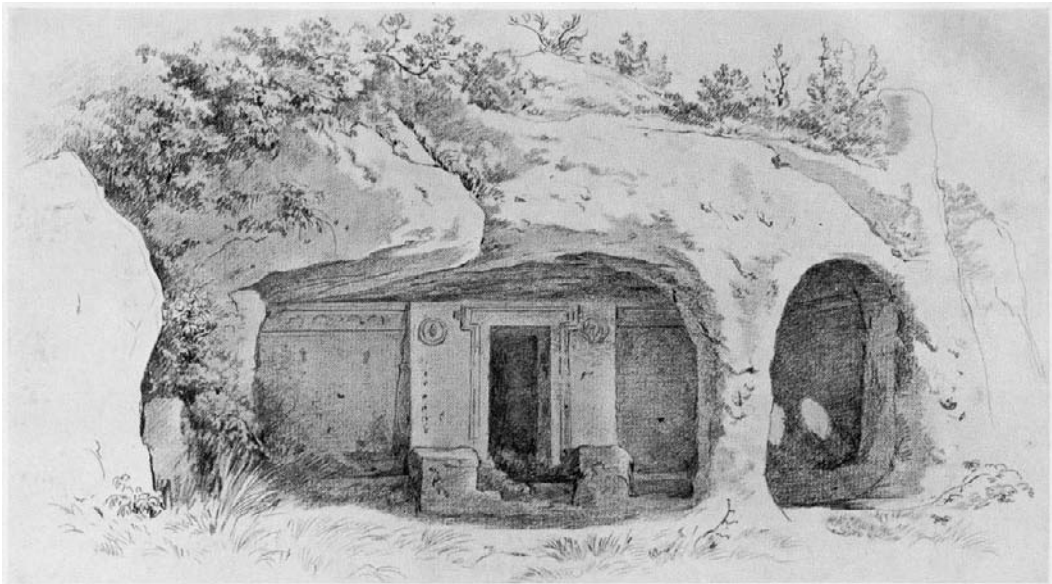


Plate IV



Plate V



Plate VI



Plate VII

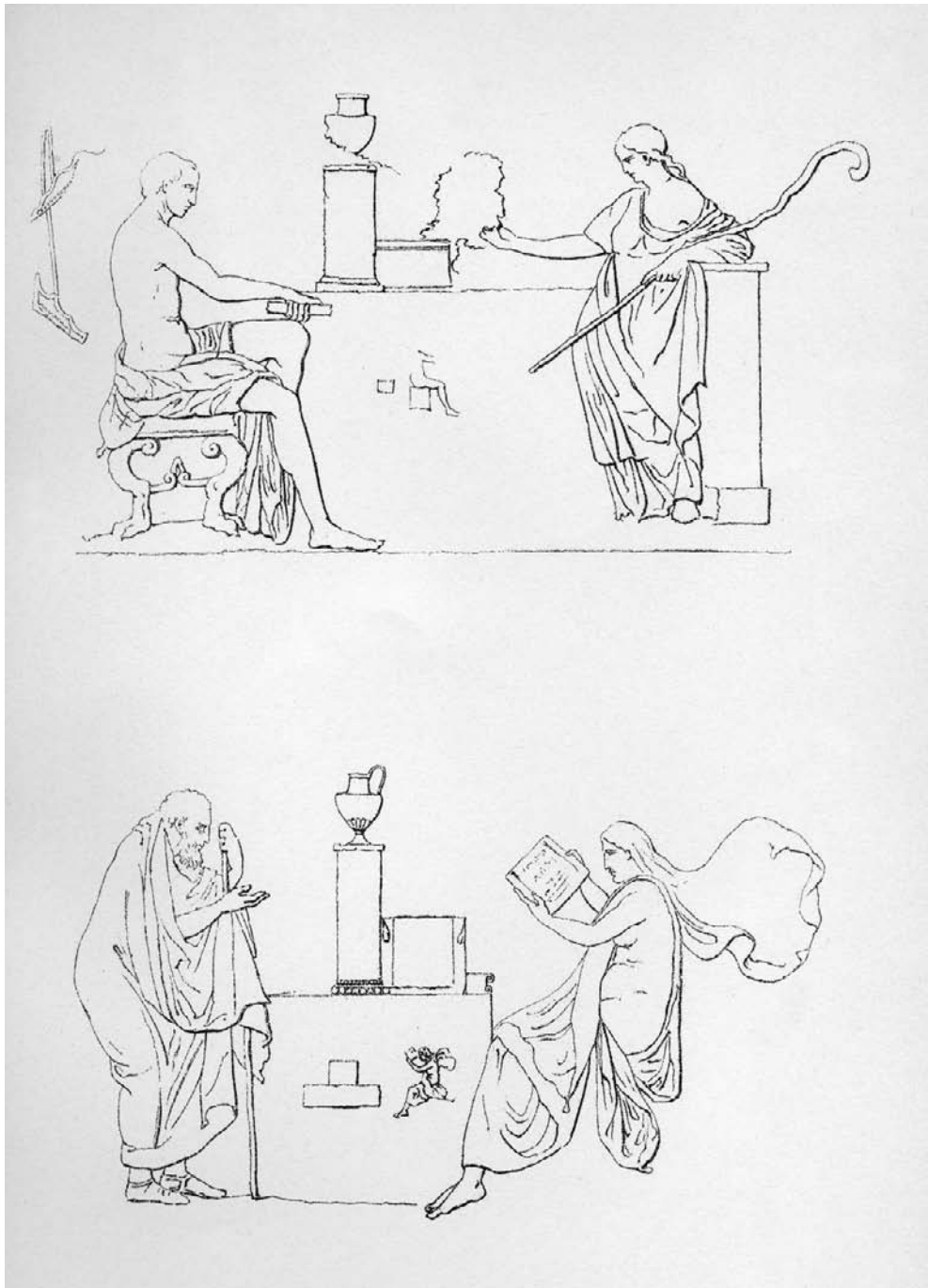


Plate VIII

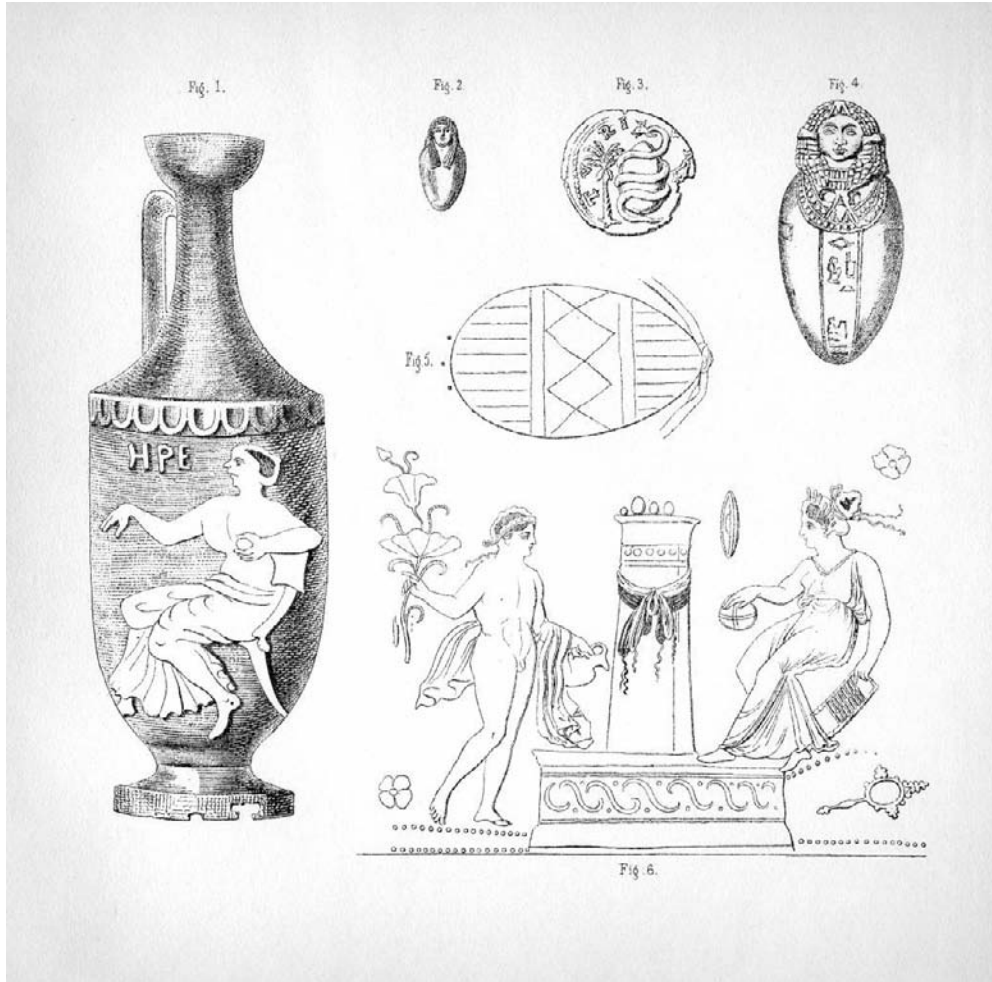
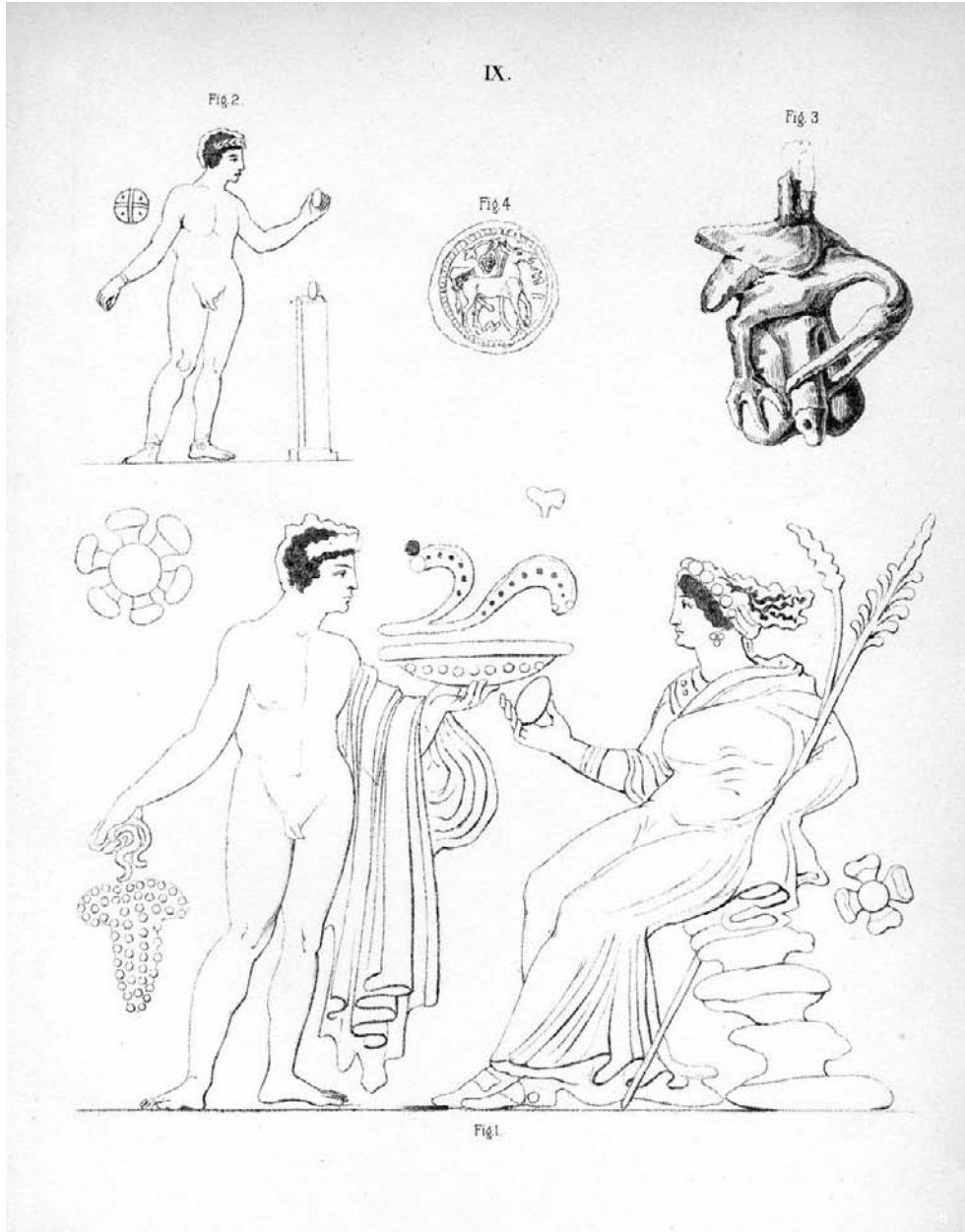


Plate IX



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