

WITCHCRAFT
and the
Gay Counterculture



By Arthur Evans

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AND THE
GAY COUNTERCULTURE

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A Radical View of Western Civilization
and Some of the People it Has Tried to Destroy

FAG RAG Books
Boston, 1978

feral death coven
clandestinity, 2013

*for Marsha P. Johnson, riotous witchqueen
who worshipped Neptune off the Christopher Street piers.*

*for Avalon, eco-warrior who fought and died on the side of bears,
mountain lions, skunks, bats, saguaros, cliff rose and all things wild.*

*for Ravin, whose magic and madness
guides our passionate revolt against techno-industrial society.*

INVOCATION FOR STRENGTH

Isis, the rainbow of sapphire mysteries
you are the calling i hear
from the wind in my bones.

O mother of life
begotten from your womb of light
we rise now out of the masculine death
that is jehovah's enslavement
in the fullness of sweet woman's blood
and fairy rage—
our touch blossoms.
like the tides of earth we are strong
to come again.

i believe in the goddess
the movement for life.
thorned by our genderless
brightening for our powerless
and suckling our struggle.
by the rose of my chakras
i tap the androgyne.
with you our love is revolt
with you we are each
atoms of significance.

Diana
my lover of amazons
my triumph of faggot witches
feed us the lunar nectar
between poems and tears
between silence and celebrations,
and guide us to destroy
the machinery that alienates us.
then shall our captors parasite
upon themselves.

O Kali
the source the destroyer the
return: in pain's dignity
your face is behind our faces.
we are strong
to come again

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE NEW EDITION

We should first make clear to the reader that this edition of Arthur Evan's notorious *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture* is in every way an underground endeavor. We do not have permission from his estate to reproduce it, nor do we have any interest in such legal rights. The actual process of its reproduction has been an illicit affair each step of the way: the text was obtained, typeset, printed and bound by queer anarchists involved in underground publishing. We chose this approach for several reasons. Firstly, because this book means a great deal to us, and we want to recognize that significance through our methods. Secondly, because we have no respect for the laws and processes surrounding the ownership of texts. And lastly, because this book has become increasingly difficult to find, and we don't believe the words within it should be the well-kept secrets of those collectors and academics who leave their tattered editions to rot on their shelves. Rather, we believe this book deserves a place within a queer canon against the civilized order.

In the context of a renewed interest in the history of the Witch-hunts and the rise of Christian civilization, this book offers a significant contribution. In recent years, anti-capitalists and pagans alike have explored a radical analysis of these histories and have worked to understand the conditions by which patriarchy and capitalism have developed together as two heads of the same monstrosity. This line of inquiry is perhaps best illustrated by the relatively widespread reading and discussion of Silvia Federici's *Caliban and the Witch* and also the renewed excitement about Fredy Perlman's *Against His-story, Against Leviathan!*

This book tells a congruent story, but from a unique position. While engaging with the same history as Federici, Arthur Evans departs from her in some marked ways. He subtitled his book "a radical view of western civilization, and some of the people it has tried to destroy," and in doing so he attempts to hear and to share the perspective of those people annihilated in the Witch-hunts. This effort is something tragically absent in the patronizingly materialist writings in *Caliban*. While Federici critiques the capitalist Mind/

Body and Material/Spiritual splits which cleaved the world into an alienated hell, her methodology is rooted in the Mind and Material poles of these violent dichotomies. This intrinsically domesticated perspective may indict the Witch-hunts, yet it remains a tacit acceptance of the ideology which has fueled centuries of genocide. In his lament for the world vanquished by Civilization and his celebration of the voices of the defeated, Evans' critique has more in common with Fredy Perlman's. Both describe Leviathan's material rise as being inseparable from the sensual and spiritual poverty it has enforced upon the biosphere.

His narrative differs from both *Caliban* and *Leviathan* in its being explicitly queer. Fredy Perlman's book describes the rise of patriarchy from a implicitly gender essentialist framework and has absolutely no analysis of the existence or struggles of queer people, which amounts to an unfortunate blemish on what is an otherwise brilliant text. Federici's book is also regrettably tarnished by a more explicit gender essentialism. In the introduction to *Caliban* she argues that "the debates that have taken place among postmodern feminists concerning the need to dispose of 'women' as a category of analysis, and define feminism purely in oppositional terms, have been misguided" and that "then 'women' is a legitimate category of analysis, and... a crucial ground of struggle for women, as [it was] for the feminist movement of the 1970 which, on this basis, connected itself with the history of the witches." Her willful refusal to engage with anti-essentialist queer and trans thinkers is made all the more sinister by her omission of the histories of these people within the Witch-hunts. In fact, queer people earn little more than a single footnote in Federici's book length academic text. Thus, *Witchcraft* is a refreshing corrective to ways that *Caliban* falls short. Firstly, because as a historical document, the book demonstrates that the nascent Gay Liberation movement also connected itself with its witch predecessors. Secondly, by telling the history of witches from the perspective of the queer, trans and gender-variant people in the struggle, Evans provides an implicit rejection of 'women' as a hegemonic or natural category long before the so-called 'postmodern debates' which Federici conjures to dismiss this perspective. And lastly, because this book is perhaps the first to beautifully situate the rise of heteronormativity as inseparably bound to patriarchy, industrialism, and the state. So, for those who cannot be satisfied with a mere study of industrial/white-supremacist/patriarchal civilization, *Witchcraft*

could prove to be a weapon in a struggle which concurrently attacks the industrial, racialized and gendered orders.

None of this, of course, is to say that *Witchcraft* is beyond criticism. The book is greatly flawed and dated in ways that cannot be ignored. Foremost among these problems is Evans' ambiguous relationship to the disciplines of Anthropology and His-story. While he often critiques the biases and worldviews of the white anthropologists he draws upon, his criticism often feels superficial at best. He implicates these anthropologists and historians in a more general heteronormativity, but he never takes this towards a deeper critique of Anthropology itself (as if these Scientists would be acceptable if they were only more gay-friendly). Anthropology, as a white supremacist and civilized discipline, can only inherently look to the past through a domesticated and racist lens. The result of such inquiry will always then be mystified through a racist and essentialist paradigm. Many of the claims that Evans reproduces from white anthropologists, must thus be treated with even greater skepticism than he uses, and should constantly be subject to critique.

In Evans' own introduction, he denounces academic historians and anthropologists. Instead, he celebrates mythology and folklore as being as significant and vital to our understanding of our collective past. It is sad, then, that he does not push this alternative to its conclusion. To actually take seriously a critique of the academic approach to the past would mean to be humble enough to admit the massive blind-spots of our domesticated way of seeing and to revere this unknown as a chaotic wonder to be explored. Refusing this academic worldview is equally important if we are to acknowledge that the struggles of indigenous people, queers, and witches are not a relic of the past—rather that these cultures survive into the present and continue their struggle for survival.

Yet there still remains a crucial benefit from a study of the war between Civilization and the nature-cultures that it has struggled to eradicate. This benefit is the perspective that the continuous trajectory of His-story and its Civilization has been won at the expense of countless queers, witches, gender-variants, trans-people, heretics, indigenous cultures and wildlife. And so this story demonstrates that the cherished Progress of the society which holds all of us hostage is also the story of rape, torture, eco-destruction, enslavement, murder, genocide and omnicide. If we understand the beast which confronts

us, we are all better equipped to combat it without falling into its snares.

To genuinely appraise our enemy and to avoid its traps would mean to critique this book, but to take its conclusions beyond themselves. Contemporary readers of the text should find it very frustrating for its naïve optimism in its final chapter. Evans concludes his extremely thorough critique of industrialism, militarism, statism and patriarchy by paradoxically arguing for a ‘new technology’, a ‘new socialism’ and a ‘new civilization’ that is not based on any of the infrastructure of the current one. These hopeful and empty assertions can only possibly read as baseless and absurd after enduring the horrors of the text’s narrative. Those living in the cybernetic, techno-industrial, mass-alienated prison society which has unfolded in the last 35 years must concede that whatever optimism around technology and socialism that may have ever existed must be left in the dustbin of history. The countercultural fetish for a ‘new technology’ which prevailed in the 70s gave birth to the cybernetic governance that we now live within. It is abundantly clear that those who fetishize technology and socialism only serve to construct a more abysmal and well-managed dystopian future. Evans reads as all the more dated and foolish in his sympathies for a Maoism of the past. Any misplaced hope in the Maoist project must reconcile itself with the industrial and genocidal atrocities to which that project gave rise. We can safely discard of this naivete and conclude that no ‘new technology’ or ‘new socialism’ nor anything short of a cleansing fire can assist us in our self-liberation.

Even after excising the anthropological and socialist perspectives, this book still contains a great deal of relevance for those who desire such a fire. *Witchcraft’s* own argumentation offers a vindication of queer sensuality, magic, and anarchist violence which speaks for itself and can be followed toward any number of endeavors in the pursuit of freedom and wildness. In spite of our criticism, we are passionate about this book because of the way that these perspectives and proposals invigorate our own struggles against this world.

anonymous,
feral death coven,
Early 2013

Post Script: it is important for us to note that Arthur Evans took a disgusting turn later in his life, becoming an advocate for the policing and 'safety' of his neighborhood in San Francisco. For this, ridiculous inconsistency he cannot be forgiven. The struggle against inquisitors and police—against civilized 'safety'—must be total in its character.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE FIRST EDITION

Whatever Happened to Gay History?

Once upon a time, Mayor John Lindsay of New York “invited” all city employees to Radio City Music Hall so they could contribute money to his bid to become President of the United States. When His Honor arrived at the theater, he had to enter by the back door because of an angry demonstration out front by the Gay Activists Alliance. When he finally made his way to the stage, he was brought to a shocked stop by the actions of Cora Rivera, a Lesbian, and Morty Manford, a Gay man. The two chained themselves to the balcony railing and shouted: “Why don’t you support Gay rights?”

Startled, Lindsay gave up trying to make his fund-raising pitch and walked off, as the audience rumbled in confusion. Gay activist Ernest Cohen hurried to the balcony railing and poured down a shower of leaflets explaining the disruption: While passing himself off as a liberal, Lindsay refused to support a simple Gay-rights bill before the City Council.

Despite past efforts by Gay people at polite education, there had been a conspiracy of silence in the New York news media around Gay rights. The intent of this disruption was to force the Gay rights issue into the arena of public discussion. As it happened, one television station did give the event competent coverage (although referring to Cora Rivera as “an *apparent* Lesbian”). But more typical of past experience was another station that completely falsified the news. The announcer not only failed to mention the zap, but falsely added that Lindsay was well received and “completed his speech as scheduled.” His account was a total fiction.

This was not the first time that professional journalists had falsified the news. Earlier *The New York Times* printed a comprehensive list of bills introduced into the legislature—listing all bills except those dealing with Gay civil rights. And in its yearly feature on homosexuality (by the medical editor), the *Times* made no mention of GAA’s militant political activity. In the eyes of most professional journalists, Lesbians and Gay men were nothing more than a tiny minority of perverts.

Historians, just like professional journalists, have falsified the Gay story, and just as badly. Writing in 1971, a leading authority on Gay history said:

Almost everyone who has written about gay life has called it pre-tentious, absurd, pitiful or repugnant. The great majority of homosexuals seem to vouch for the accuracy of its depiction in The Boys in the Band, a play replete with jealousy, competitiveness, insecurity, malice, tantrums, and hysterical mood shifts (Karlen, 526).

A similar type of venom can be found just beneath the surface in the writings of so-called liberal historians. A good example is the widely read work of a liberal Anglican priest. He concludes his whitewash of the church's atrocities against Gay people with this statement: "Homosexual perversion, therefore, is not itself a fount of corrupting influence, but only, as it were, the ineluctable consequence of a corrosion which has already left its mark upon marriage and family life and, if not checked, may ultimately undermine the whole social order and lead to sexual anarchy" (Bailey, 166).

Just as bad is the liberal approach found in the popular historical study by a Danish psychotherapist. While assuring the reader that he is most fair minded, the author concludes by saying that there is no such thing as Gay history and that men who are exclusively Gay suffer from an "inability to adjust themselves heterosexually" (Vanggaard, 52).

The professionals have suppressed Gay history, just as they have suppressed the truth about Third World people, women, the poor, the imprisoned, and the insane. They have been co-opted, not only by being bought off, but in a more insidious way. Through their long "training" they have lost the ability to see other realities than the official ones, and have internalized within themselves the values of the ruling classes. Intellectually and spiritually, they have been anesthetized.

We will have to write our own history, and when I say "we" I mean any of us who have the interest and energy to do so. We must demystify ourselves from the illusion that only well-paid professionals can do this work. In many ways, trained professionals, including Gay ones, are the least suited to teach us, for they have been most assimilated into the lifestyles and values of the ruling classes.

This book is an attempt to record some of the things that professional historians usually leave out. It is one-sided, in that it is mostly concerned with the victims of Western civilization, rather than their rulers. It is subjective, in that it reflects my own personal value judgments and emotions. It is arbitrary, in that it picks and chooses among all the source material, accepting a few things here and there, but rejecting most as biased or unreliable.

The book, however, is as true as any other historical work. It is true because *all* historical works are one-sided, subjective, and arbitrary. Every historian works this way. The real falsehood occurs when historians hide their values, emotions, and choices under a veneer of “objectivity.” A work of history cannot be assessed apart from the values of the person who wrote it.

This book may horrify professional historians. They will probably object to my use of myths as historical sources. Yet myths can have historical worth if we learn how to evaluate them, just as *The New York Times* can have historical worth if we know how to evaluate *it*. They will be offended by my qualified acceptance of the theory of matriarchy. Yet current feminist writers are showing that male prejudice has greatly distorted the writing of history. They will be angered by my contempt for academic professionalism and its methods. Yet whole new insights often emerge, even in the physical sciences, despite rather than because of the professionals.

There is no such thing as authoritative Gay history, but as many Gay histories can exist as there are Gay visions. May they all be written.

Arthur Evans



JOAN OF ARC: TRANSVESTITE AND HERETIC

On May 30, 1431, in the town of Rouen, France, a peasant woman named Joan of Arc, age nineteen, was burned alive at the stake as a relapsed heretic. The immediate reason for her death was that she was found wearing men's clothing in her prison cell. This fact about Joan's execution may surprise those who view her as a traditional Christian saint. But the records of the time show she was hardly traditional.

After 1425, when she started her drive against the English invaders of France, Joan of Arc was an adamant transvestite. On May 23, 1430, she was captured by a sell-out French faction. They sold her to the English, who charged her with heresy and handed her over to the Inquisition. At the trial, Joan's judges were horrified by her transvestism. Article twelve of her indictment read:

Jeanne, rejecting and abandoning women's clothing, her hair cut around like a young coxcomb, took shirt, breeches, doublet... tight-fitting boots or buskins, long spurs, sword, dagger, breast-plate, lance and other arms in fashion of a man of war (T. Douglas Murray, 345-346).

When brought before the court, Joan refused to promise to wear women's clothing, even though her refusal meant she couldn't receive communion. What's more, she insisted that her transvestism was a *religious* duty, saying: "For nothing in the world will I swear not to arm myself and put on a man's dress; I must obey the orders of Our Lord" (T. Douglas Murray, 87).

To the judges, it was bad enough that Joan had been wearing men's clothing. But to say this was a religious duty was heresy! The following was one of the chief charges brought against her:

Jeanne attributes to God, His Angels, and His Saints, orders which are against the modesty of the sex, and which are prohibited by the Divine Law, things abominable to God and man, interdicted on pain of anathema by ecclesiastical censure, such as dressing herself in the garments of a man, short, tight, dissolute, those underneath as well as above. [...] To attribute all

this to the order of God, to the order which had been transmitted to her by the Angels and even by Virgin Saints, is to blaspheme God and His Saints, to destroy the Divine Law and violate the Canonical Rules (T. Douglas Murray, 346).

The English drew attention to Joan's transvestism and urged the church to condemn her for that reason. The King of England, Henry VI, even got involved on this point. In a letter he wrote about Joan, he said: "It is sufficiently notorious and well-known that for some time past a woman calling herself Jeanne the Pucelle [the Maid], leaving off the dress and clothing of the feminine sex, a thing contrary to divine law and abominable before God, and forbidden by all laws, wore clothing and armour such as is worn by men" (W. S. Scott, 52). The sell-out French faction that had captured Joan called her *homasse*, which was a derogatory word in Old French meaning masculine woman (Lightbody, 60).

Not only did Joan wear men's clothing as a religious duty, but in the eyes of her judges she did something else just as bad—she acted masculine. Contrary to the Christian view of womanhood, she was bold, self-assertive, strong willed, and contemptuous of her captors. In article sixty-three of the original indictment, the judges condemn her for "allowing herself a tone of mockery and derision such as no woman in a state of holiness would allow" (T. Douglas Murray, 363). The judges were horrified that Joan had rejected the traditional woman's role: "She disdains also to give herself up to feminine work, conducting herself in all things rather as a man than as a woman" (Murray, 348). The fact that Joan had led male troops in battle and had even given them orders seemed to her judges another sign of heresy: "In contempt of the orders of God and the Saints, Jeanne, in presumption and pride, hath gone so far as to take command over men" (T. Douglas Murray, 359).

The judges were interested in Joan's relationship with other women. In the summer of 1424, Joan had left her parents against their will and went to live with another woman, La Rousse ("The Red"), who lived in Neufchateau. La Rousse, it turns out, was an innkeeper, which is interesting since inns in the Middle Ages were often brothels. In article eight, the judges accused Joan of hanging out with prostitutes: "Towards her twentieth year, Jeanne, of her own wish, and without permission of her father and mother, went to Neufchateau, in Lorraine, and was in service for some time at the house of a woman, an innkeeper named La Rousse, where lived

women of evil life, and where soldiers were accustomed to lodge in great numbers. During her stay in the inn, Jeanne sometimes stayed with these evil women” (T. Douglas Murray, 344).

The judges also questioned Joan about her relationship with another woman, Catherine de la Rochelle. Joan admitted to the judges that she had slept in the same bed with Catherine on two successive nights, but that her reason for doing so was religious. Joan claimed that Catherine told her she often had visions of “a lady” at night, and Joan said she wanted to see this lady too. Whatever her reason, Joan admitted to sleeping twice with Catherine (W. S. Scott, 97).

The judges were interested in Joan’s sex life, and had her examined by a panel of women to determine if she was a virgin. They reported that she was.

Joan’s behavior at her trial was hardly that of a Christian saint. When she was asked to swear to tell the truth on the Gospels, she repeatedly refused. Usually, after much haggling back and forth at each session, she would give in (partially) by swearing on the misal (which is the liturgy). In addition, Joan adamantly refused to recite either the Lord’s Prayer or the Creed, although she was asked to do so many times. Her judges thought this refusal was significant.

The mystery of Joan deepens as we look at other aspects of her life. Before her capture, whenever she appeared in public she was worshipped like a deity by the peasants, a practice she never discouraged. The peasants believed that she had the power to heal, and many would flock around her to touch part of her body or her clothing (which was men’s clothing). Subsequently her armor was kept on display at the Church of St. Denis, where it was worshipped.

The area of Lorraine, where Joan grew up, was famous for the lingering paganism of its people. In the century before Joan’s trial, the Synod of Treves had condemned the peasants of Lorraine for believing in “all kinds of magic, sorcery, witchcraft, auguries, superstitious writings... the illusions of women who boast that they ride at night with Diana or Herodias and a multitude of other women” (M. Murray, *God of the Witches*, 177).

The peasants who lived in Joan’s own neighborhood retained memories of prophecies from the old Celtic religion that had existed there before the introduction of Christianity. One of these ancient prophecies concerned a wooded area called Bois Chesnu that was near Joan’s house. The prophecy, which was well known and was at-

tributed to Merlin the sorcerer, said that a maid would come forth from Bois Chesnu, perform many marvels, and unite the French people (W. S. Scott, 76, note).

In certain parts of Europe where Celtic beliefs survived, the word “Maid” or “Maiden” was a religious title, signifying a type of divine being who had the power to cure people (Hope, 35). The old French word for this title was *La Pucelle*, which was sometimes applied by French Christians to the Virgin Mary. When Joan was asked by what title she called herself, her standard reply was “Joan the Maid, Daughter of God.”

Joan’s judges believed that she had not been raised as a Christian, but as a pagan. “In her childhood, she was not instructed in the beliefs and principles of our Faith, but by certain old women she was initiated in the science of witchcraft, divination, superstitious doings, and magical acts. Many inhabitants of these villages have been known for all time as using these kinds of witchcraft” (T. Douglas Murray, 343).

The judges spent a lot of time questioning Joan about her supposed relations with beings called “fairies”—a fact that has puzzled many modern commentators. Near Joan’s home was a huge old beech tree (in Latin, *fagus* tree). Rumor had it that the fairies sometimes came and danced around this tree at night. By Joan’s time, the tree was considered sacred to Our Lady of Domremy, but suspicion remained that it had once been a holy spot in the old pagan religion. Near this tree was a spring where the peasants often went to be cured of diseases.

Joan denied ever seeing fairies at the tree, but did admit to participating in celebrations around it as a child. Her admission on this point, which the judges considered incriminating, is as follows:

Not far from Domremy there is a tree that they call ‘The Ladies Tree’—others call it ‘The Fairies Tree’. [...] It is a beautiful tree, a beech [fagus], from which comes the ‘beau mai’ [the maypole]. [...] I have sometimes been to play with the young girls, to make garlands for Our Lady of Domremy. Often I have heard the old folk—they are not of my lineage—say that the fairies haunt this tree. [...] As for me, I never saw them that I know of. [...] I have seen the young girls putting garlands on the branches of this tree, and I myself have sometimes put them there with my companions; sometimes we took these garlands away, sometimes we left them. Ever since I knew it was necessary for me to come into

France, I have given myself up as little as possible to these games and distractions (T. Murray, 20-21).

On April 2, 1431, all charges of witchcraft were dropped against Joan (see entry under “Joan of Arc” in Robbins). The court apparently felt that it could not prove (short of a confession forced by torture) actual practices of conjuring demons. Besides, the Inquisition had not yet been authorized to deal with witchcraft in and of itself. This would not happen until 1451 (Robbins, 272). The court had enough evidence to condemn her anyway, in view of her claim that her transvestism was a religious duty and her belief that her personal visions were more important than the institutional authority of the church.

Joan was subjected to unending psychological abuse and threatened with being burned alive. By April 24, 1431, she could stand the pressure no longer and recanted. She promised to submit to the institutional authority of the church and said she would stop wearing men’s clothing. The court showed her mercy, as Christians understand it: she was sentenced to life imprisonment on bread and water.

On May 30, Joan again resumed the wearing of men’s clothing. It’s not clear from the records whether she did this deliberately or was tricked into it by her guards. In any event, as Margaret Murray observes, “the extraordinary fact remains that the mere resuming of male garments was the signal for her death without further delay. On the Sunday she wore the [male] dress, on the Tuesday the sentence was communicated to her, on the Wednesday she was burned, as an ‘idolator, apostate, heretic, relapsed’” (M. Murray, *The Witch-Cult*, 274). This fact is extraordinary because the laws that regulated the wearing of clothing never made transvestism a capital offense. Apparently, in the opinion of her judges, Joan’s resumption of male clothing was a sign of relapse into “heresy.”

A clue to the importance of Joan’s transvestism comes from a decree of the faculty of the University of Paris. On May 14, 1431, the faculty condemned Joan and urged that she be burned as a heretic (medieval academics, like their modern counterparts, were mostly mouthpieces for the values of the ruling class). The *reason* for the faculty’s condemnation of Joan’s cross-dressing is striking. They said that by doing it she was “following the custom of the Gentiles and the Heathen” (W. S. Scott, 156). This should stop us and make us ask, “*What* custom? *What* heathen?” Just what are these academics

referring to? Before we answer these questions, however, we first have to examine one more angle—

During her military career, Joan's closest friend, personal bodyguard, and most devoted follower was a man named Gilles de Rais (1404-1440). Gilles de Rais was widely reputed during his lifetime to be a homosexual.

In 1440, the Bishop of Nantes publicly charged Gilles de Rais with violating the immunities of a certain priest; conjuring demons; and sodomy. At the insistence of the bishop, a concurrent civil trial was begun in which Gilles was accused of massively molesting and murdering children, mostly young boys. In the language of the Inquisition's indictment, Gilles was said to be a "heretic, apostate, conjurer of demons... accused of the crime and vices against nature, sodomy, sacrilege, and violation of the immunities of Holy Church" (see entry under "Gilles de Rais" in Robbins).

At first Gilles denied everything and spoke contemptuously to his judges. Then he and some of his closest friends and servants were tortured by methods rather like those used by the CIA today. Gilles confessed everything his judges wanted to hear. On October 26, 1440, nine years after the burning of Joan of Arc, Gilles de Rais was publicly strangled.

Historians are divided over what was really going on in the trial of Gilles. One of the problems involves his relationship to his family—who were upset at the way he was squandering their money. Gilles was one of the richest nobles in Europe, but he was blowing the money away on everything that caught his fancy. He spent so much that he started selling off family estates to pay for his debts. This selling of the family inheritance was too much for his relatives. In 1436, they got the King of France to issue a decree forbidding him to sell any more family land. In September of 1440, a priest tried to take possession of one of the estates that Gilles owned outside the King's jurisdiction and had sold for debt. Gilles beat up the priest and arrested him. The priest then collaborated with Gilles' relatives and with the Bishop of Nantes, who stepped forward and made his charges.

But there are other factors besides economics. In general slanderous charges of child murder or child molestation have been used in the past by patriarchal religions against people who practice a dissenting religion. For example, such charges were leveled against Christians in ancient Rome, against Jews in Christian Europe, and



against Jesuit missionaries in China. It is extraordinary that this same type of slander is widely used today against Lesbians and Gay men. (“We can’t let them be teachers because they’ll convert our children”; “They practice strange rites among themselves”; etc.).

We know that Gilles was a practitioner of magic before he was arrested. At the time of his arrest and thereafter, some pretty strange things happened. On the day he was to die, there was a large public demonstration on his behalf (James, 154). This is hardly the type of thing to happen for someone regarded as a child-molester! After he was executed, a fountain was erected on the spot where he died. For many years thereafter, nursing mothers would visit this fountain and pray to it to increase their flow of milk. Every year on the anniversary of his death, the parents of Nantes ritually flagellated their children in his memory (Murray, *God of the Witches*, 195).

So we see that with Joan and Gilles we have a very strange set of circumstances. On the one hand, we have a peasant woman who practiced transvestism as a religious duty; who was masculine in appearance and behavior; who admitted to sleeping in the same bed with another woman; who was worshipped in her own lifetime; and who came from an area where pagan traditions were still strong. On the other hand, one of her closest friends was a man who was commonly known as a homosexual and a sorcerer; and whose place of execution was popularly regarded as a fertility charm.

To most straight historians, these strange circumstances mean very little. They usually dismiss the trial of Joan as a phony political frame-up and regard Gilles as “a vicious sexual pervert” (Russell, 263). Despite this shallow straight approach, we will follow up on other historical clues.

For one thing, the emphasis on transvestism at Joan’s trial is important because transvestism played a major role in the religion of Europe before Christianity. The historian Pennethorne Hughes puts it this way: “The wearing of clothes appropriate to the opposite sex was always one of the rites of witchcraft, as it has been and is of primitive [*sic*] peoples, during their fertility festivals, throughout the history of the world” (Huges, 108).

Links between witchcraft and transvestism appear regularly in the history of Christian Europe. In the sixth century, the Christian writer Caesarius of Arles denounced the pagan practices of ritual transvestism and the wearing of animal costumes. Sixth and seventh century synods repeatedly condemned transvestism during the

popular New Year's holiday, where men were dressed as women—"a masquerade probably originating in a fertility rite of some kind" (Russell, 58). In the ninth century, a Christian guidebook prescribed penance for men who practiced ritual transvestism (Russell, 74). A thirteenth century inquisitor in Southern France denounced female worshippers of the goddess Diana along with male transvestites (Russell, 156-157).

Ritual transvestism associated with the old holidays continued in Europe down to modern times. "May Day sports perpetuated the practices, including even transvestism, and... in Wales, there existed, into the nineteenth century, a peasant dance and march with a garland, led by a dancer, [a horned god figure] called the 'Cadi'" (Hughes, 125). Similarly in twentieth century England such celebrations as the Helston Furry Dance, the Morris Dances, and the Peace Egg Mumming Play continue the tradition (Hughes, 211-212). In the Hogmanay celebration in Scotland, "the boys wore skirts and bonnets, the girls hats and greatcoats" (Hughes, 212). The Feast of Fools, a remnant of the old pagan religion, has persisted into modern times, with clerics "wearing masks and monstrous visages at the hours of office. They dance in the choir dressed as women, or disreputable men, or minstrels. They sing wanton songs" (Hughes, 111). Today many Gay people throughout Europe and America observe Halloween as a Gay holiday with transvestite celebrations. Originally, Halloween was one of the great holidays of the old religion—the Night of All Souls.

Besides transvestism, a second clue to understanding Joan's history is her association with "fairies." Pennethorne Hughes observes that "the people who until the late Middle Ages were called fairies by one name or another were often those, who until the seventeenth century, were called witches" (Hughes, 76). Everyone knows "fairy" as a derogatory word for Gay men. Many other anti-Gay words have historical connections with heresy or witchcraft.

The word "bugger" comes from a group of twelfth and thirteenth century Christian heretics. Hughes observes that:

this particular name became associated with the homosexual practices which the heretics were held to encourage. [...] Hence they were known as Bulgari, Bugari, Bulgri or Bourgres, a word which, as it is delicately put, 'has been retained with an infamous signification in the English, French and Italian vernaculars' (Hughes, 66).

Gay men were once called “punks” in Britain. Until recent times in Yorkshire, a festival was annually held on the Night of All Souls. Local people themselves call the festival “Punky Night” or “Spunky Night,” and some participants are called “punks” (Hughes, 211)

The history of the word “faggot” reveals the intimate connection between Gay men, heresy and witchcraft. Both witches and heretics were regularly burned on bundles of sticks called “faggots.” In the popular speech of the time expressions popped up like “fire and faggot” or “to fry a faggot,” suggesting that the victims themselves were called “faggots.” “Faggot” even became “the embroidered figure of a faggot, which heretics who had recanted were obliged to wear on their sleeve, as an emblem of what they had merited” (*Oxford English Dictionary*). The word “faggot” comes from the Latin *fagus*, which means beech tree. *Fagus* in turn derives from the Greek *phagos* or *phegos*, which originally meant any tree bearing edible nuts or fruit (in Greek, *phagein* means “to eat”). In classical Greek, *phagos* especially referred to oak trees. Burning witches and heretics on bundles of faggots may have originated from a religious link with trees (especially beech and oak)—which were sacred in pre-Christian Europe. The old fairy tree near Domremy where Joan of Arc first heard her voices was a *fagus* tree.

Margaret Murray offers an interesting interpretation of these clues. In 1921, Murray, a professor of Egyptology at University College in London, unsettled conventional historians with the publication of *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (still available as a paperback). Murray approached the subject as an anthropologist: she collected transcripts from witch trials (mostly from Britain, where torture was rare), went through the evidence for common themes, and compared the results with existing mythological and archaeological knowledge of early Western Europe. Murray claimed that “witchcraft” was a lingering pre-Christian religion and that various pagan cults continued to exist underground until recent times. In examining the evidence about Joan of Arc and Gilles de Rais, she concluded that both were members of such a cult—a supposition which clarifies many strange incidents surrounding them.

In addition to Murray’s view, we have seen that Joan of Arc and Gilles de Rais were probably Gay. Of course, our evidence, like most historical evidence concerning sexuality, is circumstantial. But Joan was certainly not an orthodox Christian: she refused to recite

the Lord's prayer; she viewed transvestism as a religious duty; she rejected the authority of the church; she accepted deification in her own lifetime; she admitted to sleeping in the same bed with another woman; and she boldly asserted her womanhood. Similarly Gilles de Rais was well known for his sorcery and suspect for sodomy.

Most "respectable" historians (usually straight males) have rejected Margaret Murray's views. But straight historians provide no context for understanding Joan, Gilles, or Gay history. Their writings mainly concern the straight-identified ruling classes and ignore the people. What we need instead is a people-oriented context for Gay history, especially in relation to heresy and witchcraft. In what follows, we will create such a context by exploring certain themes of sexuality and religion from prehistoric times, through the Middle Ages, and up to modern times. In this way, Joan of Arc, Gilles de Rais and other parts of our hidden history will no longer be unexplainable mysteries.



WHO WERE THE FAIRIES?

Human beings are animals. In the earliest ages, the sex life of humans resembled that of other animals. Today people are alienated from both their sexuality and their animal nature, but in the beginning this was not so.

Animals do not live in neat little nuclear families, as the mass media often claim. Instead, the mating instinct is separate from the sexual impulse, and the heterosexual bond is limited and weak (Briffault, I: 212ff). For “higher” animals such as mammals, heterosexual fucking usually occurs only when the female is in heat; otherwise, the two sexes often live separately—females and young in one group, and males in another. Some mammals even live in separate *herds* of male and female, such as reindeer, elk, antelope, buffalo, bats, elephants, seals, walruses, moose, boar, squirrels, as well as certain monkeys, orangutans, and gorillas (Briffault, I: 122-23). Usually females alone raise and protect the young. When rearing is done by pairs of both sexes, as among many birds, the pairing usually lasts for only one season. Pairings that last longer are rare (Briffault, I: 171). Monogamy and the nuclear family are almost unknown in nature.

The strongest emotional bond among mammals is that between mother and child, not between mother and father. The need for adult companionship is usually satisfied by members of the same, not the opposite, sex. Both female and male homosexual behavior is common in the animal world, especially among “higher” mammals (Ford and Beach, 139ff). Except when the female is in heat, physical distinctions between the sexes are deemphasized. Animals of one sex often take on the appearance and mannerisms of the other sex, and “the development in the male of instincts and psychical modifications of female origin is widespread in the animal kingdom” (Briffault, I: 137).

Among humans, early social forms resemble these animal practices, as can be seen in surviving Stone and Iron Age societies. There, men and women associate more often socially with members of the same sex; sometimes the sexes live in separate common houses. For example, such separate housing arrangements have existed among the Moto, the Bassa Komo of Nigeria, the Hottentots, the Zulus and the Aranda of the Upper Congo. Among the Aranda,

the sexes once even lived in separate villages (Briffault, I: 509-13). In many of these common houses, homosexuality is regularly practiced, and “in such cases the first homosexual intercourse is a rite of friendship” (Van Gennep, 171). Even when the custom of separate houses isn’t found, the sexes in nature societies still tend to live their daily lives apart. “In all the North American Indian tribes there was scarcely any social intercourse between the men and the women; the sexes lived their lives separately” (Briffault, I: 510).

In the earliest forms of human society, marriage was much different from what it is today. When a man married a woman, he often married all her sisters as well, and she, all his brothers (Briffault, I: 629ff). “However rare collective sexual organizations may be at the present day, they are by no means so rare as might be supposed. [...] [T]here is scarcely a portion of the habitable globe where those forms of sexual association or the evidence of their recent existence are not to be found” (Briffault, I: 765).

Women had a high status in the oldest societies. In cases where men and women *did* live together, the husband often left his people and went to live as a stranger in his wife’s household (matrilocal marriage). Thus the wife was in a relatively secure position. “The practice of matrilocal marriage was the original form of marriage union, and is coeval with the origin of humanity” (Briffault, I: 307). Inheritance rights passed from the mother, not the father (matrilineal descent). Consequently, “in the great majority of uncultured [sic] societies women enjoy a position of independence and of equality with the men and exercise an influence which would appear startling in the most feministic modern civilized society” (Briffault, I: 311). Sexist white observers have misunderstood the role of women’s labor in early societies. For example, Native American women were viewed as oppressed because of their lives of hard work, which ran counter to European notions of femininity. But their right of access to essential labor was the very basis of their independence (Briffault, I: 317, 328).

Taboos and ceremonies around menstruation have also been misunderstood. These taboos are simply an extension from the animal world, where *all* species limit access to females when they are menstruating, giving birth, or nursing. Menstruating taboos were originally invented by *women* and were used as vetoes against male advances during these times. In fact, the most severe taboos are

found in those societies where “the women exercise an almost despotic power over the men” (Briffault, II: 400, 404).

White male observers usually misinterpret the role of males in nature societies. While talking to leaders of the men’s groups and ignoring the women, they reach the false conclusion that the society as a whole is organized by males. The *chief*, who is only the leader of hunters and warriors, is interpreted as being a king or president (Briffault, I: 492). But male activities like hunting and warfare are only a part of tribal life. The labor and activities of women are at least as important as that of men. True, among nature societies we find examples where women are treated harshly, even brutally. But where such brutality exists, as among certain tribes in Australia and Melanesia, there is evidence of a previous matrilineal system that has since broken down (Briffault, I: 334).

The first shamans (or healer priests) in nature societies were women (Briffault, II: 518). The first male shamans imitated women by taking on their roles and wearing their clothing. Wherever patriarchy has overthrown matriarchy, even in nature societies, the previous religious power of women is feared as something diabolical. The priestess is turned into the witch (Briffault, II: 561). Unfortunately, Robert Briffault, whose book I have been citing so far, freaks out over homosexuality, which he dismisses as “the indulgence of unnatural vices” (Briffault, II: 533). And so he can’t imagine there could be a link between cross-dressing shamans and homosexuality. But we will see later there is such a link, and that as the priestess was turned into the witch, so the Gay male shaman was turned into the heretic.

In Stone Age Europe, humans probably lived pretty much like people in surviving nature cultures. For example, archaeology suggests that a shamanistic religion was practiced and that women had high status. From as early as 30,000 BC we find an abundance of female figurines and cave drawings that show women leading religious ceremonies (Rawson, 13ff). From about 5,000 BC, the heads and necks on many of these figurines are stretched out to form smooth dildos, so that the composite figure is that of a fat female with a dildo emerging from the top (Rawson, 18). We know from the practices of existing nature societies in Africa and India that such implements were often used in ritual Lesbian acts where an older woman initiated a younger (Rawson, 18 & 71). In addition, the oldest deity worshipped by the Celts, Germans, and Anglo-Saxons

of Western Europe was a Great Mother goddess who was associated with womb-like caves.

Many bisexual figurines have been found from the Stone Age—notably in Trasimeno, Italy; the Weinberg Caverns, Bavaria; the Jordan Valley; and Pembrokeshire, Wales (Rawson, 17). Among surviving nature societies, bisexual deities often indicate bisexual religious rites (Baumann, *passim*). Many cave paintings show pictures of nude men with erections dancing together in groups without women. Among nature people, a man's cum is often thought to embody ancestral religious power, “and this probably explains one male initiation ritual... during which adult male initiates have anal intercourse with novices” (Rawson, 48).

Animals (especially horned ones) also play a large part in stone-age art, and male human figures appear wearing animal skins. These figures are probably shamans, since nature societies often identify themselves collectively with the animals they eat (totemism) and imitate their behavior, including their sex life, in religious rites.

At the end of the Stone Age and the beginning of the Bronze Age (around 4,000 BC), sacred places came to be marked by the presence of huge stones, called megaliths. They extended from Ireland, through Brittany, to Portugal, Italy, Malta, South Arabia, India, Malaya, Sumatra, Indonesia and the Pacific Islands (Rawson, 42). These sites were apparently sacred to the Great Mother and often marked burial spots for the dead (von Cles-Reden, 11). Some writers, pointing to surviving beliefs in re-incarnation, think the megalithic tombs were viewed as “magical reservoirs” of souls waiting to be reborn (Rawson, 43). They could be right, since the tombs certainly were thought to have great fertility powers. In historical times, women believed they could get pregnant by visiting them at night. In some medieval witchcraft trials, there were persistent reports that sabbats were being held at a few of these spots (Grinsell, 77, note 18).

Into this world of matriarchal Europe, there eventually moved a new people, the Celts. They spread across Europe, coming from the east, and set up a civilization that extended from Turkey in the West, through Central Europe and even into the British Isles. The Celts came in waves, beginning around 1500 BC. Conquering local tribes, their society became increasingly militaristic and patriarchal (Hatt, 63-84). By 500 BC, a national Celtic culture emerged, fused from the cultures of both the conquerors and the conquered.

As such, it stood midway between the two worlds of matriarchy and patriarchy (Markale, 16-17).

One legacy of the older ways was the continued high status of Celtic women. They were independent and chose their sexual partners freely (Hope, *passim*). Both marriage and divorce were by mutual agreement, and a wife maintained her own property apart from her husband's family (Markale, 32-35). Many types of marriage existed, including marriage for a specific length of time; marriage between one wife and one husband; between one husband and many wives; and between one wife and many husbands. If a woman had greater wealth, she and not her husband was considered head of the family (Markale, 36-7). This sexual openness continued well into Christian times. Around 395 AD, the Christian propagandist Jerome complained that "the Irish race do not have individual wives and... none among them has a spouse exclusively his own, but they sport and wanton after the manner of cattle, each as it seems good to them" (Hope, 295).

Women played an important role in Celtic myths, as shown by the *Tain Bo Cuailnge*—a pre-Christian Irish epic finally put into writing in the eighth century.

Thomas Kinsella, a translator of the *Tain*, writes, "probably the greatest achievement of the *Tain* and the Ulster cycle is the series of women... on whose strong and diverse personalities the action continually turns: Mebd, Derdriu, Macha, Nes, Aife" (Kinsella, xiv-xv). The *Tain* depicts the arts of war as the special province of women. Men learning to fight went to school under women, who were at the same time sorcerers (Markale, 38). The medieval saga *Kulhwch and Olwen*, drawn from Celtic traditions, describes a group of women called *gwiddonot* who fight in battle and utter prophecies. "They are amazons who live in a house called *Llys of Gwiddonot*" (Chadwick, *The Celts*, 136). Some sources suggest these women were Lesbians (Markale, 39).

Celtic men were notorious for their homosexuality. In the first century BC, the historian Diodorus Siculus said about Celtic men:

Although they have good-looking women, they pay very little attention to them, but are really crazy about having sex with men. They are accustomed to sleep on the ground on animal skins and roll around with male bed-mates on both sides. Heedless of their own dignity, they abandon without a qualm the bloom of their

bodies to others. And the most incredible thing is that they don't think this is shameful. But when they proposition someone, they consider it dishonorable if he doesn't accept the offer! (Diodorus, III: 5, 32, 7).

Celtic religion, like Celtic social life, also reflected earlier matriarchal traditions. The most ancient Celtic deities were three goddesses whom the Romans called *Matres* or *Matronae*—"The Mothers." They were versions of the Great Mother, who was worshipped as early as the Stone Age (Chadwick, *The Celts*, 168, and Rawson, 45). Altars to the Mothers have been found all over Europe. Stories about them persisted into medieval times in the King Arthur legends, where the goddess Morrigan (the Great Queen in Ireland) became the figure of Morgan la Faye (Morgan the Fairy). Finally, the Mothers were turned into fairies, as indicated by the Welsh word for fairies, *y Mamau*, which means "the Mothers" (Hope, 32).

The newer forces of Celtic patriarchy and militarism brought new gods who challenged the ancient matriarchal traditions, but even after these changes, the Mothers retained their importance among Celtic peasants and women. They were the overseers of nature: goddesses of earth, moon, plants, animals and sex. Their worship included ritual sexual promiscuity, even with animals, and their chief priests were women (Rawson, 44; Hope, 166-167). The two types of deities continued to exist side by side. The Celtic upper classes converted to patriarchal gods, while the lower classes maintained the old religion (Hope, 43).

One manifestation of the Celtic Mother was the bear goddess Artio who was widely worshipped. "The name *Art*, 'Bear,' occurring in names such as *Artgenos*, 'Son of the Bear,' occurs widely in Welsh and Irish personal names and in toponymy" (Ross, *Britain*, 349). The name persisted into Christian times. Lady Alice Kyteler of Kilkenny, Ireland, was accused in 1324 of having ritual sexual intercourse with a "demon" named Robin, son of Art. Hers was the first trial for heresy and witchcraft in Ireland.

The Mother Goddess made her influence felt even within traditional Christianity. Some of the earliest churches in Ireland, Britain and German Switzerland have nude figures of a woman carved above the front door. She squats, looking down on the incoming worshipper with an intense stare, and has both hands on the lips of her cunt, which is greatly enlarged. These figures are known as sheelagh-na-gigs, and "they are, in fact, portrayals of the ancient

goddess” who was “long-remembered in the traditions and festivals of the people” (Ross, *Celtic and Northern Art*, 104). In France most of the great sanctuaries of the Virgin Mary are located on sites that previously were consecrated to a Celtic Mother goddess (Markale, 17).

One Celtic male deity is as old as the Mothers. This is the horned god, “one of the most basic of the Celtic god types,” whose worship goes back to the Stone Age (Ross, *Celtic and Northern Art*, 83; Bober, 40). He is often associated with the Mothers, as well as sex, animals and nature. He also seems to have links with male shamans. His great antiquity is shown by a Stone Age painting in Ariège, France, which shows a man dancing in the hide of an animal and wearing the antlers of a stag. And in the eighteenth century, construction workers inside Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris uncovered a four-sided Celtic stone altar dating from Roman times and bearing the figure of a bearded male with antlers. The stone was inscribed with the word *Cernunnos*, which means “The Horned One” (Bober,



The horned god was especially linked with male sexuality and often appears with an erect cock. Moreover, when erect, he is sometimes portrayed in the company of men, not women. A drawing of the horned god from Val Camonica, Italy, shows him holding a ceremonial collar ring in one hand and a horned serpent in the other. He is being worshipped by a man, and the man has an erection (Bober, 18; Ross, *Celtic and Northern Art*, 84). This picture is reminiscent of early art scattered throughout Europe. The men often have erections and appear together in groups without women (Ross, *Celtic and Northern Art*, 81). In view of the Celts' notoriety for homosexuality, these facts suggest a Gay element in the worship of the horned god.

The horned god was also lord of the dead and the underworld (Bober, 44). To the Celts, who believed in reincarnation, darkness and death were parts of the cycle of life and rebirth, and death was the very place where the creative forces of nature brought about new life. Because of this connection with the underworld the horned god was often shown as black in color (Ross, *Britain*, 137). But this blackness was not considered evil, as Christians later viewed it.

The depiction of the Celtic male god as an animal with horns is understandable in view of the economy and religion of the times. Stone age Europe was dependent for its very existence upon the hunting of reindeer, red deer, and elk. Among the first animals to be domesticated were sheep and goats. Ancient Europeans, like all nature people, worshipped the animals they depended on, in contrast to modern "civilized" people who objectify and destroy animals with all the impersonal violence that only scientific industrialism can devise.

The Celts dated the feast days of their religion according to the changing of the seasons, the breeding habits of animals, and the sowing and harvesting of crops. As in Judaism, feasts began on the night before the holiday. The four greatest Celtic holidays (with their Irish names) were *Samhain* (November 1); *Imbolc* (February 1); *Beltaine* (May 1); and *Lughnasadh* (August 1) (Chadwick, *The Celts*, 181). These holidays were celebrated with ritual sexual promiscuity (Hope, 166-167).

As it happens, these dates correspond exactly with the holidays later attributed by medieval Christians to witches. The Christians called these days, respectively, Halloween, Candlemas, Walpurgisnacht, and Lammast. Two other holidays were also celebrated by

both Celts and witches: the winter solstice, December 21, surviving as the Feast of the Fools; and the summer solstice, June 23, surviving as Midsummer Night. Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, written in the late sixteenth century, has echoes of this holiday. The play is full of magic, fairies, human and animal sexuality. It features a leading character named Puck, or Robin Goodfellow—a descendant of the horned god (Kott, 213-236).

After the Roman conquest of the Celts in the first century BC, the Celtic druids urged their tribes to resist Roman imperialism. They organized rebellions and prophesied that Roman power would be overthrown. "We may probably regard the druids as the most formidable nationalist and anti-Roman force with which Romans had to contend" (Chadwick, *The Druids*, 72). The Romans responded by conducting a campaign of propaganda against the druids and the Celts, attempting to portray them as bloody barbarians (Chadwick, *The Druids*, 25). In churning out this propaganda, the Romans were like the early American colonists who painted the native Indians as "savages" so they could feel justified in murdering them and stealing their land. Unfortunately, some modern scholars have been taken in by these anti-Celtic tirades.

The Celts of Europe were not the only people who carried on matriarchal religious traditions. In Asia Minor we find "the Great Mother of the Gods," who was associated with animals, sex and nature (Showerman, 230ff). Her priests were both women and men. The men castrated themselves, grew long hair, and wore the clothing of women (Showerman, 236-237). They were called "teachers of orgies," "sorcerers," and "cave dwellers" (Showerman, 236 & n. 55). Male followers of the religion were later called "effeminate" by Greek writers (Showerman, 294-295).

The Great Mother of the Gods was worshipped with sacred orgies. Participants of the rituals played flutes, castanets, cymbals, and drums, calling these the "strings of frenzy" (Showerman, 238). Homosexual and heterosexual acts of all kinds took place at these rituals. As one academic (a tightassed homophobe) puts it, there were "revolting sensual rites, the presence of the hermaphroditic element" (Showerman, 247). A man who wanted to become a priest of the Great Mother attended the orgies, and in an ecstatic and frenzied trance, castrated himself (Showerman, 238-239). This castration was entirely voluntary, and was undertaken only by those who wished to be initiated as priests.

After the Roman conquest, the cult of the Great Mother of the Gods spread across Europe. In every location, the conquered people saw in the Great Mother the same deity their ancestors worshipped. She was most popular among the lower classes, who retained much of the ancient matriarchal traditions. The Roman upper classes distrusted her. They especially disliked the fact that she was popular among women and slaves (Showerman, 295 & 300).

Among the Romanized Celts of Western Europe, the worship of the Great Mother spread under the Latin name of Diana (the Greek Artemis) (Turcan, 48ff). The Celtic preference for the Roman Diana is easy to understand, considering the history of her worship. The official deities of Greece and Rome (the Olympians) were really latecomers. They overthrew an older set of three Greek goddesses connected with the moon. Like the Celtic mothers, the goddesses presided over agriculture, hunting and domestic arts, and were worshipped with sexual orgies (Graves, *passim*). By late Roman times, they were absorbed into the figure of Diana, who was originally goddess of the new moon (Graves, I: 83, n. 1). In an alternate form, they also survived as the three Fates. Again like the Celtic Mothers, they were turned into fairies by the medieval Christian world ("fairy" coming from the Latin *fata*, meaning fate).



The Greek Fates and the Celtic Mothers also find their counterparts among the ancient Anglo-Saxons. The oldest Anglo-Saxon deity is the goddess Wyrð (Fate), who was one of three sisters (Branston, 64-65). They later became known as “the weird sisters” (“weird” originally meant fateful). This tradition survived at least until 1605, when they were mentioned in Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* (Branston, 66). According to Christian tradition they were associated with witchcraft, and Shakespeare portrayed them as androgynous, as witnessed by Banquo’s remark, “You should be women, yet your beards forbid me to interpret that you are so.” Belief in these three goddesses was almost universal in ancient Europe. “It is evident that the conception of the three Fates goes back to Indo-European times and that the ancestresses of Wyrð, the Norns [Iceland], the Parcae [Italy] and the Moirai [Greece], were three all powerful figures of at least six thousand years ago” (Branston, 70).

Throughout the entire Mediterranean area, the oldest religious tradition in many cultures was the worship of a great goddess, often associated with sexual rites. She had many different names: Ashtoreth or Astarte in Palestine; Tanit in Carthage; Ma in Capodocia; Aphrodite in Cyprus; and Isis in Egypt (Showerman, 247; Lethbridge, 19). Roman writers were well aware of this Mediterranean tradition. For example, in Apuleius’ *The Golden Ass* (2nd century AD), the hero Lucius prays to the moon, calling her *Regina Caeli*, “Queen of Heaven,” a title later given to the Virgin Mary. When Lucius falls asleep the goddess appears to him and reveals her true power:

Look, I have come, Lucius, moved by your prayer. I am the mother of the nature of things, the mistress of all the elements, the original progeny of the ages, the supreme divinity, queen of the departed souls, chief of the deities of heaven, the manifestation in one of all the gods and goddesses. By my commands, I regulate the bright vault of heaven, the health-giving sea breezes, the bereaved silence of the dead. The whole world venerates my single name in many forms, with varied ritual, with a name linked to many others. And so the Phrygians—the first born of all humans—call me Mother of the Gods at Pessinus; native Athenians call me Cecropean Minerva; the sea-tossed Cyprians, Paphian Venus; the Cretan archers, Diana Dictynna; the trilingual Sicilians, Stygian Proserpine; the Eleusinians, the most ancient goddess Ceres. Some call me Juno, others Bellona. Here

I am Hecate, there Rhamnusia. And both Ethiopias, which are illuminated by the beginning rays of the rising sun god, as well as the Egyptians, who are strong in the teaching of antiquity and who revere me with special ceremonies, call me by my true name—Queen Isis (Apuleius, Book XI, Section 4).

In both Asia Minor and Celtic Gaul many statues of Artemis (or Diana) have been found with a singular feature: they show a woman with many rows of naked tits and surrounded by animal figures (Turcan, 49). In some stone-age caves, groups of stalagmites can be found, such as at Pech Merle, that are painted like tits with pictures of animals around them. The statues of Artemis are similar to these strange figures and “must embody echoes of that same ancient Mother of the Animals whom we can first identify in Pech Merle” (Rawson, 15).

During the early days of Christianity, Artemis was worshipped in the city of Ephesus in Asia Minor. Her cult was one of the chief impediments to the missionary effort there of Paul of Tarsus. The New Testament book of Acts describes the severity of the struggle between two religions. The pagan worshippers of Artemis rioted against Paul, shouting “she whom Asia and all the world revere may soon be stripped of her magnificence” (*Acts*; 19, 23-29).

The people of Asia Minor worshipped Artemis with sexual rites that included homosexuality. For this reason most of Paul’s denunciations of a high status for women, free sexuality, and homosexuality—when read closely—turn out to be denunciations of *idolatry*. In *Romans*, Paul writes:

They claimed to be wise but turned into fools instead; they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images representing mortal man, birds, beasts, and snakes. In consequence, God delivered them in their lust to unclean practices: they engaged in the mutual degradation of their bodies, these men who exchanged the truth of God for a lie and worshipped the creature rather than the creator. Their women exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural, and the men gave up natural intercourse with women and burned with lust for one another (Romans I; italics added).

In other words they were practicing the old sex and nature religion.

As Christianity rose to power in the Roman Empire, the worship of the Great Mother was one of the most powerful forces

to resist it. Christian propagandists bitterly attacked this old religion and singled out for abuse its effeminate priests. Augustine condemns:

effeminates consecrated to the Great Mother, who violate every canon of decency in men and women. There were to be seen until just the other day in the streets and squares of Carthage with their pomaded hair and powdered faces, gliding along with womanish languor, and demanding from shopkeepers the means of their depraved existence (Augustine, 286).

Once Christianity was made the official religion of the Roman Empire, Mother worship was outlawed. "The prominent part the Mother played in the last struggle [against Christianity] probably made her sanctuary one of the first pagan edifices to fall before the fanaticism or rapacity of the Christian party as soon as all restraint was removed" (Showerman, 312). Attacked, with its temples looted and destroyed, Mother worship went underground, but did not die.

Many ancient cultures worshipped horned gods, in addition to a mother goddess. Behind all these gods was a common ancestor that went back to the Stone Age. In pre-Christian times he appeared under many different names. In the Greco-Roman world he was Dionysus, Bacchus, or Pan; in Crete, the Minotaur; at Carthage, Baal Hammon; in Asia Minor, Sabazios; and in Egypt, Osiris. He usually had the horns of a goat or a bull and was worshipped with rites that included sexual orgies, animal masquerades, and transvestism. As with Pan, the lover of Diana, he was often linked with a goddess who was mistress of wild animals, the forest, agriculture, and sexuality.

Among the ancient Greeks, as with the Celts, the horned god was associated with homosexuality. One ancient bowl shows Pan, with cock erect, chasing a young male shepherd, which the German scholar Reingard Herbig describes this way:

The god pursues at quick pace and with utmost excitement a beautiful shepherd boy. The meaning of the picture is unmistakably underlined by the addition of an accessory that should be symbolically understood, a Priapus herm [a phallic image]. Here Pan is really everything that fits his original essence: masculine drive seeking release, which here, following the early Greek preference, devotes itself to 'the beautiful boy' (Herbig, 37).

As ancient Greece became "civilized" and fell under the influence of patriarchal institutions, the worship of Pan was denounced

and repressed. The new order couldn't handle the religion's open sexuality, transvestism, feminism and emotionalism. The struggle between the rising Greek patriarchy and the old traditions underlies Euripides' play *Bacchae*. The plot revolves around a revival of the worship of Dionysus (same as Pan) and the attempt to suppress the religion by King Pentheus of Thebes, who is an urban law-and-order type, the ancient Greek equivalent of Richard Nixon. Dionysus himself appears in the play as an effeminate young man. King Pentheus arrests him, not knowing who he is, and cuts off all his long hair. In retaliation, Dionysus drives Pentheus mad, for Dionysus is lord of the emotions. Pentheus in his madness dresses up as a woman and attempts to spy on one of the orgies of Dionysus' religion. When the King gets to the orgy, the women worshippers (including the King's own mother) are driven into a frenzy by the rites. Mistaking Pentheus for a lion, they attack him and tear him to pieces. His mother returns to Thebes with the head of this lion in her apron, only to discover on becoming sober that she has torn off the head of her own son. The moral of the play is clear: the new order is repressing aspects of human behavior that are sacred to the god of ecstasy. The price of this repression will be a madness that tears the new order itself apart.

Historically the worship of the horned god was responsible for the rise of theater in Western civilization. (So there has always been a connection between theater and Gay men.) In ancient Greece, Dionysus was first worshipped in a ritual of masquerading, song, dance, and sex by a group of people called the chorus. In time, a few persons emerged from the chorus who played special roles and were called actors. Eventually the religious and sexual aspects of the ritual were forgotten and the ceremony became a play, enacting out a previously written script. It's no accident that the word "tragedy" comes from the ancient Greek *tragoidia*, meaning "goat song."

After the Roman conquest, various concepts of the horned god blended together, just as they did in the case of the Great Mother. We find him appearing under the names of Priapus, Attis, Adonis, Dis Pater and Tammuz. But the relationship of the horned god to the Mother changed as the patriarchs gained more control throughout the world. At first he was born from the Mother and subordinate to her, but finally he became the world's sole creator (Campbell, 86).

The triumph of Christianity brought bad news for the horned god. Since he kept company with the Great Mother and her sex rites, the church made every effort either to suppress or change

him to suit its own needs. He became identified with the Christian ruler of the underworld—Satan—and was viewed as evil, even though the Celtic god of the dead was not considered evil. In the Jewish religion, Satan had been an adversary only to humans, never to God himself. The New Testament went beyond this view, but the personality of the devil was still fuzzy. In 447 AD, the Council of Toledo settled this question once and for all by picturing the devil as cosmic evil personified (Robbins, 132).

With the doctrine of the devil established, the church took many of the “bad” traits of the horned god (such as sexuality) and gave them to the devil (Schoff, *passim*). The old horned god was turned into the devil himself and from that time forward, Christian art depicted the devil as having horns, cleft hooves, furry legs, and an erect cock—the very characteristics of the horned god (Ross, *Britain*, 132). Soon the old teutonic fertility spirits were likewise changed into subordinate “devils” (Russell, 46). To medieval witch-hunters the figure of the devil became sex personified. The *Malleus Maleficarum*, a manual used for detecting witches, stated, “the power of the Devil lies in the privy parts of men” (*Malleus*, 26).

The “good” aspects of the horned god were taken and applied to figures in Christianity. For example, in the book of *Revelations* we find Christ pictured symbolically as a horned animal and called “the Lamb” (V :6ff).

The doctrine of the devil also affected Christian attitudes toward the color black. As the Celtic lord of the underworld, the horned god was pictured as black. This was not an evil color since the Celtic underworld was a place of rest before reincarnation, whereas the Christian underworld was a place of hell and damnation. As a result, black to the Christians became an evil color, connoting sin, death, and the Devil. Later, when Christians from Europe encountered people whose skin was black, the Christians viewed them as sinful and devilish. This attitude was not the only cause of Christian racism, as we’ll see, but it *was* one factor.

In the British isles, an ancient name in folklore for the horned god was Robin or Robin Goodfellow. In one 17th century picture, Robin is shown surrounded by a ring of dancers. He has hooves, a goat’s horns, and an erect cock. In one hand he carries a candle; in the other a ritual broom (Murray, *God of the Witches*, 97). Robin is also figured in witch trials as well as folklore. We’ve already

seen that Lady Alice Kyteler was accused of having sex with a black demon named Robin, son of Art.

Matriarchal traditions persisted through Celtic, Roman, and early Christian civilizations, even though they were suppressed more vigorously in each succeeding epoch. The Roman period saw a fusion of the Great Mother with Diana, the Fates, and the Celtic Mothers, just as there was a blending of Pan, Robin, Dionysus, Adonis, and the Celtic horned god. When the Christians took over, a part of the Great Mother, although greatly desexualized, squeezed through as the Virgin Mary, while the horned god was banned as the devil. Though outlawed, the worshippers of this matriarchal mix—which Margaret Murray calls the old religion—persisted underground and were known in folklore as fairies, named after the fateful goddesses whom they worshipped. Later in the medieval period, various remnants of the old religion were to emerge again, only this time they were called heretics and witches. As we'll see, their greatest “crime” was that they experienced the highest manifestations of the divine in the free practice of sexuality.



HOMOSEXUALITY AND CLASS WARFARE

The mass media have long given us an impression of the Stone Age as a time of terror, violence and war. Stone Age people are often depicted as ape-like creatures who went around clubbing each other over the head. Their societies are usually described with pejorative words like “primitive,” “barbaric,” “savage,” and “low” (in contrast to modern industrial society, which is called “advanced,” “civilized,” “cultured,” and “high”).

Despite this Hollywood view of history, Stone Age culture was actually rather peaceful. The testimony of archeology is overwhelming on this point: the people who lived in the Stone Age did *not* practice organized warfare (Hawkes, 265). Paintings and art work from the period do not depict warlike activities, weapons are not found in burial areas, settlements are completely unfortified. It may be surprising but is nonetheless true that “war is a comparatively late development in the history of humanity” (Dawson, 239).

Organized warfare did not arise until the appearance of cities, class conflict, government hierarchy, and private property. Indeed, it is precisely those societies in history that have been the most “civilized” that have waged the most frequent and terrible wars. No Stone Age society even approaches the savagery of Nazi Germany against Jewry or “democratic” America against the Vietnamese.

What we know about the people who still live in close contact with nature confirms our knowledge of the peacefulness of the Stone Age. For example, organized warfare was extremely rare among the native North Americans prior to the Christian invasion (Driver, 355). Admittedly, the North American Indians did engage in duels and feuds. But until the white Christians “instructed” them in warfare, they did not develop a permanent military organization, special fighting regalia, or militaristic ceremonies. (The situation was different with middle and south American Indians who were partially *urbanized*.)

People have mistakenly associated nature societies with war because so-called barbarians have come in conflict with urbanized and stratified societies as in the “Gothic invasions” of the Roman Empire. But the “barbarians” were usually tribes who lived on the

periphery of urbanized societies and who imitated their methods. In the case of Rome, outlying “barbarians” had long been admitted into the Roman army before the tribes they came from attacked Rome. Roman militarism had been seeping into their cultures for centuries.

The Stone Age was striking for other reasons besides its peacefulness. As best we can determine from archeological evidence and from comparison with existing Stone Age cultures, there was communal ownership of property by the tribe or the clan, government by voluntary consensus without any hierarchical superstructure, an absence of class domination and no rigid division of labor (Hawkes, 265ff.). Of course, it is tempting to dismiss this as a utopian fantasy since we are so accustomed in our own society to self-aggrandizement, government repression, class domination and rigid soul-killing division of labor that is either idiotic or based on years of zombie-like institutionalization (“education”). We have become so conditioned through universities, factories and offices to be feelingless, brain-dominated, self-seeking billiard balls that we cannot conceive of a society run otherwise. But the evidence will not go away. Human beings once lived differently.

Women had a very high status in the Stone Age, as we have seen. Archeology, myth and comparison to still-existing nature societies all point to their dominant position. “There is every reason to suppose that under the conditions of the primary Neolithic way of life, mother-right and the clan system were still dominant [as they had been in the Paleolithic period], and land would generally have descended through the female line. Indeed, it is tempting to be convinced that the earliest Neolithic societies throughout their range in time and space gave woman the highest status she has ever known” (Hawkes, 264).

Around 4000 BC an extraordinary change took place, beginning first in the Near East and spreading gradually from there into Europe. At this time there emerged a new era—the Bronze Age, which involved much more than the making of bronze implements. For the first time in history, social groups came into existence that were controlled by males and were based on military exploits. In the Stone Age, humans had survived by foraging, farming and hunting. Now came people who survived by warfare.

The political and economic life of the human race was completely upset by these male invaders (Woolley, *passim*). In place of the

earlier tribal communalism, a new institution came into being: the state (Woolley, 360).

The new states lived off the labor of agrarian people and economically exploited them. Class divisions developed, and slavery was imposed where formerly there had been free labor. People became separated from the immediate, direct life of nature, and intellectual activity was stressed at the expense of emotional gratification. Most important of all, the status of women fell, as did the great importance of the mother goddess. "Urban life, the strengthening of intellectual powers and of individuality and self-consciousness, male rulers and priests, military conquests, were to combine to lower the status of the goddess in all her manifestations in the centers of ancient civilization" (Hawkes, 343).

Many scholars believe these male-dominated warrior groups evolved from Stone Age hunters (usually male). By some process, the male hunters in certain of the earlier societies developed into a separate caste devoted not to hunting but to warfare. The change, once made, became self-perpetuating: peaceful Stone Age tribes were either conquered by the new militarists or were forced to become militaristic to defend themselves.

In the new social order, private property made its first appearance in history (possibly as the seized booty of warfare; Engels, *passim*). Strict hierarchies, always characteristic of military societies, emerged, as did a new sense of morality characterized by obedience and self-discipline. The beginnings of class warfare lie in this period, as the new order of warriors tended to constitute an urban-based aristocracy that held sway over the peasants.

The older Stone Age traditions that had existed time out of mind eventually reasserted themselves against the Bronze Age innovations. The new military class was too small, and the old peasant culture too large and old, to allow for the annihilation of Stone Age ways. The conquerors tended to be absorbed into the customs of the conquered. An equilibrium was eventually reached, and societies stabilized into new forms that embodied practices and beliefs of both the older Stone Age and the new Bronze Age. Such, for example, were the ancient civilization of Sumer and the oldest kingdoms in Egypt. There, even though organized warfare had now come into being, "it was exceptional and of a rudimentary type" (Dawson, 238). Although the status of women was lower than in the Stone Age,

women still maintained a position far higher than they do under the primitive conditions of modern industrialism (Davis, *passim*).

Bronze Age civilization still retained much of the old love of sexuality, especially in religion. Archeological evidence is abundant on this point, both from the new cities and from the countryside. For example: "In searching for some positive features of Bronze Age religion our attention is caught by the strange phallic figures in the rock-carvings of Northern Europe. Whatever the meaning of these figures may be, they unquestionably show that sexuality played a great part in that cult and belief of which they are expressions" (Runeberg, 247). In literary evidence from Bronze Age Egypt, homosexual behavior is idealized as an activity of the gods (Licht, 449). Nearly everywhere the worship of the Great Mother and the horned god continued right along side that of the new militaristic deities.

One very important example of Bronze Age civilization is the culture that emerged in Crete. From 3000 BC to 2000 BC waves of immigrants from Asia Minor mingled with the local Stone Age people of Crete and created a new civilization called Minoan, named after the legendary King Minos.

Minoan civilization reached its peak in the period from 2000 BC to 1600 BC. During this time, women had a very high status. They are depicted in Minoan art work as participating equally with men in feasting and athletic contests. In addition, Minoan society was peaceful. Scenes of war are rare. "The emphasis is on nature and on beauty" (Hammond, 30). The two chief deities of the Minoan religion were a great mother goddess associated with animals (such as the snake) and the horned god (in the form of a bull). Later Greek tradition particularly associated Crete with public homosexuality, and several ancient authors claimed that it was the historical source of homosexuality in Greece (Symonds, 4).



Olive tree and crescent sacred to the Moon Goddess (Minoan gem)

On the Greek mainland itself, the local culture originally showed the same peaceful characteristics. “It was peaceful, agricultural, seafaring, and artistic, and its religious beliefs, if we may judge from the steatopygous [fat-assed] female figurines, were focused on a mother goddess and may have been associated with a matriarchal society or at least with one which was not strongly patriarchal” (Hammond, 37).

An analysis of early Greek literature shows that the society of the mainland was matrilineal, not patrilineal, and that the characteristic religion was one of shamanism (Butterworth). As we have seen, shamanism is frequently associated with ritual homosexuality, both male and female. There is also evidence of transvestism in the rituals of early Greece as well as the sexual worship of earth deities (Butterworth, 145ff.).

All this was changed at the end of the Bronze Age. There were great upheavals in Crete and Greece. About 2500 BC and thereafter, male-dominated militaristic tribes started entering parts of the mainland. They worshipped male sky gods, the Olympians, and were organized socially into a patriarchy (Hammond, 39). These

new invaders spoke Greek, a language that was previously unknown in the area.

The invading patriarchal Greeks disrupted life in both Crete and Greece. They established a capital at Mycenae in Greece (from which they were called Mycenaean) and at Cnossus on Crete. They developed bureaucratic institutions, plunged the entire Aegean Sea area into warfare, and violently opened up new markets for their trading interests (Hammond, 42ff.). By the end of the 15th century BC, all the leading settlements of Crete had been burned (possibly accompanied by a volcanic eruption).

During this period, the status of women declined. Succession to religious rites, political power, and property became patrilineal, not matrilineal. In religion, the status of the Great Mother fell, and the power of Zeus and Ares (the god of war) increased. “The matrilineal world was brought to an end by a number of murderous assaults upon the heart of that world, *the potnia meter* [Revered Mother] herself. The opposition to the *potnia meter* seems to have been closely connected with the cult of Ares” (Butterworth, 51). Ares was the only Greek god who was *not* famous for his homosexual love affairs (Symonds, 10).

After 1400 BC, patriarchal Greek culture was widely established throughout the Aegean. In the late 13th century BC, a great convulsion of war rocked the Greek settlements around the Aegean, including but not limited to the famous Trojan War. The ruling patriarchal states destroyed each other, and migrations of new peoples moved into Greece.

In the 12th century BC, during all this turmoil, a new tribe of Greek speaking people moved into Greece, dispossessing the previous warlords of their power. These people—the Dorians—are of special interest because of their attitude toward women and homosexuality.

The early Dorians, whose capital was established at Sparta, are often negatively depicted as boorish and militaristic, in contrast to their rivals, the Athenians, who are usually praised. This depiction is at odds with the facts and has been largely inspired, I believe, by academics’ dislike of the Dorians’ love for Gay sex.

It is true that the early Dorians were militaristic, but they were actually *less* militaristic than the previous Mycenaean. For example, the Dorians were not dominated by a militaristic aristocracy, and they had no government bureaucracy devoted especially to war,

as did the Mycenaeans. “The Dorians, whose tribal organization did not preclude the arming of all their people, attacked and overthrew the Achaeans [another name for Mycenaeans], who were only a small, armed, ruling class ruling over the Greek agricultural population, which was largely unarmed” (Wason, 30).

The Dorians maintained many of the most ancient traditions of the earlier ages, especially with respect to women. For example, unlike the situation in the previous patriarchy, “there is ample evidence to show that the status of women among the early Dorians was one of freedom and honor—a survival, perhaps, of a matriarchal period” (Carpenter, *Intermediate Types*, 107). Among the Dorians, women ran and wrestled naked in public with men. They had fuller power over property than anywhere else in Greece. They had the power to publicly praise or censor men, who greatly feared their criticism (Carpenter, 106ff.).

Among other Greeks who had lost the earlier traditions, women were not allowed to dine with their husbands. They could not call their husbands by name, but only “lord.” They lived secluded in the interior of the house (Mueller, 297).

Homosexuality had a high status among the Dorians. In fact, it was more highly regarded there than it was at Athens during the later classical period. Male homosexuality at Sparta took the form of *paiderestia*—the love of an older more experienced man for a younger inexperienced man. *Paiderestia* was a form of religious, military, educational and sexual training. The experienced man initiated the inexperienced man into men’s mysteries. It was through the institution of *paiderestia* that the Dorians transmitted their cultural values. It made learning into an intimate personal, emotional and sexual experience. The more experienced man was called *eispnelas*, which means “inspirer,” and the inexperienced man was called *aitas*, which means “hearer” or “listener” (Mueller, 300-301). In Crete, where the same customs prevailed, the corresponding terms were *philetor* (“lover”) and *kleinos* (“renowned one”) (Mueller, 302).

Paiderestia had a religious origin, as we discover in a remarkable study by the German scholar E. Bethe. Bethe points out that cum was originally viewed as a sacred substance, conveying a man’s soul-power (468). The “inspiring” that took place among Dorian men was the transference of cum, which was viewed as a holy and religious act (463).

Unfortunately, little is known about the Gay sex life of women at Sparta, due to the sexist prejudice of Western historians. It's very probable, however, that similar religious and sexual relations existed among women in view of their high status. Plutarch, writing in the first century AD, said of the women of Sparta: "the unmarried women love beautiful and good women" (*Lives*, v.1, 18, 4). We know that even in the non-Doric island of Lesbos in the 6th century BC, Sappho praised and practiced lesbianism and that she and her lovers worshipped Aphrodite, the great goddess in her capacity as the protector of love. When the Christians came to power in the early Middle Ages, they deliberately set about destroying most of Sappho's works.

From what has been said about the Dorians, we can see the falsehood of two lies often repeated by historians: 1) that male homosexuality is historically associated with contempt for women; and 2) that homosexuality was a late development in Greece. To the contrary, Doric *paiderestia* is a reflection of familiar shamanistic and religious concepts that date back to the Stone Age. The Dorians, though coming later than the Mycenaeans, remained much closer to the earlier sexual traditions. As for the contempt-for-women myth: "It completely founders on the fact that precisely in Sparta and Lesbos, where boy-love and girl-love are best known, the sexes, as best we can tell, associated more freely with each other than in the other Greek states" (Bethe, 440).

In the 12th century BC, as we have seen, Mycenaean power collapsed, and Greece was thrown into chaos. Invading tribes had learned well the military methods of the Mycenaeans, which they now imitated (including, eventually, the Dorians as well). Militarism was again on the rise, and another revolution occurred in human affairs—the Iron Age. With the advent of the Iron Age, the power of male-dominated armies increased in politics, and powerful city-states with imperialistic ambitions came into existence.

After 1000 BC, the city-state emerged as *the* typical political unit. Cities became economic centers, and a "new type of people" began making themselves felt in politics—traders, seafarers, artisans, and merchants (Wason, 52). An urban-based bourgeoisie developed and struggled for power with the older class of land-magnates and warlords. Monarchies tended to be replaced by republics, still in the form of city-states. The various city-states were constantly at war with each other, struggling to build up their own commercial and

military empires. Slavery became widespread in Greece for the first time (Wason, 44).

The effect of this urbanism, militarism, and growing bourgeois ambition was predictable. “Civilization” (that is, *urban* culture) increasingly lost touch with the nature religion of the peasants, who formed, together with the urban slaves, the lowest level in the new economic order. The status of women fell because male-dominated activities like war, trade, and government service were now the crucial activities on which urban society depended for its survival. A negative turn developed in the attitude toward sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular. Sex was no longer part of the public religion of the urban upper classes.

The final outcome of this turn of events is well illustrated in Athens during the classical period (after 500 BC). During this period Athens was almost constantly at war: against the military empire of Persia, against Sparta, even against its former allies. During the same period, the status of homosexuality fell. It was no longer practiced as a means of public education or viewed as an expression of public religious sentiment. It had become a *private* affair, something done in the privacy of one’s house between consenting adults.

In the late classical period, Greeks got out of touch with the religious origins of homosexuality. Educated writers reacted with surprise and contempt when they encountered it in more “primitive” societies, especially when male transvestism was involved. Herodotus describes such behavior among Scythian shamans as “a disease of effeminacy” (*theleia nosos*—quoted by Carpenter, 24). Classical Greek civilization became contemptuous of the effeminate man—which is not surprising in view of their contempt for women and the importance of war (hence masculinism) to their economy and politics.

This change in attitude toward homosexuality is strikingly evidenced by an event that occurred in 399 BC—the trial and condemnation of the philosopher Socrates. Few straight academics have understood the real issues involved in Socrates’ confrontation with the establishment of his day. They usually describe Socrates as an advocate of unpopular ideas who was executed by people who felt threatened by them. In part this is true. But there is much more: Socrates’ Gayness and his religion. In the second half of the 5th century BC, a reaction had developed against educational homosexuality. This reaction was led by the Sophists (Bethe, 439). The Sophists were independent professional academics who taught practical skills

and knowledge for money and who believed in book learning. They viewed the relationship between teacher and pupil as a purely objective, mercenary one. They rejected the traditions of the old nature religion, where learning was through the oral tradition and where sexuality played an important part in the relationship between teacher and student.

Socrates hated the Sophists. He was horrified by the idea that teachers should make money out of conveying knowledge. He rejected book learning. He believed that the only way to learn was through personal *dialogue*. He believed that sex was an important part of the educational process (he had famous affairs with his pupils, like Alcibiades). Finally, he insisted that his vocation was a holy one and that he was personally inspired by some spirit or god (in Greek, *daimon*—usually used to denote nature spirits, and almost never applied to the Olympians). These characteristics of the Socratic method of learning are all typical of shamanism: the sexual relationship between teacher and pupil; the emphasis on learning through personal oral communication rather than through books; the aura of a divine being. Of course, Socrates was not a shaman in the same way that shamans existed in the Stone Age, but he was following that tradition in so far as it had managed to survive in urbanized, militarized Athens.

Socrates infuriated the Sophists. He attacked their economic prerogatives, their bookishness, and their repressive attitude toward sexuality. In the end, the Sophists won out. Socrates was condemned to death for corrupting the young men of Athens and for believing in gods that the state didn't believe in (Plato, *Apologia*, 24B). The new moralism of the Iron Age could no longer be resisted.

After the advent of the Iron Age, the entire Mediterranean area became a world of deep class divisions and ever-increasing urbanism. Small groups of warlords and their attendants settled in fortresses, which later became cities, and held sway over the masses of peasants. Economic growth depended on warfare. By the end of the fourth century BC, most Greek city-states had become “military tyrannies ruling over an enslaved population and resting in the last resort on mercenary armies” (Rostovtzeff, 6).

Throughout the entire Mediterranean, rival states fought for supremacy. In the end, the city-state of Rome proved to be the most ruthless and violent of all and succeeded in conquering nearly all the rest.

The nature of the Roman state and Roman society has been greatly misunderstood, especially in regard to sex. Most people still think that the Romans did little else than sit around at banquet tables and devote themselves to orgies. This view, which is based on Christian propaganda, is a distortion. Roman society—when viewed in the context of the cultures before it—was actually hostile to sensual pleasure. Admittedly, in the eyes of the early Christians it seemed hedonistic. But we must never forget that the standard of judgment used by Christians was one of the most sexually repressive in the history of the world.

The dominant value system of Rome, both early in the republic and later in the empire, was one of self-discipline. The virtues praised in public and taught in school were the virtues of self-sacrifice to the state, obedience to hierarchical authority, and suspicion of pleasure and sex.

It was no accident that Rome had these values. Rome was a highly artificial state created and maintained through military violence. The foundation of the expanding Roman economy was quite simple: “The Romans enslaved the enemy and maintained their lands” (Levy, 62). War was the essence of the Roman economy. The property seized from the defeated tribes and nations became state property and was divided up among the most aggressive of the Roman warlords who became absentee landlords. The defeated peoples themselves were often shipped off to Rome where they formed an army of slave labor (Levy, 62). Roman warlords developed masculinist values because these values validated their warlike activities and supported the economy.

As might be expected, women and Gay men, especially effeminate Gay men, suffered under such a regime. In 186 BC, the Senate banned the practice of the Bacchanalia, which was an ancient sex and nature ritual in honor of Bacchus, a variant of the horned god. The historian Livy has preserved a Consul’s argument in favor of this ban, including his condemnation of the high status of women and Gay men in the Bacchanalia and its subverting influence on Roman militarism:

A great number of adherents are women, which is the origin of the whole trouble. But there are also men like women, who have joined in each other’s defilement. [...] Do you think, citizens, that young men who have taken this oath can be made soldiers?

Are they to be trusted when they leave this obscene sanctuary?
(Partridge, 54).

There were extensive prosecutions under the ban, and about 7000 people are reported to have been arrested (Partridge, 55). The class nature of this oppression is evident when we realize that the ancient worship of Bacchus was most popular with the lower classes (Finley, 82).

The status of women fell under the militarized Roman patriarchy. Under original Roman law, a man's wife and children were considered his personal property to dispose of as he will, as if they were so many tables and chairs. This extreme situation was later tempered, however, but not because of anything Roman. It resulted from the influence of the more lenient customs of conquered peoples on Roman legislation itself (Bury, v. 2, 403).

Around 169 BC, the Scantinia or Scatinia law was passed, which outlawed pederasty and made it punishable by death (Meier, 180). The emperor Augustus re-affirmed this condemnation and also made adultery a public crime. The anti-gay laws of Rome were primarily designed to control the behavior of the lower classes and were often ignored or flaunted by the members of the upper classes. Although homosexuality was tolerated in the upper classes, however, it had clearly lost the great social and religious significance it once had in earlier ages. It was now often associated with guilt, self-deprecation, and cruelty.

This decline in the status of homosexuality is illustrated in the case of the emperor Hadrian and his lover Antinous. When Antinous died in 120 AD, Hadrian ordered statues erected to him throughout the Empire. Some historians compare this act to the repressive mentality of modern industrial society and see it as showing a high status for homosexuality at Rome. In reality, however, when the event is compared to *earlier* ages, we see that homosexuality had fallen in esteem. This falling off is well explained by one historian as follows:

To Hadrianus the relationship with Antinous was a personal matter, respected by the society in which he lived in the same way as other serious emotional relations. But whatever ethical and esthetic component there was in the relationship was an individual and private matter between the two. Pederasty was no longer a means employed by the state in the education of the

young, controlled by its highest authorities and an obligation for the best men to take upon themselves. It was not institutionalized any longer; had no place in the cult, and its symbols had ceased to be generally recognized expressions of the noblest aims of the communal life of the society (Vanggaard, 131).

The longer the Roman state existed, the more militarized it tended to become. “As the army in its new shape was the greatest organized force in Rome, its chiefs were bound not only to represent the military strength of the state but also to become its political leaders” (Rostovtzeff, 26). As early as 49 BC, Julius Caesar, the militarist who defeated the Celtic tribes of Western Europe, seized power at Rome in a military coup d’etat. The republic became a military dictatorship. Even though Caesar was subsequently assassinated, the new form of government stuck.

It was during this period of the increasing militarization of the Roman state that Christianity first came into being—a fact of great significance for women and Gay men, as we’ll shortly see.

The oppressive class structure of Rome was reflected in the relationship between city and country. Warlords, bureaucrats, manufacturers, academics, and other members of the upper classes took up residence in the cities, whose growth was deliberately fostered by imperial policy. In Western Europe, the emperor Augustus tried to suppress the tribal system of the Celts in favor of urbanizing them (Rostovtzeff, 51). The new class of the urban bourgeoisie supported these efforts in return for being granted a “privileged position among the masses of the provincial rural population” (Rostovtzeff, 83). The result of these developments was that the oppressed classes of the empire were rural classes, either still on the land of absentee landlords or living dispossessed in cities.

These rural-based classes held on to the old religious and cultural values, which included elements dating back to the matriarchal period. They held on to their old languages and steadfastly resisted efforts to make them accept Greek and Roman culture. It was only the privileged classes in the cities that spoke the official languages of Latin and Greek; the rest of the population spoke Celtic, Iberian, Illyrian, Thracian, etc. (Rostovtzeff, 298). In reality, the Greek and Latin literature that modern academics hold up before us as the basis of Western civilization is the voice of a minority of oppressors.

The city-based oppressing classes looked down on the tribal, rural cultures as “half civilized or uncivilized” (Rostovtzeff, 180).

They especially disapproved of their loose sexuality. The emperor Tiberius had the image of the sex goddess Isis (a version of the great mother) pulled down and thrown into the Tiber (Partridge, 60). Roman poets and other molders of public opinion mentioned homosexuality in a context of scorn, ridicule, and satire (Gibbon, v. 2, 377).

Despite this cultural repression, the old traditions sometimes even penetrated into the upper classes. The most famous example is that of Elagabalus, a priest in a sex and nature cult, who became emperor of Rome in 218 AD. As Emperor, he often appeared in public in drag, practiced ritual sex with members of both sexes, and publicly declared one of his male lovers to be his husband. The sentiments of the ruling classes were outraged. He was assassinated by an indignant Praetorian Guard in 222 AD. His body was mutilated, dragged through the streets of Rome, and thrown in the Tiber River. "His memory was branded with eternal infamy by the senate" (Gibbon, v. 1, 129).

The rise and triumph of the Roman patriarchy brought with it a profound change in human values. At first gradually, and then in a great rush just prior to the triumph of Christianity, a wave of grim asceticism swept across Greco-Roman civilization. "It pervaded philosophy and religion. Like a mighty tide it swept onward, especially from the first century BC, from the East over the West, gathering momentum as it forced its way into every serious view of life. Every great teacher from Plato to John the Baptist, from Paul to Plotinus, axiomatically accepted asceticism as an essential of and qualification for religious life" (Angus, 216-217). In the new system of values, sex and the body were degraded. "Copulation in itself became a sin. [...] Matter was looked upon as evil or as the seat of the evil principle; the whole business of life was to release the soul from the contact and pollution of matter, from the body, its bane" (Angus, 222).

The cause of this cultural phenomenon was the ever-increasing militarism of the Roman state. In the late Empire, the army became a separate caste consisting of huge numbers of soldiers with an elaborate bureaucratic organization. Together with the emperor, it was the largest single consumer of goods and services produced in the empire (Rostovtzeff, 149). All important political decisions came to be dictated, either directly or indirectly, by the needs of the army. Emperors were made and unmade at the behest of various factions of the army. The legendary last words of the emperor Severus to his sons

sum up the whole scene: “Be united, enrich the soldiers, and scorn the rest” (Rostovtzeff, 354).

This utter militarization of society encouraged asceticism. In the first place it gave rise to the “cult of discipline”—the idea of stern self-sacrifice on behalf of the state. Secondly, and more important, it resulted in a strangulation of local political life (Halliday, 41). Decisions were made at the top, and often with great violence. Ruinous civil wars were frequent, whenever the various factions of the army couldn't agree on an emperor. The economy was dangerously unstable, depending as it did on war needs. It became increasingly rule-bound, top-heavy, bureaucratic, and out of touch with peoples' needs. All freedom of expression was squelched. A system of secret police was formed to spy on the population. People simply had no control over their lives. Daily life became dangerous, and the best the average person could hope for was to be left alone. Ascetic religion became an opiate for the pain, enabling people to stifle their real needs and thus avoid the suffering of constant frustration. The government was well-disposed to ascetic religion because it kept the people quiet and obedient.

It was within this historical setting that Christianity entered the stage. From its very start, the Christian religion was one of the most ascetic religions of the empire. Jesus the Nazarene, believing that the world was about to end, called upon his followers to renounce all interest in worldly things and to prepare for the age to come. Paul of Tarsus based his entire theology on the concept of sin and saw sin in practically every form of human sensuality. The new religion fed on and re-enforced the sense of despair that was growing in the Roman state:

In not a few respects Christianity was a new reflection of that pessimism which pervaded the ancient world in the centuries immediately before and immediately after the beginning of the Christian era. It adopted, but transformed in so adopting them, many of the characteristic sentiments of Greek and Roman philosophic pessimism... by cultivating certain practices like asceticism, mortification, and celibacy (Thompson, 61-62).

In one important way, however, Christianity differed from the other ascetic religions: it strongly emphasized corporate organization. Ascetic movements that were non-Christian were never well organized, nor were they generally intolerant of other religions. The Christians, on the other hand, were totally intolerant of any reli-

gion but their own and were very effectively organized (Gibbon, v. 1, 383). In fact, it was because of their fanaticism and zeal for organizing that the Christians were originally perceived as a threat by the Roman establishment. Consequently they were sporadically persecuted in the first and second centuries.

Christianity had another important peculiarity. In contrast to the old sex religions, Christianity was from its very first an *urban* religion. The word “Christian” first came into use in Antioch, a large metropolis in Asia Minor. “Early Christianity was a religion of towns and cities; it was urban, not rural. It spread from city to city, from province to province, along the highways of trade and commerce by land and by sea” (Thompson, 56). The first Christians were members of the new urban classes: artisans, craftspeople, shopkeepers and tradespeople (Thompson, 57). Urban oriented, they tended to equate rural living with everything non-Christian. The word “pagan” comes from the Latin *paganus*, which means country dweller. Augustine labelled his ideal Christian community the *city* of God and subtitled his book of that name “Against the *pagani*.”

Early in the third century AD, Christianity spread rapidly in the army, as soldiers responded to the Christian emphasis on discipline, organizational order and obedience. A contending religion, Mithraism, had also grown rapidly in the army as early as 60 BC (Taylor, 251-252). Christianity absorbed much of the militaristic spirit of this religion and even some of its holidays (such as December 25th, the birth-day of Mithra, the son of the sun god, and Sunday, the day of the sun, in contrast to Saturday, the Jewish sabbath). During this period, with the conversion of soldiers and the absorption of Mithraism, Christianity began to change from a loose federation of cells into a unified, centrally-controlled hierarchy of bishops and archbishops (Gibbon, v. 1, 421).

The emperor Constantine emphasized the militaristic traits of Christianity and incorporated them into army life. The cross was adopted as a *military* symbol and placed on shields and banners. Goths and Germans were recruited in the army and made to march behind the sign of the cross. The first two letters of the word “Christ” in Greek were formed into a logo and stamped on coins with the inscription *in hoc signo vinces* (“By this sign shall you conquer”) (Gibbon, v. 1, 644, 656).



On becoming emperor, Constantine proclaimed himself the protector of Christianity, made Christianity a legal religion throughout the empire, systematically appointed Christians to high-level bureaucratic jobs in the government and army, encouraged people to donate money to the church, and finally converted to the new religion on his death bed. He was the first Roman ruler to realize that a religion well-entrenched in the army ascetic in outlook could be very useful in controlling the state: “The passive and unresisting obedience which bows under the yoke of authority, or even of oppression, must have appeared in the eyes of the absolute monarch the most conspicuous and useful of evangelic virtues” (Gibbon, v. 1, 640).

The Christian emperors following Constantine consolidated his policy. Christianity became the state religion; all other religions were banned. The rich and powerful converted in great numbers to Christianity and donated vast amounts of money to the church. Bishops became more than religious officials; in many parts of the empire, both east and west, they absorbed the and functions of government officials, generals, and judges. They also became absentee landlords of huge estates. For example, the fifth century bishop of Cappadocia owned almost all the land in the province of Cappadocia (Thompson, 82).

The church itself increasingly assumed the powers of government, developing an elaborate bureaucracy (Thompson, 77). As the largest landowner in society, the church also became the largest slave owner and advocate of slavery. The church pushed slavery beyond its earlier form in the secular Roman empire (Thompson, 86). Christians systematized a whole set of slave laws which later facilitated the enslavement of non-white people in the 17th and 18th centuries. “It was that most Christian of emperors, Justinian, whose codification of the Roman law... provided Christian Europe with a ready-made legal foundation for the slavery they introduced into the New World a thousand years later” (Finley, 88-89).

And so Christianity became more than just a religion. It became a system of power and property. The ruling warlords and absentee landowners of Roman civilization converted to Christianity and made it their own, as society moved away from the ancient economy towards medieval feudalism. The church itself emerged as the most potent corporate body in society, holding in its hands not only the keys of Peter but also the government and the major means of production.

As these changes were taking place, Christian propagandists called for the destruction of paganism because of the prevalence of homosexuality in the religions of the old nature cultures. Augustine, one of the most influential writers, repeatedly called attention to this love of sexuality and urged that it be destroyed. He was particularly incensed by the worship of the Great Mother, whose chief priests were Gay transvestites. After ridiculing various rural sex gods, he says, "The same applies to the effeminate consecrated to the Great Mother, who violate every canon of decency in men and women. They were to be seen until just the other day in the streets and squares of Carthage with their pomaded hair and powdered faces, gliding along with womanish languor, and demanding from the shopkeepers the means of their depraved existence" (Augustine, 286).

Constantine declared pederasty a capital offense; the emperors Valentinian and Theodosius applied the penalty of being burned. Justinian initiated a pogrom against Gay men, whom he rounded up in large numbers, tortured, and burned. An ancient author notes: "Some he had castrated, while in the case of others he ordered sharp reeds inserted into their genital openings and had them paraded as captives through the forum" (Theodosius of Melitene, quoted by Bury, 412, note 5). The charges of homosexuality became a tool for hunting down political dissidents, as it would be later in the Middle Ages (Gibbon, v. 2, 378). In the fourth century AD, the emperors Valentinian and Valens undertook a witch-hunt for practitioners of "magic." "From the extremity of Italy and Asia the young and the aged were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers expired in ignominious and cruel tortures" (Gibbon, v. 2, 856).

The triumph of Christianity thus represented the triumph of the worst patriarchal elements of Roman civilization. It was the final triumph of urban-based male militarists and their followers, who increasingly rose to power first under the republic and then under the empire. Once victorious, they adopted a new patriarchal religion,

banned all other religions, appropriated to themselves all the means of production, reduced the rest of the population to slavery, enforced a universal code of blind obedience to authority, degraded women, and suppressed sexuality.

In the past, victorious patriarchal groups always reached some accommodation with the older matriarchal and rural traditions which continued to exist and mold society in an important way. But things were different after 300 AD. For the first time in Western history, the patriarchists attempted to root out and utterly destroy everything connected with the old rural-based sex religions. Their successors continued the same tactics of terror later in the Middle Ages in their attacks on witches and heretics.

The repressive institutions and values established by these patriarchists became the basis for the development of industrialism. The new cities that emerged in the late Middle Ages came to birth in the context of a profound Christian contempt for rural living. "Christianity... reinforced the prejudice against the countryside in making the countryman (*paganus*) into the pagan, the rebel against the word of the Christian god" (*Fontana Economic History of Europe*, v. 1, 71). This is not surprising since the new towns first formed around the fortresses of Christian warlords and the buildings of Christian monasteries.

These new towns owed their existence to violence and repression against the countryside. They became an "abnormal growth, a peculiar body totally foreign to the surrounding environment." As the countryside itself gradually became industrialized, peasants were wrenched away from rural servitude to become slaves in urban workshops (*Fontana*, v. 1, 18, 180). The mentality of the new towns was typically Christian: they displayed a love of order, discipline, punctuality and self-restraint. These attitudes were "indispensable to the growth of capitalism and to the industrial revolution" (*Fontana*, v. 1, 94).

Another Christian legacy to industrialism was the objectification of nature. In the old religion, trees, rocks and plants were viewed as living beings with which people could personally communicate. Often they were worshipped as gods. Christians viewed these natural beings as so many objects to be used by the highest order of creation: humankind. The new urbanism reinforced this belief. Christians lived within the walls out of touch with natural beings, which now became "resources." One result of this attitude was the rapid deforestation of Europe. "The great forests of Europe... were

regarded as an enemy to be hewn down” (Thompson, 610). As might be expected, these practices led to an acute shortage of lumber, especially in England. There, this state of affairs led in turn to the adoption of coal for manufacturing activities, a practice that “put England well on the road to the Industrial Revolution” (*Fontana*, v. 2, 12).

The evolution of monasteries laid the foundation for the development of a money economy. In the 4th century AD, monasteries were incorporated and allowed to own corporate property (Thompson, 139). The discipline, asceticism and orderliness of the monasteries enabled them to acquire great wealth in a short period of time. “Religiously the monks were intense fanatics, economically they became avaricious” (Thompson, 141). Bulging with wealth, monasteries became the earliest banks of the Middle Ages. Although Christian law at this time forbade usury, the monasteries were exempted. “A common argument was that, as the monastery was a corporation, and not a person, no sin was attached to the taking of usury” (Thompson, 638).

Another important step along the industrial road was Christian militarism. By the Middle Ages, the church had become a great military power. Bishops, abbots, and even Popes were warlords who often personally took to the field of battle (Thompson, 655-657). The Christian love of war, together with the Christian intolerance of any other religion, led to the development of the crusades, beginning in the 11th century. The crusades were the first great impulse of European imperialism. They brought foreign markets under Western control, encouraged the development of cities, created a money economy in place of the natural economy of barter, and fostered the development of a new class, the bourgeoisie (Thompson, 397).

It was in the same mood of religious militarism that Europe undertook a second wave of expansion in the 16th century, the so-called voyages of discovery to the new world. In reality, they were imperialistic expeditions with two goals: to spread the Christian religion and to get gold (Gilbert, 30). These European invaders annihilated the cultures of the native peoples they encountered (all of whom were non-white), and gave special attention to wiping out their sacred Gay transvestites. The gold and silver bullion stolen from the nature peoples was returned to Europe, where it provided the basis for the financial expansions of European businesses. In the succeeding centuries, white Europeans enslaved millions of people from nature cultures to provide the forced labor necessary to support the growing industrial monster. The enslaved victims, who were non-

white, were viewed as less than human beings. “These dark-skinned peoples lacked both the Christian culture which Europeans considered essential for salvation, and the technology to resist European mastery” (Gilbert, 288).

The violence of Christian militarism was also internalized in Europe itself. The most famous example of this was the never ending hunt for heretics and the mobilization of armies to wipe them out. In the time of the early Christian emperors, a campaign was begun “to despoil the pagan temples of their property” (Thompson, 71). The seized property was used to pay for the increased cost of government bureaucracy, and bishops became financial speculators with the proceeds (Thompson, 71, 77). In the later Middle Ages, the hunt for witches and heretics was an example of the same thing. Witch-hunting became a major industry in the Middle Ages. The crusade against the Albigensians turned into “a series of gigantic buccaneering expeditions” (Thompson, 490). The King of France supported the crusade because he wanted to bring the southern provinces within his power, thereby unifying the French state and establishing direct trade routes with the East (Thompson, 492). In a separate incident with another French King, the Templars were charged with homosexuality and deprived of their property in order to build up the French Treasury and underwrite war expenditures. Everywhere heresy-hunting helped provide the needed capital for building up the apparatus of the emerging state.

The entrenched militarism of Christian civilization led to the development of a huge arms industry where modern methods of production were first practiced on a wide scale. “It is characteristic of the early modern period that until far into the 17th century the best examples of large-scale industrial organization were state-owned factories producing war materiel” (Gilbert, 51). The modern factory system is thus a direct descendent of Christian militarism.

The real beneficiary of Christian militarism was a new institution that became the epitome of institutionalized violence—the nation state. This happened because the business of war increasingly became the specialty of secular princes and the new economic forces that supported them (the bourgeoisie). The nation-states they created eventually came to have a monopoly on institutionalized violence, and so ended up with a monopoly on political power as well.

Although Christian violence was responsible for the birth of the modern nation-state, the state nonetheless engaged in a savage struggle with its parent. In time, the state was victorious. The rule

of clergy was replaced by the rule of politicians. Scholasticism was replaced by science. Government bureaucracy took over from church hierarchy. But underneath there remained the same class domination, urbanism, militarism, racism, exploitation of nature, and repression of women and sexuality.

The triumph of the nation-state brought with it a shift in Christian values, coinciding with the rise of Protestantism. Lutheranism, the first successful form of Protestantism, came into being because certain petty states in Germany were willing to use their armies to resist Catholic military power. Luther never forgot this debt and continually supported the secular power's authoritarianism. For example, in 1525 Luther urged the state to suppress with violence the rebelling peasants, whom he compared to mad dogs (Gilbert, 155). Lutheranism became a profoundly reactionary religion, whose members were drawn mostly from the upper and middle classes (Gilbert, 156).

In Calvinism, the successful accumulation of money was viewed as a sign of God's grace; alienated labor was a "calling"; and self-interested calculation was a sign of rationality. The bourgeois thrust of Calvinism has led some writers like Max Weber to conclude that Protestantism prepared the way for the rise of capitalism. But as we have just seen, the entire Christian tradition was working to this end for a thousand years.

The really different thing about Protestantism is that it tried to purge Christianity of influences it had picked up from paganism. The so-called Reformation was in reality a reaction against the Renaissance, where pagan influence (including a looser sexuality) had had a major impact on Western culture. Protestants emphasized the anti-sexual, anti-woman writings of Paul of Tarsus. They detested anything that suggested sensuality. In some cases, they entered existing churches, smashed the organs, broke the statuary, and white-washed the murals (Gilbert, 136). Significantly, they rejected the worship of Mary, whose cult was a survival within the Christian patriarchy of earlier matriarchal values.

The Puritans were the most fanatical of the Protestants. John Knox attacked the status of women in his pamphlet "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" (Partridge, 116). Thomas Hall published a pamphlet called "The Loathsomeness of Long Haire" (Partridge, 118). Puritans insisted on sexist dress codes. "The Puritans attempted, for reasons which should not be too obscure, to masculinize men as far as possible, and corre-

spondingly, to defeminize and make negative members of the opposite sex” (Partridge, 117-118).

All the major sects of Protestantism agreed on severely repressing sexuality; on inculcating unquestioned obedience to authority, both of the state and of the male head of the family; and on scorning non-Christian and non-white cultures. The rising bourgeoisie eagerly embraced these values and translated them into public policy, where they remain to this day.

And so the story of human history in the West has been the sickening spectacle of increasing patriarchal power, first gradually in the Bronze Age, then with a sudden leap in the triumph of Christianity, and finally overwhelmingly with the onrush of industrialism. Corresponding to this rise has been a fall, first in the status of women, then of rural people, then of Gay people, then of non-white people.

Everywhere the old nature cultures are gone. The Celts are gone, conquered by Caesar. The peasants of Europe are gone, having been murdered, enslaved, or transformed into an urban proletariat. The Indians are gone, wiped out on orders from the Pope and from Washington. The Third World has been going every day. They are all gone, and in their place has come that son of the city of God, that all-conquering Leviathan, the new industrial state.

And that’s how it happened that straight white males got control of our lives.



Medieval Gnostic religious symbols.

HERETICS: WOMEN, BUGGERS AND FREE SPIRITS

Christianity was not always well defined. The established doctrine of today's church was originally just one of many competing views. It prevailed because it was favored by the ruling interests of the time. All other views were suppressed. Among the earliest repressed views were popular movements trying to combine paganism with the New Testament. The most famous example, Gnosticism, arose in first-century Asia Minor (western Turkey). Gnostics believed that knowledge gained through personal mystical experience (*gnosis*) was more important than the dogmas of faith (*pistis*) (Vanggaard, 150; Obolensky, 3; Runciman, 7). In the tradition of the Great Mother, many Gnostics believed in a goddess: Helen, Barbelo, Silence, or Wisdom (Quispel, 73-74). Gnostics generally believed that the things of this world and the world itself were evil. Many rejected Jehovah the Creator as an evil demon.

Gnostics were ascetics in a way hard for modern people to understand. They believed in denying this world and purifying themselves, but sometimes practiced sexual indulgence as a means of purification. Occasionally they seemed to believe that the best way to transcend "evil" was to experience it. They were sensitive to pagan asceticism, which unlike Christianity included *both* self-indulgence and self-denial. For example, the ancient rites of the Great Mother involved sex orgies, yet they were presided over by celibate priests. Rejecting the Old Testament god, Gnostics sympathized with the victims of this god's wrath. "Sects arose that paid reverence to Cain, to the Sodomites, and the Egyptians" (Runciman, 10).

Orgiastic sex rites appeared among some Gnostics and scandalized traditional Christians. Roman authorities used these practices to discredit Christianity as a whole. Traditional Christians consequently condemned the Gnostics and denied any connection with them. In 177 AD Irenaeus, missionary to the Celts, condemned a group of Gnostics for their promiscuity. In the third century, Bishop Clement of Alexandria denounced Gnostics for holding orgies, as did the historian Eusebius (Cohn, *Demons*, 9; Benko, 113). An account of such practices by Epiphanius, a fourth century monk and former Gnostic, claimed that men and women had sex in common and worshipped cum and menstrual blood as the body and blood of

Christ (Benko, 110). According to Epiphanius, Gnostics believed in sexual pleasure but not procreation, because birth divided up the world-soul. Salvation consisted in the gathering together and return to Barbelo, the Great Mother, by means of communal sex rites (Benko, 110; 117-118). Many historians believe that Epiphanius' sex reports were untrue (Cohn, *Demons*, 9ff). Yet his reliability on other matters of Gnostic faith is generally accepted (Benko, 111).

In 242 AD a Mesopotamian Gnostic, named Mani, began teaching that Gnostic believers were divided into two categories: the leaders (or elect) and the followers (or hearers) (Runciman, 15). Both women and men were leaders in Mani's religion, in contrast to traditional Christianity, which prohibited women from being priests. Leaders were also forbidden to own personal wealth, again contrary to the Christian tradition of rich priests and bishops. Mani believed in one good god and one evil god (Jehovah). Salvation meant escaping from the control of Jehovah and renouncing all material possessions and earthly power, even for the church. Mani's religion spread rapidly and under the name of Manicheism (or Manichaeism) became a serious rival to traditional Christianity. Augustine, later Bishop of Hippo, was a Manichee for nine years before converting to Christianity. He accused the Manichee leaders of libertinism, and claimed that this was the reason for his conversion (Cohn, *Demons*, 17). Later, Christian writers called any popular movement "Manichaeism" whenever it displayed a belief in more than one god, a prominent leadership role for women, and a pagan sense of asceticism.

In the latter part of the fourth century a Manichaeism type heresy (known as Massalianism) appeared in Syria and Asia Minor. The Massalians (or Messalians) were Christian Gnostics whose leaders were both women and men (Runciman, 23). They believed that a period of strict self-denial was necessary for them to reach a purified state, at which point sin was no longer possible. Once in this state, believers no longer required self-denial and could engage in any sex act without sin (Obolensky, 50). "The Messalian doctrines were the extreme expression of the longing to comprehend mystical revelation through sensual experience" (Loos, 72). By the tenth century, Massalian beliefs reached Bulgaria, where they gradually fused with Bogomilism, a heresy named after a priest called Bogomil. The Bogomils believed in two gods, rejected the church hierarchy, and preached passive resistance to government authority (Loos, 53-56; Runciman, 74-75; Obolensky, 126ff). At first they were strictly pu-

ritanical but in time came closer to the Messalians. “Under the increased influence of Massalianism, the Bogomils entirely lost their reputation for puritanism and had become associated with the most extreme form of sexual indulgence” (Obolensky, 251). Both groups were persecuted by traditional Christians.

Under the heat of persecution, the Bogomils allied themselves with the masses of Bulgaria, where paganism was still powerful. Boris, the king, hadn’t converted to Christianity until 864 AD (Loos, 41). His attempt to impose Christianity on the people resulted in a civil war in which he eventually defeated and blinded his rebellious pagan son. Boris and his Christian successors were “bitterly resented by the common people of Bulgaria, who were obstinately attached to their own pagan customs and worship” (Loos, 42). The Bogomils became political, “espousing the cause of the serfs against their masters, of the oppressed against the oppressors” (Obolensky, 141).

Some historians have denied that the erotic Massalians had any connection with the Bogomils. They believe the word “Massalian” didn’t refer to any actual heresy, but was used as a general term of abuse against the Bogomils (Cohn, *Demons*, 18, note). But evidence shows the name did have a definite technical meaning. It occurs repeatedly from the very beginning in accounts of Bogomilism. It is used in this manner by Theophylact, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 950 AD; the priest Cosmas, around 969; the theologian Euthymius Zibagenus around 1100; Anna Comnena, daughter of the Byzantine emperor, in 1148; and the council of Tirnovo in 1211. Anna Comnena wrote:

For two very evil and worthless doctrines which had been known in former times, now coalesced; the impiety, as it might be called, of the Manichaeans, which we also call the Paulician heresy, and the shamelessness of the Massalians. This was the doctrine of the Bogomils compounded of the Massalians and the Manichaeans (Anna Comnena, 412).

In the early 14th century, when Massalian influence was at its greatest, a Bogomil monk named Lazarus appeared in Tirnovo, the capital of Bulgaria. He advocated nudism and sexual freedom as ways to salvation. Arrested, but refusing to recant, he was consequently branded on the face and exiled (Runciman, 97). Another Bogomil, Theodosius, advocated orgiastic sex, but his fate is not recorded. Most Bogomils did not share these views, but they were an example of where Bogomil teaching could lead. The Bogomils were

strict vegetarians, rejecting any food that was created as a result of heterosexual sex. As with the Massalians, women were prominent in their leadership (Loos, 53-59; Obolensky, 117-140). In the eleventh century, Bogomil practices and teaching emerged from Bulgaria and swept across Europe. In the west, these heretics were known as Cathars, from the Greek *Katharoi*, meaning “the Purified Ones.” Within a hundred years, the Cathars managed to organize a rival church, create a counter-civilization in southern France, and raise armies in their own behalf.

From their first appearance in the west, Cathars were associated with practicing ritual sex. An early example of what was probably Catharist heresy appeared in Orleans, France, in 1022. According to the earliest account:

They adored the devil, who first appeared to them as an Ethiopian [that is, a black man], then as an angel of light, and who daily brought them much money. In obedience to his works, in private they completely rejected Christ and secretly practiced abominations and crimes of which it is shameful even to speak, while publicly they pretended to be true Christians (Wakefield and Evans, 75).

A later account by an arrested participant reported that believers were offered a “heavenly food” and told “often you will see with us angelic visions, in which sustained by their consolation, you can visit whatsoever places you wish without delay or difficulty” (Wakefield and Evans, 78). The report said they met secretly at a certain house until a demon descended in the form of an animal, at which point the lights were extinguished and there was an orgy. If a child was born from these sexual acts it was killed, then burned and its ashes saved for making the “heavenly food”.

Most historians regard these early reports either as sick fantasies or as stereotypes used by the church to crush dissent (Lerner, 34; Cohn, *Demons*, 20). But the first view ignores evidence from folklore, and the second, the fact that such stereotypes were not widely used by the church until the thirteenth century.

These early charges make some sense if considered in the context of heresy, paganism, and folklore. The Celts worshipped a black horned god, whom Christians later identified with the Devil. The heretics in question flourished in Orleans, once part of Celtic Gaul, where ancient traditions persisted until the time of Joan of Arc (the Maid of Orleans). Throughout the Middle Ages, church writ-

ers continually condemned the wearing of animal costumes at peasant rituals. Even in the twentieth century, Portuguese peasants have dressed in cats' skins to do ritual dances (Alford, 356). In shamanist religions a priest often dresses up as the animal god who is being invoked.

The heavenly food of the heretics was said to be sustained by angelic consolation. The only sacrament later attributed to known Cathars was the *consolamentum* ("consolation"), thought to be administered by leaders possessing the souls of angels. As for the child murder charges, the Catholic Church has always claimed that those who perform abortions are committing murder. Women accused later of witchcraft were often abortionists. In pagan times a new-born infant was not assumed to be a person until the mother (or family) formally accepted it. If the infant was deformed, or simply unwanted, it was killed or abandoned in the wilderness. Among nature people, this attitude towards newborn infants is the general rule and is widely observed among animals, who will abandon, kill, or even eat the unwanted young. The heretics at Orleans probably performed some abortion rite, especially since Cathars considered giving birth as a grave sin.

Long before the Inquisition created its stereotypes, Cathars had a reputation of tolerance toward lesbianism and male homosexuality. In 1114 the French abbot Guibert of Nogent wrote about two brothers, Clement and Evrard, whom he knew personally. He said they were heretics who had a large following among the local peasants in Bucy-le-long:

They condemn marriage and the begetting of offspring through intercourse. And surely, wherever they are scattered throughout the Latin world, you may see them living with women but not under the name of husband and wife, in such fashion that man does not dwell with woman, male with female, but men are known to be with men, women with women; for among them it is unlawful for men to approach women (Wakefield and Evans, 103).

The followers of Clement and Evrard were accused of holding orgies in cellars and killing any children that might be born among them (Wakefield and Evans, 103). On trial before the Bishop of Soissons, one brother confessed, but refused to repent, while the other brother denied the accusations. Both were burned.

Charges of lesbianism and male homosexuality henceforth became routine against Cathars. "This, the first explicit allegation of homosexuality, also became a commonplace in later trials. Variations on the phrases *vir cum viris* [the man with men] and *femina cum feminis* [the woman with women] appear again and again" (Russell, 95, note). The word for Cathar in most European languages came to be the word for homosexual: in German, *Ketzer*, in Italian, *gazarro*, and in French, *herite*. In several languages the word for Bulgarian (the heresy originated in Bulgaria) also came to mean homosexual: Italian, *bulgaro*; French, *bougre*; and the English, *bugger* (Russell, 238-239; Hughes, 66). Heresy and homosexuality became so interchangeable that those accused of heresy attempted to prove their innocence by claiming heterosexuality. A thirteenth century weaver accused of heresy replied: "Gentleman, listen to me! I am not a heretic, for I have a wife and I sleep with her. I have sons" (Wakefield, 213). When the people of Toulouse rebelled against the heresy-hunting Dominicans, "the cry was, they were unjustly accusing decent married men of heresy" (Wakefield, 213).

Mere suspicion of homosexuality was enough to condemn a person for heresy, even though the person was not known to have believed in or taught any heretical doctrine. In 1381 an epileptic German beggar named Brother Hans was thought to have magical powers. Arrested and tortured by the Inquisition, he confessed that he was a "perverter of young boys" (Lerner, 145). He was consequently burned at the stake for *heresy* even though no doctrinal dispute was involved.

Since the same words often came to mean both heresy and homosexuality, we sometimes have trouble knowing exactly what was meant by the legal codes of the times. In 1272 the laws of Orleans, Anjou, and Marne called for death by burning of anyone guilty of "bougerie." Historians are still debating whether this refers to homosexuality, heresy, or both (Bailey, 141-142). As a result of this confusion, a person's sexual orientation became a test of religious orthodoxy and political loyalty. "Heresy became a sexual rather than a doctrinal concept; to say a man was a heretic was to say that he was a homosexual and vice versa" (Taylor, 131).

Straight historians rarely believe the Gay sex charges made against Cathars. But their own homophobia, which affects the way they deal with the evidence, is revealed by their very language. One noted medieval historian calls Lesbians "perverts," while another

calls Gay sex acts “nasty sexual aberrations” (Lerner, 119; Wakefield, 41).

There is good reason to accept a connection between Catharism and Gay sex: the Cathars’ special view of morality. Cathars did not believe in Hell, purgatory, or damnation, but like many ancient peoples believed in reincarnation. For them, souls continued to be reborn as animals or humans until they escaped from the cycle of life. Eventually all souls will escape, and no one will be damned. Cathars held that there was only one sin; that occurred when the angels, led by the evil god Jehovah, rebelled and were thrown out of heaven (Borst, 175; Loos, 140). These angels became human souls weighted down with matter, and so were continually reborn. Only when they regain their original angelic state, brought about by a complete renunciation of the world, will they escape from the cycle of rebirths and return to the good god.

Cathars believed that only a tiny minority were able to attain this angelic state. These were the *Cathari*, the “perfected ones.” They led completely ascetic lives and were worshipped as angels. There was only one way to become a perfected one: through an initiation rite called *consolamentum* (“consolation”), a laying-on of hands. Once receiving this sacrament, perfected ones were expected to live a life of strict self-denial (Loos, 142). As a result, Cathars usually put off receiving the rite until just before death (Wakefield, 36). Most Cathars had not taken the *consolamentum* and lived by a different moral code from the perfected ones. There was no point for them in doing penance, practicing asceticism, confessing. And, in fact, Cathars rejected all Church sacraments, including penance. The only thing that really counted was getting the *consolamentum* before death, and *then* leading a totally ascetic life.

The perfected ones feared procreation, since that would ensnare yet another angelic soul in matter. Sex must not lead to birth. Lesbianism and male homosexuality were therefore safe forms of sex, if sex must be practiced at all. “So long as it did not lead to the conception of children they positively seemed to encourage sexual intercourse or at least not discourage it—a complete reversal of the Catholic view” (Runciman, 152).

Although Cathar *leaders* were austere, many *followers* believed that until they received the *consolamentum* sex acts not resulting in birth were permissible (Borst, 182). Many of them told Christian inquisitors at Toulouse and Turin that they didn’t think homosexuality was a sin (Borst, 182, notes). “Even the most hostile

depositions against the later Bogomils and Cathars declare that the Initiates led personally blameless lives, but that they associated with and seemed to encourage Believers who led lives of remarkable immorality” (Runciman, 176).

Cathars were also strict vegetarians. They refused to eat meat, eggs, cheese, or any milk products (Wakefield, 38). Because animals were viewed as reincarnated souls, killing an animal for food was akin to killing a human. Also, procreation—even in the animal world—was the work of the evil god. As with the Bogomils, women played a large role among Cathars. Women and men were viewed as equals; many women became Cathar leaders. Cathar women also fought in battles. A woman catapultist killed Simon de Montfort, leader of the Catholic army that attacked Cathars in southern France. Catharism scorned the institution of marriage, and was one of the few religions to have no marriage rites. In fact Cathars considered marriage to be no better than prostitution (Wakefield, 33). Catharism was tolerant toward other religions. Cathar-controlled areas were among the few safe places for Jews. In southern France, a fusion of Cathar and Jewish thought produced the Kabbala, a book of Jewish mysticism (Wakefield, 61). Cathars had an encouraging attitude towards the arts. Cathar areas in France were the very ones where troubadour poetry developed, a poetry marked by sensuality and bawdiness (Briffault, 3:488ff; Wakefield, 56-57, notes). After the Cathars were suppressed, this tradition continued, although in a less openly erotic form. In time it had a tremendous impact on the development of modern Western poetry. Catharism was essentially a religion of the lower classes and was spread from town to town by itinerant weavers. In 1157 these weavers were condemned for preaching against marriage, and practicing promiscuity (Runciman, 121; Russell, 128; Loos, 117; Cohn, *Millennium*, 153).

Because of its close association with the lower classes, Catharism gave rise to pagan offshoots—which I call the Cathar left wing. Some Cathars worshiped the sun as a god. Between 1176 and 1190, a man named Bonacursus, a Cathar who had converted to Catholicism, said of some Cathars at Milan: “They hold that the devil himself is the sun, Eve the moon; and each month, they say, they commit adultery” (Wakefield and Evans, 173). Here the sun is called the devil, but among Cathars the devil was viewed as a god. In 1350, Armenian-speaking heretics were reported to be worshipping the sun (Russell, 93, n.49). Armenia was a known Cathar stronghold. During the war between the Cathars and Catholics in France, Cathar

leaders took refuge in a fortress long rumored to be a pagan temple of the sun (Wakefield, 173 and notes).



Among some Cathars the evil god came to be highly regarded. Heretics in Austria, Brandenburg, and Bohemia in the early fourteenth century were accused of worshipping “Lucifer” (Russell, 177-179; Lerner 25-26; 30-31). The word *Lucifer* literally means “the light bearer” in Latin, and this was applied in pagan antiquity to the sun and the morning star (Venus). Among medieval Christians, it was used as another name for the devil. This usage arose from a misunderstanding of *Isaiah*, where the King of Babylon is compared to the morning star: “How have you fallen from the heavens, O morning star, son of the dawn!” (*Isaiah*, 14:12). In the Latin translation of this passage, “morning star” was rendered by *Lucifer*, falsely making it appear that Isaiah was talking about Satan being thrown out of heaven. From this double meaning as light bearer and devil, the word *Lucifer* was easily used to describe the god of sun-worshipping Cathars, since Christians viewed sun worship as demon worship.

Practices of the Cathar left wing triggered frequent Christian charges that Cathars had sex orgies, killed infants (abortion), and worshipped a demon. The charges appeared before the creation of the Inquisition and continued into later times. Typical of them all is an anonymous letter from 1390 describing a group called “Luciferans”:

First they worship Lucifer and believe him to be the brother of God, unjustly driven from heaven... they sacrifice their children to him... they meet together in underground locations. [...] They indulge in promiscuous cravings and abominable wantonness (Lea, 1:206).

Cathar belief that the Devil was a god—plus the traditional notion that the Devil was above all concerned with sex—would naturally lead to orgiastic rituals, especially for Cathars who remained close to ancient pagan traditions. In addition, ritual sex was a part of Gnosticism, which was the historical root of Catharism. And later heresies, building on Catharism, denied the existence of any moral law. Seen in this way, ritual sex was part of a lasting heretical tradition.

In the thirteenth century a new heresy arose. People formed independent communal groups, either all male or all female. They gave up all their property (if they had any to begin with) and traveled around the country begging for bread. They rejected any form of church regulation or control. The women were known as beguines and the men as beghards (hence the English word *beggar*). Within some (but not all) beguine and beghard communities, a heresy came to birth known as the Free Spirit, which later took off on its own. From the very start, beguines, beghards, and Free Spirits were accused of being Lesbians and Gay men (Lerner, 39, 70-71, 117). In 1339, two men—John and Albert of Brunn—joined the Dominican order after renouncing their previous participation in the Free Spirit. They claimed that as Free Spirits they did not consider any passion of the flesh, including sodomy, to be sinful (Lerner, 108-110). In 1367, a German Free Spirit, John of Ossmannstedt, was questioned by the Inquisition. He eagerly responded without any coercion and declared that those who are truly free “can be subject to no authority” (Lerner, 136). He said people should act on their sexual feelings, even if incestuous, and rejected any distinction between holiness and pleasure, saying, “as for the sacraments, a Free Spirit did not have to confess because he was without sin and a game of chess could reveal

God as well as the Eucharist if one took more delight in it because God is found in pleasure” (Lerner, 138). The Free Spirits held that “one of the surest marks of the ‘subtle in spirit’ was, precisely, the ability to indulge in promiscuity without fear of God or qualms of conscience.” Since God could be experienced through sex, the sex act itself took on “a transcendental, quasi-mystical value” (Cohn, *Millennium*, 189). Many academics do not take Free Spirits seriously. One historian dismisses John of Ossmannstedt as psychopathic: “There are some personalities that so enjoy being in the spotlight that they will do or say anything to remain bathed in it. John might have been of this type, or he may have been slightly deranged” (Lerner, 138). Another academic labels Free Spirits “aberrant,” “paranoid megalomaniacs,” “schizophrenic,” and “nihilistic” (Cohn, *Millennium*, 149, 151, and 185).

Free Spirits lasted until the seventeenth century in England, where they were known as Ranters. One of them, Abiezer Coppe, was a member of a group called My One Flesh. He sometimes wrote ecstatic spiritual passages filled with Gay images:

*Eternal kisses, have been made the fiery chariots, to mount me swiftly into the bosom of him who my soul loves (his excellent Majesty, the King of glory). Where I have been, where I have been, where I have been, hug’d, imbrac’t, and kisst with the kisses of his mouth, whose loves are better than wine, and have been utterly overcome therewith, beyond expression, beyond admiration (Cohn, *Millennium*, 370-371).*

Coppe condemned the people of Sodom not for their homosexuality, but because they “called Angels men, they seeing no further than the forms of men” (Cohn, *Millennium*, 363). Although Ranters supported Cromwell’s revolution, they were suppressed once the revolutionaries came to power. In 1650, Parliament passed a law forbidding Ranters to advocate that certain kinds of human actions, including sodomy, were not sinful in and of themselves (Cohn, *Millennium*, 326). This was not the only time in history that advocates of sexual freedom supported a revolutionary cause, only to be silenced once the revolutionaries came to power.

By the fourteenth century, some Free Spirits had come to the conclusion that private property was as contrary to economic justice as the church was contrary to true religion (Cohn, *Millennium*, 193). In 1317, John of Durbheim, the bishop of Strassburg, began a persecution of Free Spirits, charging that they urged poor

people to steal from the rich on the grounds that all property should be owned in common (Lerner, 86). Protestant leaders were no less upset by the link between Free Spirits and the lower classes. In 1525, Martin Luther condemned the unlettered Free Spirit Loy Pruystinck of Antwerp because of his close association with thieves, prostitutes, beggars and craft workers (Cohn, *Millennium*, 177-178). Many Free Spirits came to the conclusion that only the poor could get to heaven. For them, “apostolic” became synonymous with “poor” (Cohn, *Millennium*, 162-163). Abiezer Coppe had his God say, “And as I live, I will plague your Honour, Pompe, Greatnesse, Superfluity, and confound it into parity, equality, community” (Cohn, *Millennium*, 361).

There has been a continuous tradition of pagan-influenced rebellion within Christianity itself. This tradition includes Gnosticism, Manichaeism, Massalianism, Bogomilism, Catharism, the Free Spirit and others—movements that have been called heresies within the restrictive framework of traditional Christianity. In many cases where they appeared, these movements displayed five important features: 1) Belief in more than one deity; 2) a prominent leadership role for women; 3) a pagan sense of asceticism, including both self-denial and self-indulgence; 4) hostility to the wealth and power of the church; and 5) a tolerance for Gay sex. The underlying force that nourished these heresies was the surviving paganism of the lower classes. Soon the church would move against this paganism itself and call it “witchcraft.”



THE SACRED ORGIES OF WITCHCRAFT

“Diana is the Devil.”

– Tomas de Torquemada, Grand Inquisitor of Spain
(Russell, 235, note).

While some so-called “heretics” tried to combine paganism with Christianity, others (especially lower-class country people) retained pagan rites in their old pre-Christian form. In the early Middle Ages, church synods repeatedly condemned surviving pagan rites, including the ceremonial use of sex images (Russell, 55 & 58, notes; Cohn, *Demons*, 157; Summers, *History*, 99). Christians were also troubled by the surviving worship of the Great Mother, who was most often honored under the name of “Diana, the goddess of the pagans.” Condemnations of her worship persisted from the early Middle Ages until the 16th century. The earliest accounts tell of sex rites, describe surviving statues of the goddess, and report strong popular resistance to Christianity, even to the point of killing missionaries (Russell, 57; 58, n. 21; 61, n. 25; Cohn, *Demons*, 212; Grimm, 237). In the late 9th century, one hostile writer gave this description:

“It is also not to be omitted that some wicked women perverted by the devil, seduced by illusions and phantoms of demons, believe and profess themselves, in the hours of the night to ride upon certain beasts with Diana, the goddess of the pagans, and an innumerable multitude of women, and in the silence of the dead of night to traverse great spaces of earth, and to obey her commands as of their mistress, and to be summoned to her services on certain nights. But I wish it were they alone who perished in their faithlessness and infidelity. For an innumerable multitude, deceived by this false opinion, believe this to be true, and so believing, wander from the right faith” (Russell, 76).

Due to the widespread and ancient nature of her worship, the goddess had many other names beside Diana. In Germany and she was called Holda or Holle. In Norwegian and Danish lands, she

was Hulla, Huldra, or Huldre. In Switzerland and Austria, she appeared as Berchta, Bertha, or Perchtha. Elsewhere, she was known as Faste, Selga, Selda, Abundia, Satia, Befana, and Befania (Grimm, 221-225; Russell, 49, note). Whatever her name, she was usually regarded as a powerful deity, ruling over the weather, animals, sexuality, spinning, weaving, plant life, and the abode of the dead.

Hundreds of years before the Inquisition's great witch hunts, some Christians already viewed worshippers of the Great Mother as witches, contrary to the view of certain historians that these early accounts had nothing to do with witchcraft (Cohn, *Demons*, 212). In the early 11th century, Burchard of Worms called the night-riding goddess "the witch Holda" (Russell, 81). And in Germany, the word *hollefahren* (from *Holle* and *fahren*, meaning to travel) came to mean *witches'* travel (Grimm, already cited).

Other Christians, especially the "well educated," tended to laugh off these accounts. The 12th-century philosopher John of Salisbury reported the popular belief of his time in a night-riding goddess who held meetings where infants were killed (abortion again?). Ridiculing such stories, he exclaimed, "it is clear that these things are put about from silly women and from simple men of weak faith" (Cohn, *Demons*, 219). Like many of his modern academic counterparts, John felt that the experiences of women and "uneducated" men had little relevance to history.

The specter that the intellectuals tried to laugh off would not go away. In 1249, William of Paris described the people's belief in a deity—Abundia or Satia—who travelled at night with a band of followers to whom she gave prosperity (Ginzburg, 49). In 1270, Jean de Meung, author of sections of *Roman de la Rose*, relayed the popular notion that people roamed at night with Dame Habonde and that one-third of the world joined them (Russell, 135). In 1279, Bishop Auger de Montfaucon condemned women who rode at night with Diana, Herodias or Bensozia (Alford, 355). In 1320, an English Franciscan asked in disgust: "What is to be said of these wretched and superstitious persons who say that by night they see most fair queens and other maidens tripping with the lady Diana and leading the dances with the goddesses of the pagans, who in our vulgar tongue are called *Elves*?" (Russell, 175).

Authorities soon had a ready answer about what to do with these wild fairies. By the 14th century, the church increasingly came

to interpret this type of activity as the work of “demons.” Dominican Jacopo Passavanti wrote:

It happens that demons taking on the likeness of men and women who are alive, and of horses and beasts of burden, go by night in company through certain regions, where they are seen by the people, who mistake them for those persons whose likenesses they bear; and in some countries this is called the tregenda [which has come to mean “witches’ sabbat” in modern Italian]. And the demons do this to spread error, and to cause a scandal, and to discredit those whose likenesses they take on, by showing that they do dishonorable things in the tregenda. There are some people, especially women, who say that they go at night in company with such a tregenda, and name many men and women in their company; and they say that the mistress of the throng, who leads the others, are Herodias, who had St. John the Baptist killed, and the ancient Diana, goddess of the Greeks (Cohn, Demons, 215-216).

As Christian intellectuals became more convinced that these practices were led by demons, they became less inclined to laugh them off as they had earlier. In 1370, the Inquisition at Milan indicted a woman for being a member of the “society of Diana” (Russell, 210). In 1384, an Italian peasant named Sibillia was brought to trial before a secular court (and later before the Inquisition at Milan). She freely admitted that she belonged to a society that went out every Thursday night with “Signora Oriente” and that they “paid homage to her” (Russell, 211). Sibillia said she never confessed these things because it never occurred to her that they were sinful (Kieckhefer, 22). She was reprimanded and sentenced to wear two red crosses as penance. Six years later in 1390, Sibillia was again before the Inquisition. She admitted to the same practices, saying they went back to her childhood and again insisted they were no sin. Now, however, she admitted that the name of God was not used at the celebrations for fear of offending Oriente (Russell, 212). In the same year of 1390, Pierina de Bugatis was tried for similar charges before both a secular court and the Inquisition at Milan. At their celebrations, she said, people weren’t the only ones who appeared, but also animals and the souls of the dead. She claimed that she traveled with a group of women who robbed the houses of the rich, while bypassing those

of the poor. She also claimed that Signora Oriente ruled their society as Christ ruled the world (Russell, 213).

The manner in which professional historians have reacted to the trials of Sibillia and Pierina is a good indication of how history has been ignored, suppressed, and distorted by straight white males with Christian values. As Norman Cohn sees the trials, “something that hitherto has happened only in the minds of silly old women has taken on an objective material existence” (Cohn, *Demons*, 217). As usual, Cohn resorts to sexist and ageist stereotyping, and just ignores the evidence. He even rejects other historians on the same grounds. For example, among the many reasons he can’t stand Margaret Murray’s approach to witchcraft, is that “by the time she turned her attention to these matters she was nearly sixty” (Cohn, *Demons*, 109).

We find a different kind of prejudice in the historian Jeffrey Russell. He admits that the experiences of Sibillia and Pierina were in some sense real, but he can’t bring himself to admit that they were an example of anything religious. He says what we are dealing with here and in similar cases is merely “old folk tradition” or at best “strange fertility rites” (Russell, 212-213).

To historian Richard Kieckhefer, the practices of Sibillia and Pierina may be religious, but they could *never* be considered pagan. “It would be misleading to speak of them as conscious or deliberate pagan survivals, since the participants seem to have viewed themselves as Christians, despite the reservations that churchmen evidently held” (Kieckhefer, 22). Here we have not only a misinterpretation of the evidence, but a complete falsification of it. Where do the women say they regard themselves as Christians? What they said is that they didn’t regard the things they did as *sinful*. And what on earth does Kieckhefer mean by “the reservations that churchmen evidently held?” He makes it sound like their inquisitors had some polite second thoughts in a dinner-table discussion of theology. We aren’t dealing with mere *reservations* here. These women were accused of *heresy*!

Despite the prejudices of historians like these, evidence abounds for the continuation of pagan religion right into the 15th century. Around 1421, Gobelinus Persona told of the popular belief of his time that Domina Hera flew through the night between Christmas and Epiphany and brought an abundance of good things to people (Lea, v.I, 176-177). In 1428, the earliest Swiss witch hunts by inquisitorial methods began. In these trials, people were tortured

into confessing that they worshipped “the Devil” instead of Diana or Herodias (Cohn, *Demons*, 225-226). In 1435, the inquisitor Johann Nider reported that peasant women imagined themselves to fly with Diana after rubbing their bodies with an ointment (Cohn, *Demons*, 219-220). Similar tales were later recounted by Bartolommeo Spina and Johann Weyer, a physician. In 1439, Thomas Ebendorfer in his book *De decem praeceptis* condemned the popular practice of leaving food and drink out at night for Perchta or Habundie (Ginzburg, 51). In 1487, Tomas de Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, declared, “Diana is the Devil” (Russell, 235, note).

We can clearly see the transition from Diana-worship to Devil-worship in the witchcraft trials of the 16th century. In 1525, a woman named Wypat Musin from Burseberg in the Tyrol was tried for “superstition.” She confessed that two years before, on the night of one of the four quarterly feasts of the year, she had seen a multitude of dead souls being led by Frau Selga, the sister of Frau Venus (Ginzburg, 58). In 1532, Domenica Barbarelli confessed to traveling and dancing with Diana, whom she called “Mistress of Play” [*Domina Ludi*] (Ginzburg, 36, n. 3). In 1573, a Swiss woman with the significant nickname *Seelenmutter* (“Mother of Souls”) was arrested. She was tried by a secular court for “non-Christian fancifulness” and burned as a witch (Ginzburg, 59).

The best documented case of how the Inquisition turned the followers of the Great Mother into witches occurred in Friuli, Italy, in the 1570s. At that time a group of people were uncovered called the Benandanti (that is, the wanderers). They admitted, without coercion or torture, that at certain times of the year (the beginning days of the four seasons), they went into trances. In this state, they had the experience of leaving their bodies and doing things that reveal a curious mix of Christian and pagan beliefs. When they were in the out-of-the-body state, they traveled in company with animals and carried fennel stalks, which they used as weapons against another group of spirits, who were evil and who carried stalks of sorghum (Ginzburg, 4). They called these evil spirits “witches” and said they themselves were fighting for the faith of Christ (Ginzburg, 34).

The Italian scholar Carlo Ginzburg has shown that the Benandanti were in fact remnants of a shamanistic cult. This cult existed continuously among segments of the peasant population since the days of paganism (Ginzburg, 40ff). The Benandanti originally worshipped a Diana-type goddess who was mistress of vegetation

and growth and also queen of the dead. She was the center of a religion that was widely spread throughout Europe. During the change of the seasons, her followers celebrated the changes as a ritual conflict between different nature spirits (Ginzburg, 39). In the course of the centuries, the Benandanti absorbed certain Christian beliefs. Some of them came to the conclusion that what they were fighting for at the seasonal feasts was the faith of Christ.

By the 16th century, these rituals were no longer acted out but were experienced only when the believers went into trances. Nevertheless, the Benandanti insisted over and over again that their experiences were real (Ginzburg, 20). Many modern historians, who have had Christian/industrial values burned into their brains, just don't know what to make of these and similar shamanistic experiences. We find Norman Cohn suggesting that the Benandanti suffered from catalepsy (Cohn, *Demons*, 124). He thinks the experiences of shamans in general are "all purely imaginary" (Cohn, *Demons*, 222). Of course such trances involve psychological effects, and of course fantasy is an essential part of them. But that doesn't mean that we should refuse to see reality in them—perhaps a kind of reality that industrial civilization is blind to and would even prefer didn't exist.

In addition to having visions, the Benandanti were healers. In fact, the Inquisition first got wind of them because they were healing people. On March 21, 1575, a priest spoke to the Inquisition at Friuli. He said he had come upon a certain Paolo Gasparutto who claimed to heal people through the power of vagabonds who traveled at night carrying fennel stalks. Through their questioning of Gasparutto, the Inquisition uncovered the practices of the Benandanti (Ginzburg, 3ff). The remarks about fennel stalks bring to mind the ancient worship of Dionysus. Dionysus was a version of the horned god and an associate of Cybele, the Great Mother (see Chapter 2). Both he and the Great Mother were worshipped by women and by men dressed in women's clothing. These worshippers carried wands made of giant fennel stalks (*narthex*) with a pine cone on the end (see Euripides' *Bacchae*). (The modern Italian word for fennel is *finocchio*, which also happens to mean "homosexual.") Once the Inquisition realized how widespread the practices of the Benandanti were, they launched a broad attack against them. Members of the cult were arrested, only now they were tortured into confessing what the Inquisitors wanted to hear. And what the Inquisitors were interested in was not Diana, but the Devil (since they viewed Diana as a demon).

The upshot was that the Benandanti were continuously tortured until they said that they were witches and that they worshipped the Devil. By 1618, many of the Benandanti, under this extreme physical and psychological torment, actually came to view themselves as Devil-worshipping witches (Ginzburg, 108ff). Hence the evidence concerning the Benandanti is conclusive proof that paganism survived very late in Europe and that Christians turned these pagans into witches.



The last stage in the transformation of into witchcraft occurred when the followers of Diana became the witches who fly through the night on broomsticks. As we'll see later, the pagans sometimes used hallucinogenic drugs that gave them their visions of flying. These drugs were taken in the form of an ointment rubbed over the body and absorbed through the skin. To the inquisitors, this became the witches' salve that enabled them to fly through the night.

Evidence for the transformation of Diana into the Devil has been preserved in some of the existing peasant dialects of Europe. So, for example, in Sardinia, *Jana* (derived from *Diana*) means “witch.” In Asturias, *Dianu* means “devil” and the same for *o Diano* in Galicia, and *Dianbo* in parts of Portugal (Alford, 359).

We find broken-down remnants of Diana-worship even into the present day. In 1935, a visitor in Portugal reported that she was present in the town of *Janas*, which had been built on the site of an ancient pagan temple. She observed a public feast day that still had traces of paganism. The peasants brought their cattle in from the fields and walked in a big circle counterclockwise around the church. The older women arrived riding on donkeys. People made small votive offerings out of wax in the form of cattle and placed them on the altar. The visitor heard persistent rumors that a cock was killed in the church and the cattle sprinkled with its blood, although she herself did not witness this (Alford, 359-360).

In most of the accounts dealing with Diana, her followers usually seem to have been women. But similar rites existed among all-male groups with a male god. As with Diana, the leader of the male troops had many different names, depending on the location in Europe. Among the most common were Herne the Hunter, Herla the King, Herlechin, Herlequin, Harlequin, Hellequin, Hillikin, Berchtold, Berhtolt, Derndietrich, Quatembermann, and Kwaternik (Russell, 49, note & Ginzburg, 58, n. 2). In my opinion, this male figure is a survival of the Celtic horned god. As we saw in chapter 2, the Latinized name for the Celtic horned god was *Cernunnos*, which means “The Horned One” (Bober, *passim*). The ending *-os* on this word is the suffix that Greek and Old Latin added to most masculine nouns borrowed from other languages. So the original, de-Latinized form was probably *Cernunn*. Now, the prefixes *Cer-* and *Her-* are interchangeable Indo-European roots that both mean “horn.” Hence a variant spelling of the same name is *Hernunn*. This last word, I suspect, was the original Celtic ancestor of *Herne*, which is one of the oldest names for the male figure we’re dealing with. A variant spelling of *Herne* was *Herla*. From *Herla* comes *Herla, the King*, and from *Herla, the King* comes *Herlequin* and *Harlequin* (see “Harlequin” in the *Random House Dictionary*). Medieval depictions of Harlequin confirm these speculations based on language. They usually show him wearing a forked cap having two drooping horn-like appendages.

In the Latin literary tradition, Harlequin was turned into the figure of the Fool, as, for example, he appears in late Italian comedy. He is usually shown dressed up in bright clothes, and this is the traditional appearance of Harlequin on the Italian stage. His manifestation as the Fool is interesting, because in the Middle Ages a holiday survived from paganism called the Feast of Fools. It usually took place around January 1st (the festival of Janus—the brother of Diana), and was characterized by drinking, feasting, sex orgies, and transvestism (Russell, 51, 58-59; Rawson, 74).

The word “Fool” as applied to Harlequin didn’t originally mean silly or stupid, but rather frenzied or ecstatic or mad, akin to the French word *folie*, which means madness or lunacy. This latter meaning is certainly in line with the ecstatic nature of the Feast of Fools. The rites of Harlequin originated from the countryside and the forest and impressed Christian observers with their wildness. This impression is conveyed through the words by which Christians described the followers of Harlequin. They were variously known as *sauvages*, *selvatici*, *selvaggi*, *selvatici*, and *homines selvatici*, meaning “wild men” from the root *silvus*, meaning forest (Russell, 49, note). Throughout the Middle Ages, we find numerous reports about troops of men following Harlequin at night. As one example, consider the historian and monk Ordericus Vitalis. In the 11th century, he reported in his *Church History* that these beliefs existed in Bonnevillle, France. A priest late one night was said to have witnessed a large crowd on horses and on foot, among whom were many who had recently died. On seeing this sight, he replied: “This is doubtless the troop of Harlechin, of which I have heard but never believed” (Lea, v. I, 171). This account recalls the Benandanti, who often said they saw the dead as well as the living.



HARLEQUIN DISGUISED AS DIANA
Seventeenth century print

By the fifth century, Christian intellectuals had transformed the pagan horned god into the Devil, and Christian law began defining the old teutonic fertility gods as “devils” (Russell, 48). The church called these spirits *incubi* (that is, demons who lie on top) or *succubi* (demons who lie on the bottom). In the eyes of the church, they were devils who could take on the body of a man or woman at will and have sex with humans of either sex. For example, in the seventh century, Isidore of Seville said that the Teutons worshipped a spirit that lived in the woods called *Scrat*, which in Old English means hermaphrodite. He claimed that among the Latins they were called *incubi* (Wright, 75). Around 1218, Gervais of Tilbury noted that many people claimed to have seen nature and forest spirits that

the ancient Celts called *Dusii*, but that the people of his day (that is, Christians) called *incubi* (Lea, v. I, 173). Around 1455, Felix Hemmerlin reported that in Denmark and Norway demons frequently appeared in human form and were called Trolls. He added:

And due to habit, they are not frightened by men, but men practice obeisance to them, who even still are called incubi and succubi and are mingled [that is, have sex] in human form with the sons and daughters of men (Lea, v. I, 160).

These examples show that the church did not just invent *incubi* and *succubi*. Behind the concept were minor pagan gods, sometimes hermaphroditic, that were believed to have sex with human beings. As the practitioners of paganism came to be viewed as witches, the church emphasized more and more the importance of *incubi* and *succubi*.

In 1484, Pope Innocent VIII issued a bull attacking *incubi* and *succubi*:

It has recently come to our ears, not without great pain to us, that in some parts of upper Germany, as well as in the provinces, cities, territories, regions, and dioceses of Mainz, Koln, Trier, Salzburg, and Bremen, many persons of both sexes, heedless of their own salvation and forsaking the Catholic faith, give themselves over to devils male and female (Kors, 108).

The issuance of this bull marked a turning point in the history of witchcraft. It gave strong papal support to the growing view that witchcraft in and of itself was a form of *heresy*, and thus subject to the Holy Inquisition. “It established once and for all that the Inquisition against witches had full papal approval and thereby opened the door for the bloodbaths of the following century” (Russell, 230). It is from the date of this bull that we mark “the European witch-craze.”

Few historians have analyzed the sexual dimension of Innocent’s bull. His reason for classifying witchcraft as a heresy was that “devils” were having sex with humans of both sexes. Such people were guilty of “forsaking the Catholic faith”—In Latin, *a fide catholica deviantes*, literally “deviants from the Catholic faith” (Lea, 1:161). The western view that sexual non-conformity is “deviance” originated in religious orthodoxy. Modern psychiatrists, in taking up

this view, have assumed the role once played by priests and inquisitors in suppressing dissent.

Because Christians believed *incubi* and *succubi* to be evil spirits without bodies, they ran into an embarrassing theological quibble: How could beings without bodies have sex? Caesarius of Heisterbach, a thirteenth century monk and historian, offered a memorable answer in his *Dialogus*: demons collected all the cum that was ejaculated “contrary to nature” and used it to make bodies for themselves! (Lea, 1:152) In whatever form demons obtained their bodies, sex with them was a crime. “Intercourse with a devil was held the equivalent of buggery, for which the penalty was burning” (Robbins, 467). Margaret Murray in *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* proposed that *incubi* and *succubi* were actually humans impersonating pagan gods who had sex with both male and female followers. After examining many charges brought against witches, Murray concluded:

The evidence of the witches makes it abundantly clear that the so-called Devil was a human being, generally a man, occasionally a woman. At the great Sabbaths, where he appeared in his grand array, he was disguised out of recognition; at the small meetings, in visiting his votaries, or when inducting a possible convert to join the ranks of the witch-society, he came in his own person, usually dressed plainly in the costume of the period (Murray, 31).

Sex played a big role in the surviving traditions of paganism. Many accounts hint of sex rituals, transvestism, and nature worship, sometimes in association with sacred areas that are known to date back to the Stone Age or the Bronze Age. For example, church condemnations of both ritual transvestism and the worship of images of sex organs are frequent (see calendar at rear of book). Concerning surviving sex worship in general, we have a lot of evidence. In the 11th century, the German church historian Adam of Bremen reported that the god Fricco—represented by a huge dildo—was still being worshipped in Upsala, Sweden, and that the day Friday was sacred to him (Wright, 26). In the 13th century, we find several reports concerning acts of worship around dildos. In 1268, there was a spreading cattle disease in the Scottish district of Lothian. *The Chronicle of Lanercost* reported that some members of the clergy urged that an image of Priapus (that is, a dildo) be raised up in order to protect

the cattle (Wright, 31). In 1282, in Inverkeithing, Scotland, a parish priest led an Easter dance of little girls around a dildo (Wright, 31-32). Some historians laugh off this last account, but if we bother to take the original text seriously, we find out the priest's motivations. When challenged by the bishop, *the priest said it was the ancient custom of the country* (Wright, 31-32). The bishop apparently believed him, because he was allowed to keep his job. Can you imagine what would happen if a Catholic priest did that today in Boston?

In the 14th century a group of Armenians, probably Cathars, practiced sun worship and held orgies (Russell, 93, n. 49). In 1353, Boccaccio's *Decameron* mentioned a secret society called "rovers" (reminiscent of the Benandanti) that met twice a month for feasting and orgies (Russell, 193). In 1375 an Italian woman, Gabrina Albetti, was brought to trial at Reggio for teaching other women to take off their clothing at night and pray to the stars. She was condemned by a secular court, branded, and her tongue was cut out (Russell, 210). In the 15th century, John Zizka charged that Bohemian heretics called Adamites were practicing nudity, ritual dances around fires, and sodomy (Lerner, 123). This report probably referred to pagan practices, since fire dances were a regular feature of the pagan holiday that survived under Christianity as the Feast of St. John the Baptist (Midsummer Eve). Around 1455, Pope Calixtus III forbade religious practices that were still being celebrated in his day in caves decorated with horses. One art historian thinks this refers to Stone-Age caves, since these often had animals painted on them and were originally used as shamanistic religious sites (Rawson, 10).

In the 16th century, we find more links between stone-age and Bronze Age sites and charges of witchcraft. In 1514, the Englishman John Panter was accused of visiting a location annually on the eve of the Feast of St. John the Baptist for the purpose of consulting demons. The place he went to was in the parish of Doulting, near a location of 12 bronze-age burial mounds (Grinsell, 73). In 1566, John Walsh of Netherburg in England said he consulted "fairies" that resided in large heaps of earth and that he got his power of witchcraft from them. These heaps were prehistoric burial mounds (Grinsell, 73-74). In this same century, blatantly pagan practices continued even within some churches. In 1562, a large wood and leather dildo was worshipped in the Catholic church of St. Eutropius at Orange and was publicly seized and burned by Protestants (Wright, 51).

In 17th-century England, many bronze-age monuments were reputed to be the sites of witches' sabbats and were mentioned repeatedly in witch trials. In northwestern France, the sites of bronze-age monuments were often associated in folklore with witches' sabbats. Some burial mounds were even named from witchcraft, such as one in Brabant called *Le Lieu du Sabbat* ("The Place of the Sabbat") (Grinsell, 76-77).

These reports bring to mind stories about magic mounds in Italy. In 1630, Diel Breull of Assia said that he had traveled to the Mound of Venus, where he met Frau Holt, who was a protector of the fertility of the land. In 1632, Breull was tortured by the Inquisition into confessing that he had worshipped the Devil there (Ginzburg, 64-65). In 1694, a group of people called the Brotherhood of John were tried in Leopoli. They said they had visited the souls of the dead on the Mound of Venus and had the power to evoke them (Ginzburg, 64).

Paganism even continued into the 18th century. On December 30, 1781, an eyewitness account told of a church in Isernia, Naples, where the phallic god Priapus was still worshipped under the name of St. Cosmus. People placed wax models of cocks and balls on his altar as votive offerings (Hamilton, 18-21). In 1794 the minister of Callander in Perthshire, Scotland, claimed that pagan rites were still being practiced in his area (Hope, 73). In Brittany, people continued to hold sex rituals at the site of bronze-age monuments until the 19th century. And they didn't give up the practice without a struggle, for "until the last century the Church fought vigorously and with varying success against pagan and often obscene practices associated with the megalithic monuments" (von Cles-Reden, 260).

Even as late as the beginning of the 19th century, the names of the old deities were still used in some places. The goddess Demeter was worshipped under her own name and in the form of an ancient statue at Eleusis, Greece, until 1801. The cult was put down at that time by two Englishmen, Clarke and Crips. They formed an armed guard and went in and forcibly removed the goddess, causing a riot among the peasants (Briffault, v. III. 182).

The feasts of the ancient pagan gods were often celebrated with sex orgies. We shouldn't be surprised, therefore, to find Christian inquisitors linking witchcraft with sexuality. When people were arrested on suspicion of witchcraft, they were questioned at great length about their sex lives. Often they were tortured into confess-

ing to every possible form of sexual activity. As one historian says: “The curiosity of the judges was insatiable to learn all possible details as to sexual intercourse and their industry in pushing the examinations was rewarded by an abundance of foul [sic] imaginations” (Lea, II:916-917).

In the 16th and 17th centuries, people who were suspect of being sexually unorthodox might easily find themselves accused of witchcraft, just as earlier, such people could easily find themselves accused of heresy. At Innsbruck, Austria, the notorious witch-hunter Henry Institoris was uncertain whether a defendant had killed someone through poison or witchcraft, “though he inclined toward the latter suspicion on the peculiar grounds that the suspect had a history of sexual laxity, and was thus no doubt prone to such base activities as witchcraft” (Kieckhefer, 49-50).

During the peak of the witch-hunting the great majority of people of were women. This is understandable since women were the chief transmitters of the ancient pagan traditions. Under the earliest forms of paganism, women had enjoyed a great deal of sexual freedom. Their association with loose sex and paganism resulted in the creation of the Christian stereotype of women as sexually depraved.

This stereotype comes out quite clearly in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, an official 15th-century handbook for prosecuting witches. The authors of the *Malleus* ask themselves why more women are witches than men, and reply in the best tradition of male supremacy that “since they are feebler both in mind and body, it is not surprising that they should come more under the spell of witchcraft” (*Malleus*, 44). The authors continue their line of reasoning by claiming that women are more sexual than men, and therefore more likely to be controlled by the Devil: “But the natural reason is that she [woman] is more carnal than a man, as is clear from her many abominations” (*Malleus*, 44). Their underlying attitude toward women’s sexuality is well summed up in these words: “A woman is beautiful to look upon, contaminating to the touch, and deadly to keep. [...] All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable” (*Malleus*, 46-47). In the worst periods of the witch craze, a woman could find herself hauled before the Inquisition and accused of being a witch merely because she had a reputation for enjoying sex. The same thing could happen to a man if he had a reputation for being Gay. Unfortunately, professional historians have not given the latter fact much

attention. This is because they often have an attitude toward homosexuality very similar to that found among medieval Christians.

Male homosexuality and witchcraft were often linked together, just as Gay sex was earlier linked with heresy. Some scholars may be confused on this point because of the view of homosexuality in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which was the first witch-hunters' handbook to carry the Pope's approval. According to the *Malleus* homosexuality is so disgusting that not even demons would do it! In the words of the *Malleus*:

And it must be carefully noted that, though the Scripture speaks of Incubi and Succubi lusting after women, yet nowhere do we read that Incubi and Succubi fell into vices against nature. We do not speak only of sodomy, but of any other sin whereby the act is wrongfully performed outside the rightful channel. And the very great enormity of such a sin in this way is shown by the fact that all devils equally, of whatsoever order, abominate and think shame to commit such actions (Malleus, 29-30).

The *Malleus* concludes by saying that anyone who commits a Gay sex act after the age of 33 is probably beyond all hope of salvation:

Indeed many say, and it is truly believed, that no one can unimpaired persevere in the practice of such vices beyond the period of the mortal life of Christ, which lasted for thirty-three years, unless he should be saved by some special grace of the Redeemer (Malleus, 30).

Unfortunately for Gay people, the Inquisition did not follow the *Malleus* in believing that the Devil was above homosexuality. In 1582, the Inquisition at Avignon, France, delivered this judgment against a group of condemned witches: "You men have fornicated with *succubi* and you women with *incubi*. You have wretchedly committed genuine sodomy and the most unmentionable of crimes with them by means of their cold touch" (Lea, v. I, 485).

Homosexuality witchcraft became so closely associated that the two were often linked together in popular tracts on the subject. In 1460, an anonymous tract appeared during the trial of accused witches at Arras, France. It made this accusation:

Sometimes indeed indescribable outrages are perpetrated in exchanging women, by order of the presiding devil, by passing on a woman to other women and a man to other men, an abuse

against the nature of women by both parties and similarly against the nature of men, or by a woman with a man outside the regular orifice and in another orifice (Robbins, 468).

In 1589, an anonymous pamphlet of 15 pages appeared in Paris accusing King Henry III of France of being a homosexual and a witch (Summers, *Popular History*, 164-165). In Lisbon in 1612, homosexuality and witchcraft were so intermixed that authorities were confused over whether sodomites should be executed under the civil procedure for criminals or under the religious procedures for witches (Lea, v. II, 485). In many witchcraft trials, defendants were tortured into confessing that Gay sex acts took place at the sabbat. In 1615, the accused witch Gentien le Clerc was tried at Orleans. He was made to confess that “after the Mass, they dance, then lie together, men with men, and women with women” (Murray, *Witch-Cult*, 249).

During the peak of the terror, judges, theologians, and intellectuals routinely combined charges of witchcraft with lesbianism and male homosexuality. A good example is Henry Boguet, who personally tried a great many cases. Around 1619, he wrote in his book *Discours des Sorciers*:

You may well suppose that every kind of obscenity is practiced there, yea, even those abominations for which Heaven poured down fire and brimstone on Sodom and Gomorrah are quite common in these assemblies (Summers, *History*, 157).

In 1620, a Portuguese inquisitor named Manuel do Valle de Moura published a book on witchcraft. He said that in Portugal the Inquisition got jurisdiction for prosecutions of sodomy and that no one who was convicted escaped the stake (Lea, v. II, 481-485). In 1625, the Jesuit Paul Laymann published a book on morals called *Theologia Moralis*, which claimed that adultery and sodomy were crimes that led to witchcraft (Lea, v. II, 680).

The association between Gay sex and witchcraft was not limited to continental Europe. In 1661, the Irish woman Florence Newton was brought to trial and accused of aggressively kissing and bewitching a young servant woman, Mary Longdon (Robbins, 352-353). In 1670 in Scotland, Thomas Weir, a respected 70-year-old bachelor, stunned public opinion by confessing, at his own initiative, to witchcraft, fornication, and sodomy (Robbins, 534).

By the 16th century, the Inquisition had created a witch stereotype. According to this stereotype, a witch was a person who had the power to bewitch people, was bound to the Devil, flew through the air at night, conspired to overthrow Christian civilization, and attended periodic meetings where wild sex rites were held (Cohn, *Demons*, 147). People were arrested on suspicion of witchcraft and were often tortured until they confessed to practicing everything in this stereotype. As a result, many people were burned who had absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with any of these things.

The stereotype of the witch was a fantasy developed by the Inquisition, but it was a fantasy based on a certain reality. Evidence for the survival of sex and nature worship abounds in both Gnostic heresy and peasant traditions. Witches existed, but they were not Devil-worshipping monsters hell-bent on destroying the human race. They were simply remnant practitioners of broken-down strains of the old paganism. They healed, went into trances, had visions, and celebrated bawdy rites in honor of the magical powers of sex and nature. Like the pagans of antiquity, they did not make a distinction between sex and religion. For them, sex was one manifestation of religious power. In the eyes of patriarchal Christians, that was heresy and the same thing as worshipping the Devil.



THE MEDIEVAL COUNTERCULTURE

The old religion had a coherent world view. Behind its many forms there lay a basic outlook on life, a way of feeling and experiencing nature and other people, passed down from generation to generation. This world view was manifest first in ancient paganism, then in medieval heresy, and finally in witchcraft. Although the old religion and Christianity influenced each other and in some cases even fused, the root beliefs and social forms of the old religion formed a genuine counterculture, radically opposing the way traditional Christians lived and thought.

The old religion was polytheistic. Its most important deity was a goddess who was worshipped as the great mother. Its second major deity was the horned god, associated with animals and sexuality, including homosexuality. These and other deities were worshipped in the countryside at night with feasting, dancing, animal masquerades, transvestism, sex orgies, and the use of hallucinogenic drugs. Sensual acts were at the heart of the old religion, since theirs was a worldly religion of joy and celebration. The testimony of the witches themselves, when uncoerced, bore witness to this joyousness. Pierre de Lancre, a seventeenth-century judge, reported: "Jeanne Dibasson, twenty-nine years old, tells us that the sabbat is the true paradise, where there is more pleasure than one can express" (Murray, *Witch-Cult*, 25). Sometimes, motivated by a desire to discredit paganism, inquisitors tortured witches until they denied their joy and said the celebrations were disgusting. In so doing, the inquisitors were like some modern psychiatrists who "treat" Gay patients into saying that Gay life can't possibly be happy.

Women were the chief priests and leaders of the old religion, performing the roles of prophet, midwife, and healer. Women priests impersonated the goddess and acted in her name. Although groups of male priests also existed (such as the Druids), they never suppressed the religious role of women. The material substructure of the old religion was a matriarchal social system that reached back to the Stone Age.

The old religion was a religion of the countryside and forest, rather than of the city. In the earliest period, references to any church

or temple were rare, becoming more frequent only under the later influence of patriarchy and Christianity. Followers of the old religion lived rural lives in direct dependence on nature and felt a sense of community with all plant and animal life. In the stone-age world from which paganism emerged, no “government” existed except for the people themselves. Even in the early medieval period, their culture was devoid of institutionalism as we now know it. In later European history, witchcraft retained this characteristic hostility to institutional authority. “In the history of Christianity, witchcraft is an episode in the long struggle between authority and order on one side and prophecy and rebellion on the other” (Russell, 2).

Both ancient pagans and later witches were learned people, possessing a vast storehouse of knowledge about herbs, plants, animals, signs of the weather, astronomy, and medicine. This knowledge, along with their myths and poetry, was transmitted by word of mouth from one generation to the next. Learning was thus a matter of close personal dialogue. Originally the old religion knew nothing of books or the bureaucratic control of knowledge by universities. Only as Christianity became more powerful did bookishness find its way into the old religion.

The Christian religion, in its traditional forms, was opposed to these features of the old religion. Christians worshipped only one god, described in terms that suggested male heterosexuality (“God the Father”). This god existed in grand isolation above nature, which he created and dominated, whereas the deities of the old religion always remained subordinate to nature. The Christian god was also completely intolerant of any other deity or spirit. Christian hatred for people who worshipped deities other than their “one true god” goes back to Jesus the Nazarene, who compared such people to weeds:

The weeds are the followers of the evil one and the enemy who sowed them is the devil. The harvest is the end of the world. The Son of Man will dispatch his angels to collect from his kingdom all who draw others to apostasy, and all evildoers. The angels will hurl them into a fiery furnace where they will wail and grind their teeth. (New American Bible, Matth., 13: 38-42).

While the old religion was tolerant of all forms of sex, traditional Christianity condemned every form of sex except monogamous heterosexuality sanctified by marriage. Jesus the Nazarene had

no sex life at all, and Paul of Tarsus constantly condemned adultery, fornication, and homosexuality, both male and female. "The earlier religious element most particularly pursued and repressed by Christianity was the naive and quite beautiful adoration of the sexuality of nature and of human beings" (Legman, 103-104). Wherever traditional Christianity has come to power, it has used the power of government to repress sex. Whenever Christian missionaries have encountered so-called "primitives," the first thing they've done is to make the people feel guilty about sex, nudity, and the very fact of having a body. The major forces behind the American homophobe Anita Bryant were a coalition of churches, synagogues, and groups.

Christianity's hatred of sex was matched by its hatred for women. The Christian god was always addressed as "He," and no women were found among the disciples of Jesus the Nazarene. Women have always been excluded from the priesthood. Paul of Tarsus stated:

A woman must listen in silence and be completely submissive. I do not permit a woman to act as a teacher, or in any way to have authority over a man; she must be quiet. For Adam was created first, Eve afterward; moreover it was not Adam who was deceived but the woman. It was she who was led astray and fell into sin (I Tim., 2: 11-14).

During the 16th and 17th century witch hunts, inquisitors singled out women as dangerous. Many times women were condemned precisely because they were associated with sex. The heterosexual men who controlled Christianity viewed sexual feelings as sinful; since women aroused these feelings, they too must be sinful. The condemnation of women was a natural consequence of the condemnation of sex.

In contrast to the anarchistic values of the witches, Christianity obsessed with obedience to established institutions. Typical of this tradition was the attitude of Paul of Tarsus:

Let everyone obey the authorities that are over him, for there is no authority except from God, and all authority that exists is established by God. As a consequence, the man who opposes authority rebels against the ordinances of God; those who resist thus shall draw condemnation down among themselves (Romans, 13: 1-2).



The concept of hierarchy was spread throughout the Christian world by Dionysius, the Pseudo-Areopagite, “the father of Christian mysticism.” In his theology, the hierarchy of the church was a symbol of the hierarchy of heaven, which was a symbol of the mystical inner structure of God. The only way for Christians to know God was to obey those who occupied the next highest rung in the church’s hierarchy, since hierarchy in and of itself was an image of divinity. Dionysius made obedience more than just a moral duty; it became the means of grace itself, as bureaucracy was raised to the level of a mystical principle. Later, Protestantism threw off the concept of the hierarchical dispensation of grace, but retained the idea of the mystical importance of its own hierarchy. As a result, in both Catholicism and Protestantism, church and hierarchy have become synonymous.



Christianity viewed learning as a bookish practice, and set up a system of universities across Europe. Learning became impersonal and objective, consisting of the study of documents and books in a classroom under the control of a central bureaucracy. The church carefully outlawed and destroyed those books that the faithful were forbidden to read. The effect of these practices was to separate reason from feeling and to make learning into an objective, intellectualized pursuit conducted within the confines of an institution. Learning became bureaucratized.

Christianity and the old religion differed in the way they viewed nudity, hair, drugs, and animals. Among the Celts, nudity was never regarded as shameful since the nude body was respected as a source of religious power. Celtic warriors sometimes fought nude in order to increase their magical powers on the battlefield (Chadwick, *The Celts*, 134). The chief deities of the old religion were generally shown nude, and the male deity had an erect cock. Small lead amulets, depicting both male and female genitals, continued to be used as good-luck charms by the peasants in Europe long after Christianity became the official religion (Hamilton).

Christianity's contempt for the nude body was logically connected to its hatred of sex. In the Old Testament the first fall into sin is connected with the shame Adam and Eve felt over nudity:

Then the eyes of both of them were opened and they realized that they were naked; so they sewed fig leaves together and made loincloths for themselves (Genesis, 3:7).

When the god Yahweh appeared in the Garden of Eden, Adam hid: “I heard you in the garden; but I was afraid, because I was naked, so I hid myself” (*Genesis, 3:10*).

The New Testament continued in the same vein, and several statements of Jesus the Nazarene have encouraged some Christians to become fanatically ascetic:

What I say to you is: anyone who looks lustfully at a woman has already committed adultery with her in his thoughts. If your right eye is your trouble, gouge it out and throw it away! Better to lose part of your body than to have it all cast into Gehenna (Matth., 5:28-29).

In the third century, both the letter and spirit of this statement was followed by Origen, a church father, who castrated himself to avoid sexual temptation.

Medieval Christians were morbid about nudity. Some even refused to bathe because that would involve undressing. Stories were circulated about early Christian saints who had never bathed in their whole lives. The inevitable result of this type of thinking was widespread disease, particularly skin disease, which constantly plagued the Middle Ages.

In Christian art of the Middle Ages, the genitals are rarely shown, and the human form usually appears emaciated and anti-sensual. A common motif is the tortured or mutilated body of some Christian martyr. The major emblem of medieval Christianity—the agonized body of Jesus the Nazarene nailed to a cross—sums up the whole Christian mentality: crucify the body for the sake of the soul. During the Renaissance, Christian artists began to show a more positive body image. The underlying cause, however, was the revival of pagan Greek values; it had nothing to do with Christianity *per se*. The so-called “Reformation” was a revolt against this revival, leaving as its legacy the artistic sterility of modern Protestantism.

The old religion prized body hair. Celtic stories and poems frequently praised the beautiful long hair of both men and women. Among the ancient Germans, Holle (a great mother goddess) was associated with long hair, giving rise to a German expression for a man with long unkempt hair: *Er ist mit der Holle gefahren*, meaning “He’s

been traveling with Holle” (Grimm, 223). Fairies, too, were associated with long hair until very late times. Longhaired fairies dressed in green were reported in Danffshire, Scotland, until 1793 (Hope, 14).

Medieval Christians associated long hair with the Devil. William of Auvergne, thirteenth century philosopher and Bishop of Paris, said that women must cover their hair in church because “the beauty of the hair strongly excites the lust of *incubi*” (Kors, 152). Paul of Tarsus thought long hair was acceptable for women, but unnatural for men: “Does not nature itself teach you that it is dishonorable for a man to wear his hair long, while the long hair of a woman is her glory” (1 *Corinthians*, 11:14). Although tolerating long hair on women, he insisted they cover it in church: “Any woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered brings shame upon her head. It is as if she had her head shaved. Indeed, if a woman will not wear a veil, she ought to cut off her hair” (1 *Corinthians*, 11: 5-6).

The old religion celebrated its rites with hallucinogenic drugs. Throughout the history of witchcraft, references are made to drug taking. Walter Map, a twelfth century ecclesiastic, stated that he knew certain heretics who served innocent people a “magic food” that affected their minds (Russell, 131). Johann Weyer, a sixteenth-century physician who opposed the oppression of witches, wrote: “The experiences of witches are delirious dreams induced by drugs wherewith they confect their ointments” (Lea, II: 505). Weyer identified several substances in the witches’ so-called flying ointment as hallucinogens.

Margaret Murray was the first modern scholar to suggest witches used hallucinogens. Her suspicions have been confirmed by Michael Harner, who concludes that the witches’ ointment contained atropine and other alkaloids, “all of which have hallucinogenic effects” and which can be absorbed through the skin (Harner, 128). Some historians reject Harner’s conclusions, but their reasons usually boil down to simple prejudice against drug takers. Norman Cohn ridicules Harner because his book “was published just as the craze [!] for psychedelic experiments and experiences was building up” (Cohn, *Demons*, 118).

The role of hallucinogens in the witches’ religion is interesting in view of the ancient worship of Dionysus (the horned god of the Greco-Roman world), who was also the god of drunkenness. Wine was originally viewed as a religious hallucinogen, giving participants in the sacred orgies visions similar to those reported by witches. The

ancients viewed wine as a magical power distilled from the life forces of plants. By drinking wine, the worshippers of Dionysus became *entheos*, “filled with the god,” literally drunk with divinity.



Thorn apple (Datura) Mandrake (Mandragora)

The old religion had a reverent attitude toward animals. Both major deities—the great mother and the horned god—were animal-oriented. The great mother, as mistress and protector of animals, was called “Diana” by Christians because of her similarity to the Greco-Roman animal and moon goddess. Besides his horns, the male god had cleft hooves and furry legs, and his worshippers dressed in animal skins. So common was the practice of animal masquerades in the Middle Ages that detailed condemnations were issued against them. Theodore, the seventh-century Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote:

If anyone in the kalends of January goes about as a stag or a bull; that is making himself into a wild animal and dressing in the skin of a herd and putting on the head of beasts; those who in such wise transform themselves into the appearance of a wild animal, penance for three years because this is devilish (Summers, History, 134).



Henbane (Hyoscyamus) Deadly nightshade (Atropa belladonna)

Throughout the Christian Era, the confessions of witches, the transcripts of trials, and popular writings show that certain male members of the witch cult dressed in animal skins (later in black leather) and had ritual sex with other witches at the Sabbat. The most common animal masquerades were those of bull, cat, dog, horse, and sheep (Murray, *The Witch-Cult*, 61ff).

In England, witches were associated with “familiar,” which were pet animals kept for magical purposes, such as the famous black cat. Often accused of communicating with these animals, witches themselves claimed they could change themselves and others into animal forms. These stories should not be dismissed as simple fantasies, especially in view of the witches’ use of hallucinogens. “There is documentary evidence of the existence over a period of *centuries* of the belief that certain women (not necessarily always old ones) could change themselves and others into animals in classical times” (Baroja, 39; original’s italics).

Christianity has always taught contempt for animals, believing animals are inferior to humans. In the Old Testament, humans are commanded to rule over animals: “Have dominion over the fish of the sea, the birds of the air, and all the living things that move on the earth” (*Genesis*, 1:28). In the New Testament, animals play no role in God’s plan for salvation, and God himself is never worshipped

as an animal. Early church fathers, absorbing the traditions of Greek intellectualism, taught that humans were superior to animals because they possessed *logos*—the power of reasoning. The fathers viewed all non-intellectual functions (like sexuality) as “animal passions,” and thus beneath the dignity of purified Christians. The word “animal” has come to connote baseness ever since.

The old religion's attitudes toward the body, hair, hallucinogens, and animals were all consistent. They were the values we'd expect to find in a culture that was practically devoid of bureaucratic institutions, existing in direct dependence on nature. Living in this way, early rural pagans and later medieval witches viewed their sensuality as the key to who they were as people, and not as some kind of low-level crud to be scraped off their souls. Their very survival depended on being in touch with their bodies and knowing how to communicate with plants and animals. As a result, theirs was an enchanted world, the world of natural feelings.

Traditional Christian attitudes were also consistent. They were the values of a culture that depended for its survival on thorough-going domination and hierarchy, a social fact that colored their view of the whole universe. In the external world, it was the domination of God over nature, humans over animals, men over women, Pope over bishops, King over knights, states and churches over people. In the internal world, it was the hierarchy of the soul: intellect over body, thoughts over passions, disciplined preparation for a future life over the anarchy of here-now sensuality. Sexual repression, self-discipline, and obedience were the means of survival in such a culture, as well as the keys to heaven. They were also the tools that enabled church and state to accumulate vast institutional control over the lives of human beings. And so Christians lived and died “within the walls,” out of touch with natural feelings.

These same Christian values have found their way into the minds and laws of all highly industrialized nations. Regardless of whether they call themselves capitalist or communist, the governments of all “highly developed” nations of the world fear nudity, drugs, long hair, animals, and sex. Like medieval Christian civilization, modern industrial cultures are all institutionalized, bureaucratized societies, totally dependent on domination and hierarchy for their survival.

All of us have been institutionalized since the moment of our birth—in classrooms, prisons, offices, factories, hospitals, mad

houses. We are totally dependent on great institutions for meeting our every need. There are very few of us who can do what the majority of people throughout history have always regarded as essential human activities: grow our own food, make our own clothing, build our own homes, make our own medicines, create our own gods. And there are very few of us who can guiltlessly express the full potential of our sex energies, communicate with the animals, or become transfigured by the power of the plant spirits. Instead, we have had drilled into our brains those traits that make it possible for great bureaucracies and institutions to satisfy our needs and thus dominate our lives: alienation from nature, sexual repression, self-denial, and obedience.



THE MASS MURDER OF WOMEN AND GAY PEOPLE

“Don’t think I’ve come to bring peace on earth. I’ve come, not to bring peace, but a sword.”

– Jesus the Nazarene (*Matt.*, 10:34)

Christianity and the old religion, with its heretical offshoots, could not co-exist in peace. Members of the Christian ruling class were convinced that theirs was the one true religion and that all other religions served the devil. They remembered the words of Jesus the Nazarene: “Go out into the highways and along the hedgerows and force them to come in. I want my house to be full” (*Luke*, 14:23, *New American Bible*). Taking up the sword, Christian rulers tried to annihilate those they could not convince.

The situation became critical in the late twelfth century. By 1150, the Cathars had their own culture, dialect, religion, and tradition of self-government in Languedoc (southern France) (Wakefield, 62). Cathars opposed Catholicism and were tolerant toward Gay people, Jews, and pagans. Many Cathar leaders were women, and the arts flourished free of censorship. Church leaders were alarmed at the spread of Catharism and started issuing condemnations of their practices and teachings. In 1150, Geoffrey of Auxerre published *Super Apocalypsim*, accusing the Cathars of advocating free sex (Russell, 128). In 1157, the Synod of Rheims met and formally denounced Catharism. The Synod charged that Cathars engaged in orgies and that itinerant Catharist weavers were condemning marriage and encouraging promiscuity (Runciman, 121; Russell, 128; Loos, 117; Cohn, *Millennium*, 153).

Catharist beliefs spread rapidly in the rest of Europe, becoming strong in Lombardy and in the Rhineland. Other heresies appeared. In 1173, Peter Waldo (or Waldes), a rich merchant from Lyon, France, attacked the wealth of the church and gave away all of his possessions to found the Waldensians. In 1184 Pope Lucius III condemned the Waldensians and authorized the use of the Inquisition (without torture) to uncover them (Wakefield, 44 & 133).

In 1208, Pope Innocent III summoned the Albigensian Crusade to wipe out the Cathars of Languedoc, who were also known as Albigensians, after the city of Albi. From 1209 to 1229, Catholic troops, led by Simon de Montfort, invaded Languedoc, threw the country into a bloody civil war, and conducted a campaign of extermination. The people of Languedoc resisted with equal determination and violence, and were nearly victorious until the King of France, who had been uncommitted, joined the Catholic forces. On April 12, 1229, the Albigensians surrendered, except for a small group holding the fortress of Montsegur. They surrendered in 1243 only to be burned *en masse*. An incident reported by the Catholic writer Caesarius is indicative of the violence of the invading troops:

From the confessions of some of these people, they [the troops] were aware that Catholics were intermingled with the heretics, so they asked the Abbot: 'Lord, what shall we do? We cannot distinguish the good from the wicked'. The abbot, as well as others, was afraid that the heretics would pretend to be Catholics only in fear of death and after the Christians' departure would return to their perfidy. He is reported to have cried: 'Kill them! The Lord knows those who are his own'. (Wakefield, 197).

At the crusade's end, both sides signed an agreement. Forfeiting one third of his land, the Count of Toulouse swore allegiance to the church and the King of France. In addition, he promised to hunt down any remaining heretics, dismiss all Jews from their jobs, and tear down the fortifications of thirty castles. He also agreed to let a university be built—the University of Toulouse—for the purpose of fighting heresy and propagating Christian values (Wakefield, 127-130). Ironically, Augustus Caesar, twelve hundred years before, had established a university in the same town for combating the teachings of the Druids (Chadwick, *The Druids*, 78).

Despite the crusade, Catharism and other heresies spread. Between 1227-1235, Pope Gregory IX created a permanent heresy-hunting machine, the Office of the Holy Inquisition. First created by the Catholic Church, the Inquisition was later copied by courts in Protestant countries as well. Before the Inquisition was set up, heretics were tried before secular or bishops' courts acting independent of one another without any central direction. They rarely went looking for heretics, dealing only with cases that were brought to their attention. With the creation of the Inquisition, all this changed.

The Inquisition declared that heresy was a *crimen excepta* (“an exceptional crime”), which meant that prosecutions were exempt from the usual due process of law. According to the rules established by the Inquisition, a person was assumed guilty until proven innocent (see entry under “Inquisition” in Robbins, p. 266). Mere suspicion or common gossip were sufficient to bring a person before the Inquisition on such a charge. Witnesses who incriminated the accused were not publicly identified, and the accused was not given the right to cross-examine their testimony. In most cases, the accused was denied the right to counsel. In cases where counsel was allowed, a too vigorous defense of the accused could result in the counsel’s being indicted for heresy.

After 1256, persons accused of heresy were almost always tortured until they “confessed.” The torture was severe and could result in death. Those who did confess were generally tortured further until they named accomplices. After this, the accused was made to appear in court and swear that his or her confession was “voluntary”; refusal to swear this resulted in more torture. Once defendants confessed and swore that their confessions were “voluntary,” they were given over to the secular authorities to be executed. Those who confessed were generally strangled, and their bodies burned (sometimes they were reprieved and sentenced to life imprisonment on bread and water). Those who refused to confess or who retracted a confession were burned alive. Officially, it was the secular authority, not the Inquisition, that finally executed the heretic. Throughout the entire history of the Inquisition there was never any case of simple acquittal (Robbins, 270).



The cost of running the Inquisition was paid for by the accused, whose property was seized and divided up between the accusers and the judges. Heresy hunting became a major industry of the Middle Ages, rewarding those who supported the Inquisition. In 1360, the Inquisitor Eymeric complained that the secular authorities in his area were no longer giving enough support to the Inquisition: "In our days there are no more rich heretics; so that princes, not seeing much money in prospect, will not put themselves to any expense; it is a pity that so salutary an institution as ours should be so uncertain of its future" (Robbins, 271).

The authorities who created the Inquisition showed an extraordinary concern with sexual matters. In 1233 Pope Gregory IX issued a bull called *Vox in Rama*, accusing heretics of practicing sex rites and calling for their annihilation:

The whole Church weeps and groans and can find no consolation when such things are wrought in its bosom. It is the most detestable of heresies, a horror to those who hear of it, opposed to reason, contrary to piety, hateful to all hearts, inimical to earth and heaven, against which the very elements should arise. It would not be a sufficient punishment if the whole earth rose against them, if the very stars revealed their iniquities to the whole world, so that not only men but the elements themselves should combine for their destruction and sweep them from the face of the earth, without sparing age or sex, so that they should be an eternal opprobrium to the nations (Lea, 1:202).

Six years before, Gregory had issued another Bull, *Extravagantes*, which condemned sodomy (Bailey, 98). Condemnations of homosexuality among the clergy also appeared in the decrees of the Third Lateran Council in 1179, the Council of Paris in 1212, and the Council of Rouen in 1214 (Bailey, 127).

Because of the identification of homosexuality with heresy, the creation of the Inquisition seems to have spurred *secular* authorities to start harassing Lesbians and Gay men. In 1260, the legal code of the city of Orleans outlawed lesbianism and male homosexuality, calling for mutilations for the first and second offenses, and burning for the third (Bailey, 142). In 1261, the *parlement* of Amiens had to decide a dispute between the bishop and the city government as to who had the authority to try sodomites, finally deciding on behalf of the city (Bailey, 143). The fact that homosexuality came to be

viewed as a form of heresy is clearly shown in the 1290 law passed by King Edward I of England. The law called for death by burning in the case of sodomites—but did so in the context of condemning *religious* criminals: “The same sentence shall be passed upon sorcerers, sorceresses, renegades [meaning apostates], sodomites, and heretics publicly convicted” (Bailey, 145-146).

The Holy Inquisition turned homosexuality into heresy. “Heresy became a sexual rather than a doctrinal concept; to say a man was a heretic was to say that he was a homosexual, and vice versa” (Taylor, 131). Because of the methods of the Inquisition—with hearsay and the forced confession of accomplices—great numbers of Lesbians and Gay men must have lost their lives. But straight historians have not documented this aspect of the Inquisition, just as they have not documented the mass murder of Gay people in Hitler’s concentration camps.

The Inquisition inevitably led to political abuse. The most famous case of this abuse involved the charge of homosexuality against the Order of the Knights Templar, a monastic military order. On Friday, October 13, 1307, Philippe the Fair, King of France, stunned Europe by having 5,000 members of the Order arrested throughout France (Legman, 3ff). The Templars were brought before the Inquisition and charged with five counts of heresy: (1) that incoming members to the order were required to spit on the cross and reject the Christian religion; (2) that during his initiation the initiate kissed the initiator on his mouth, cock, and asshole; (3) that sodomy was the lawful and expected practice of all Templars; and (4) that the Templars held secret religious rites where they worshipped a non-Christian deity (Lea, in Legman).

At first, Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master of the Order, and the other arrested members denied the charges. But when they were subjected to torture, many “confessed.” Under an apparent plea-bargaining deal, de Molay himself agreed to plead guilty to rejecting Christ, if the charge of homosexuality was dropped (Legman, 107-108). On November 22, Pope Clement issued the bull *Pastoralis praeeminentiae*, urging all monarchs of Europe to emulate Philippe’s action (Lea, in Legman, 177). In the next few years the Templars were hunted down all over Europe. Exiled, imprisoned, or executed, they saw their property confiscated, and the order was abolished.

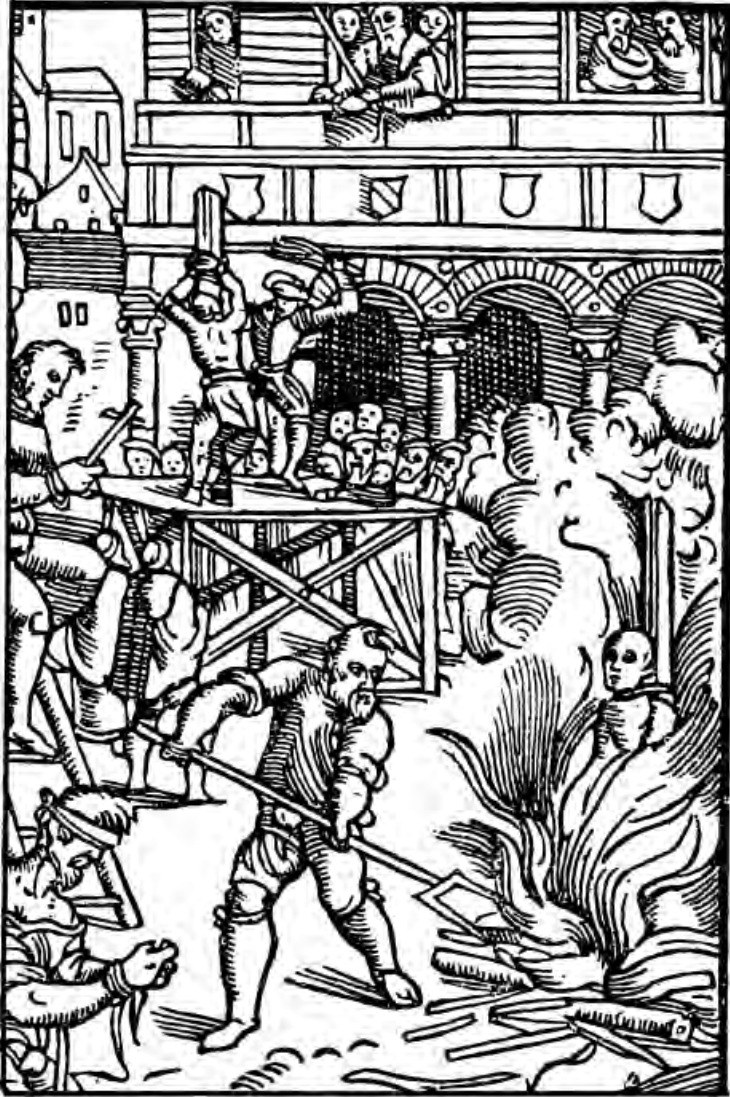
Most historians believe that Philippe’s actions were purely mercenary. Although the Templars were founded in 1128 as a mo-

nastic, military order of poor crusaders, by the fourteenth century they had accumulated vast wealth and had become the chief bankers of the Middle Ages. Both Pope Clement and Philippe were in debt to them. The Templars had also gained astonishing legal privileges. They were exempt from all taxes, were above secular law, maintained their own set of confessors, and worshipped in their own chapels from which all others were barred. Legally the French Templars were not even the subjects of Philippe, but were accountable only to the Pope (Lea, in Legman, 152). Philippe was desperate for money due to his huge war debts. Previously he had debased the currency, arrested all of the Jews in his kingdom, claimed their property, and banished them (Lea, in Legman, 154). His treatment of the Templars was consistent with his ruthless policy of subsidizing, by any means possible, the emerging apparatus of the nation-state of France. Unlike the witches, no Templar advocated his supposed heresy in the face of torture, and de Molay eventually withdrew his confession, though he knew the withdrawal would cause him to be burned alive (Lea, in Legman, 163). Hence historians are probably right in seeing the Templars as the victims of a frame-up, having nothing to do with either heresy or sodomy. The real significance of their trial is that it shows the extent to which heresy had been identified with sodomy and the way in which both charges could be used for political purposes.

In 1310, King Philippe brought posthumous charges of conjuring, apostasy, murder and sodomy against Pope Boniface VIII, who had died in 1303 (Cohn, *Demons*, 185). His reasons were purely political. In 1296, he had tried to impose a tax on church property to pay for his war against England. The Pope issued a bull forbidding the tax and excommunicating those who tried to enforce it. The King had the Pope arrested, but the latter still refused to withdraw his excommunication, and soon after died. The only way to invalidate the excommunication was to have the dead Pope declared a heretic. The effort proved unnecessary, however, when the new Pope, Clement V (a stooge of the King), withdrew the excommunication, at which point the King dropped the case (Cohn, *Demons*, 182).

Despite these cases involving Popes and Kings, inquisitors spent most of their energy trying to exterminate heretics from the lower classes. In 1311, Pope Clement V issued his bull *Ad Nostrum*, which called for annihilation of the spreading heresy of the Free Spirit, popular among the very poor. The issuance of this bull marked

the beginning of a crucial transition period which ended in 1484 with Pope Innocent VIII's anti-witch bull. Between these two dates, the church's entire concept of witchcraft changed. It was no longer simply viewed as the act of injuring another person through magic (bewitchment), but was regarded as a form of devil worship (demonic witchcraft). In effect, witchcraft came to be viewed as a form of *heresy*, and so fell under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.



Under paganism, witchcraft was thought of as simple bewitchment (the ability to bless or curse). Pagan laws restricted themselves to cases of actual proven injury brought about by a curse or spell. If the defendant was acquitted, the accuser was punished instead; hence the laws favored the accused. “The old pagan laws had taken cognizance of magic only in the form of *maleficium* [bewitchment], and even then had judged it solely in terms of harm done to life, health or property” (Cohn, *Demons*, 157). Under the early church, however, both good and evil magical activities—since they supposedly came from the devil—were considered evil. Furthermore, the early church viewed witchcraft as an essentially pagan tradition. This identification with paganism is clear from early Christian law:

There also exist other, most pernicious, evils that are undoubtedly left over from the practice of the pagans. Such are magicians, soothsayers, sorcerers, witches, diviners, enchanters, interpreters of dreams, whom the divine law decrees to be punished unflinchingly (Lea 1:138).

Despite its contempt for magic, the early church did not organize a full-scale attack against magicians and witches because it was not yet strong enough. The Christianity of the early Middle Ages was largely an affair of the King and the upper class of warlords. The rest of society remained pagan. In addition, early medieval Christians were hampered by a general breakdown of centralized authority in both church and state. Anarchy favored paganism.

By the early thirteenth century, with the election of Pope Innocent III, the church was much better organized and ready to act. Its immediate target was heresy: the numerous and widespread attempts to combine traditional Christianity with elements of the old religion. To deal with this, the church launched crusades and started the Holy Inquisition. By the early fourteenth century, the church as an institution was stronger than ever, gaining the upper hand over heretics everywhere. Now it began to look at the historical sources of heresy—the surviving old religion that modern historians view as “folklore,” “peasant fantasy,” and “strange fertility rites.” Feeling its privilege, power, and world view threatened by these sources, the fifteenth-century ruling class fantasized that Satan was conspiring to overthrow the power of Christ’s church on earth. Christian intellectuals fed on this and they, not the lower classes, thus created the stereotype of demonic witchcraft (Kieckhefer, *passim*). In 1451,

Pope Nicholas V declared that magical activities were subject to the Inquisition (Robbins, 272). And in 1484, Pope Innocent VIII gave papal backing to the intellectuals' view that witches were demon-worshipping heretics.

Two factors thus combined to produce the mass witch hunts of the 16th and 17th centuries: great power and great fear in the hands of the Christian ruling class. The combination was deadly and led to horrible consequences. Most of continental Europe became convinced that witches were everywhere. "Every misfortune and every accident in a hamlet would be attributed to witchcraft" (Lea, III: 508)



Two companions being slain together during the Inquisition

The methods developed by the Holy Inquisition (and later adopted by the Protestant courts as well) guaranteed a steady flow of "confessions." Any person who was a non-conformist ran the risk of being brought before the court and tortured into confessing and naming accomplices. Common methods of torture used against witches included crushing their fingers in vises, pouring alcohol on their backs and setting it afire, making them sit on a red hot stove, pouring hot oil into their boots, roasting the soles of their feet over fires until the joints fell out, stretching their body on the rack until every joint became dislocated, tearing out pieces of flesh with red hot pincers, amputating parts of their body, and gouging out their

eyes. Rumors of homosexuality made a person suspect of witchcraft. Typical of the attitude of the time was the book *Theologia Moralis*, published in 1625, which argued that sodomy was a crime leading to witchcraft (Lea II:670).

Persons arrested were questioned at great length about their sex lives, and were almost always tortured into confessing an abundance of sexual "crimes." Women who showed any signs of independence or non-conformity were very suspect. Up until the fourteenth century, women and men were cited equally at the trials; after that time the majority of the victims were women (Russell, 279). There can be little doubt that Gay women suffered a great deal during this period.

Roman Catholicism had no monopoly on the terrors of the witch hunt. Some of the worst atrocities were perpetrated by the Protestants, who introduced the Inquisition to countries that had been lenient (Trevor-Roper, 138). John Calvin hunted down his religious enemies, as well as witches. He once boasted of luring the Unitarian Michael Servetus to Geneva under the guise of safety and then having him burned alive as a heretic. At Geneva, the most trivial offenses were also suppressed: dancing was illegal; a group of bridesmaids were once arrested for decorating a bride with too much color; a child was beheaded for striking its father (Taylor, 158; 163). "What the Puritans and Calvinists achieved at the Reformation was the re-establishment of the depressive, guilt-ridden attitude as the whole source of religion" (Taylor, 282).

It is impossible to determine how many people were killed by Christian witch-hunters. Estimates vary from between several hundred thousand to almost ten million. But if anything, most estimates are probably low since the great bulk of transcripts and court records still lie unseen and unanalyzed in archives and libraries throughout Europe.

The Christian oppression of women and Gay people was no accident. Their freedom and high status in the old religion made them prime targets for the new religion, which was profoundly anti-sexual. In view of these atrocities, it cannot be argued, as some still do, that the Christian religion has on the whole been humane, even though there may have been terrible injustices at certain times. Throughout its history, Christianity has been a religion of the sword. The few Christians in the past who have raised their voices against

the atrocities of their co-believers have always been a tiny minority, and often they themselves have ended up being burned as heretics.

The Christians hunted down heretics and witches for fourteen hundred years, from the 3rd to the 17th centuries. Their aim, which they accomplished, was to annihilate an entire culture. For the most part, the old religion and the heresies it inspired were wiped off the face of the earth. In their place stood the grim, disciplined edifice of Christianity and the violent forces that kept Christianity in power.



SEX MAGIC IN THE EARLY THIRD WORLD

Beliefs and practices similar to Europe's old religion can be found throughout the world. Cross-dressing by both men and women, masquerading in animal skins, and ritual sex are common in the oldest traditions of non-industrial societies. Here Lesbians and Gay men are often shamans (healer-priests).

The fullest account of the magical role of Gay people in nature societies was written by the German scholar Hermann Baumann, who assembled evidence from the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Concerning the American Indians, Baumann wrote that "since the days of the discovery of America, conquerors, missionaries, travelers, etc., made reports on the effeminate men and 'hermaphrodites' who, according to them, were said to be found in great numbers among the original Indian populations" (Baumann, 21). These "hermaphrodites" were not people possessing the sex organs of both sexes, but members of one sex who took on the clothes and attributes of the other sex and who had sexual relations with members of the same sex. The most famous example of this practice was the so-called *berdache*—a Gay male transvestite among the Prairie Indians—so named by the French from an Arabian word meaning slave. Actually, the *berdache* was not a slave at all, but occupied a contemptible position only in the eyes of the homophobic whites who encountered him. Among the native Americans, before they adopted white values, the *berdache* was a magical person who played an established role in their culture.

George Catlin, who traveled across North America in the early 19th century recording Indian customs, left an eyewitness account of the *berdache* among the Sioux. They had a special joyous dance in honor of the *berdache* (whom they called *I-coo-coo-a*) and his lovers. Appalled by the high honor paid to the *I-coo-coo-a*, Catlin wrote: "This is one of the most unaccountable and disgusting customs, that I have ever met in Indian country" (Catlin, v. 2, 4th ed., 215). He urged the invading whites to suppress the custom: "I am constrained to refer the reader to the country where it is practiced, and where I should wish it might be extinguished before it be more fully recorded" (Catlin, 215). According to Baumann, the institution

existed in *all* major linguistic and cultural groups of North America (Baumann, 21).

The widespread homosexuality of the North American Indians was given as an excuse by the invading Christian whites for their extermination. Their religious sex rites were taken as proof of their supposed racial inferiority, compared to the more sexually repressed culture of the invaders. Notes Baumann:

At the time, this was readily taken as a sign of the degeneracy of the Indian races, or at least as a reason for the quick defeat of their population. Although these often fanciful reports (which circulated from the 16th to the 19th century) were sensitively colored because of the tastes at the time of the European observers, nonetheless they are extraordinarily important, for it was precisely erotic practices that quickly disappeared in later times, suppressed by the ridicule or malicious criticism of bookish European observers (Baumann, 21).

The Indians themselves generally viewed the *berdache* with religious awe (Baumann, 21-22). For a man to dress in the clothing of a woman was not considered disgraceful in a culture (unlike our own) where women held a high status. It's only because men look down on women in our culture that effeminate-appearing men are ridiculed (they're viewed as degrading the supposedly higher status of their own sex). If women were seen as the equals of men, no man would feel threatened by a woman-appearing man. Women had a far higher status among the North American Indians than women do in modern industrial societies (Briffault, v. I, 311-328). They usually had political, religious, and sexual equality and most often formed an independent social group separate from the control of men. They even filled the role of warrior. When the ships of Admiral Colon first landed on an island near Puerto Rico in 1496, they were attacked by "a multitude of women armed with bows and arrows" (Steiner, 23).

Sometimes the *berdache* played a ritual sex role in the great religious festivals of the North American Indians. Among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, a man was chosen as a *mujerado* whom the other men fucked in the ass as part of the spring festival (Baumann, 24). In the buffalo dance of the Sioux, a man dressed in buffalo horns was ritually fucked by other men.

In some Indian dances—as with pagan Europeans—dildos were used. "In fact, we are acquainted in the neighborhood of the Yuma peoples with numerous additional ritual acts in which men are

dressed as women in order for them to function as the feminine role in a fertility rite, while the masculine role is played by men sometimes with a phallus, and both roles depict copulation as a fertility charm” (Baumann, 24). As in ancient Europe, these practices were joyous celebrations thought to make both the tribe and nature prosper.

The *berdache* could also play an important political role. In 1935, a Navaho elder said, “I believe when all the *nadle* [Lesbian and Gay-male shamans] have passed away, it will be the end of Navaho culture. [...] They are the leaders, like President Roosevelt” (Baumann, 25). Among the Otoe Indians, becoming a *berdache* could be the climax of a man’s life, even for a warrior (Irving, 94).

Many straight writers still insist that the *berdache* did not have an honored place among the North American Indians, but was at best tolerated like some kind of funny freak. They base their conclusions on the reports of some early white accounts that do sometimes give this impression. But if the accounts are read closely, the observers often contradict themselves. For example, in 1564 Jacques de Morgues reported of the *berdaches* among the Florida Indians that they “are considered odious by the Indians themselves” (Katz, 286). Yet he then goes on to say that they are the healers of the tribe! A good example of how the white observer’s reaction could conflict with the Indians’ practice is the account of the Jesuit Joseph Lafitau around 1711. He says concerning the *berdaches* of the Illinois and other tribes: “They believe they are honored by debasing themselves to all of women’s occupations... and this profession of an extraordinary life causes them to be regarded as people of a high order, and above the common man” (Katz, 288).

It’s true that some accounts show that the *berdaches* were butts of jokes by other men and women. But Indians made jokes about all sorts of people. Laughter and gaiety were typical of the Indian character. The heads of the tribe themselves were often the butts of jokes. “Those in power sometimes had to accept that they were the butts of jokes, especially of sexual jibes and jeers” (Burland, *North America*, 123). Women often ridiculed men and sometimes even had satirical rituals concerning them. The making of jokes was common to all segments of the Indian population. But no one has bothered to record the jokes the *berdaches* may have made about straight men.

North American Indian art reflects an openness to Gay sex. The oldest examples of their art (apart from arrow heads) come from

the Ohio and Mississippi valleys from between 100 BC and 900 AD. The Gay themes of some of this art has scandalized white anthropologists (Burland, 121).

Although most early reports concerning the American Indians describe male *berdaches*, Gay women also played an important role in the tribes. In general, the sexist white observers tended to look down on Indian women, viewing their work as inferior to that of the men's, and giving much less attention to their rituals and practices. As a result, we have much less information concerning women. One interesting account is by the Jesuit Lafitau, who said he observed cases of "Amazons" in the tribes he visited, who were transvestite women warriors (Carpenter, *Intermediate Types*, 24). His observations came from the Illinois and the Sauk, but I suspect that the institution of the Lesbian warrior was as well established among all the North American Indians as it was in ancient Europe.

Christian missionaries denounced the North American Indian approach to religion as witchcraft, just as Catholics and Protestants had done earlier in Europe with the surviving old religion.

Writing in the 17th century, Cotton Mather denounced the Indians as "the veriest ruines of mankind" (Mather, 504). He charged that they had "diabolic rites" in which "a devil" appeared to them (Mather, 506). In this context, we should note that the famous witch hunts in Salem Village in 1692 all started with accusations made by three sexually repressed young Puritans. These three young women had been present at Indian ceremonies conducted by two Carib Indians, John and his wife Tituba (Hansen, 56ff).

Sad to say, the North American Indians of today are completely out of touch with their original sexual culture, just as Europeans have lost all contact with the old religion. Nonetheless, certain myths still survive among the Indians, which tell, in symbolic language, the story of what has happened to them. A beautiful example is a myth of the Caddo Indians, which was recorded somewhere between 1903 and 1905:

One time there lived among the people a man who always did the women's work and dressed like the women and went with them, and never went with the men. The men made fun of him, but he did not care, and continued to work and play only with the women. A war broke out with some other tribe, and all of the men went to fight but this man, who stayed behind with the women. After the war party had gone, an old man, who was too

old to go with them, came to him and told him that if he would not go to fight he was going to kill him, for it was a disgrace to have such a man in the tribe. The man refused to go, saying the Great Father did not send him to earth to fight and did not want him to. The old man paid no attention to his excuse, and told him if he did not go to fight he would have the warriors kill him when they returned from battle with the enemy. The man said that they could not kill him, that he would always come to life, and would bewitch people and cause them to fight and kill one another. The old man did not believe him, and when the war party came home he told the men that they would have to kill the man because he was a coward, and they could not let a coward live in the tribe. They beat him until they thought he was dead, and were just ready to bury him when he jumped up alive. Again they beat him until he fell, then they cut off his head. He jumped up headless and ran about, frightening all of the people. They were just about to give up killing him when someone noticed a small purple spot on the little finger of his left hand. They cut that out; then he lay down and died. Soon after many people began to fight and quarrel, and even killed their own brothers and sisters and fathers and mothers. The other people tried to stop the fighting, but could not, because the people were bewitched and could not help themselves. Then the old man remembered what the coward had said, and he told the people, and they were all sorry they had killed him (Dorsey, 19).

A religious attitude toward Lesbians and Gay men was not limited to the area now called the continental United States. A connection between transvestite Gay people and magical power is also found in native societies inhabiting the area around the Bering Strait. Such is the case among the Kamchadales, the Chukchi, the Aleuts, Inoits and Kodiak Islanders, where male and female Gay shamans have been reported. In these societies, Gay men grow their hair very long, wear the clothing of women, and are accorded great religious and political respect. "Homosexuality is common, and its relation to shamanism or priesthood most marked and curious" (Carpenter, 16). A similarly high position in religion and politics is reported for transvestite Gay women among peoples of the Yukon (Carpenter, 18).

Here, as in other places, straight anthropologists have freaked out over what they observed. The classic account of Chuck-

chi shamans is by the Russian observer W. Bogoras. He describes them in a chapter with the homophobic title "Sexual Perversion and Transformed Shamans." He claims that the natives gossip about the shamans because they are "so peculiar" (Bogoras, 451). Yet he then proceeds to admit that the Gay male shaman "has all the young men he could wish for striving to obtain his favor" (Bogoras, 451). He also admits that the people have great respect for his magical powers.

In Central and South America, many reports have survived of Gay people and transvestites in native societies' religions. For example, in 1554 Cieza de Leon described religious Gay male prostitutes similar to those mentioned in the Old Testament as living in Canaan. He associated them with the Devil: "the Devil had gained such mastery in the land that, not content with causing the people to fall into mortal sin, he had actually persuaded them that the same was a species of holiness and religion" (Carpenter, 34).

In 1775, Thomas Faulkner reported that the function of male wizards among the Patagonians was performed by effeminate Gay men (Carpenter, 37). Sacred male prostitution was reported by the conquistadores in pre-Columbian Mexico. The sculpture of Yucatan shows that male homosexuality was "the custom of the country" (Bloch, 49). Young male religious prostitutes, whom the Spanish called *maricones*, existed among the Andes Indians (Bloch, 50).

The situation in Central and South America was complicated, however, by the rise of patriarchal civilizations like those of the Aztecs and Incas. The Aztecs were a highly militaristic society dominated by a ruling class of warriors. Like all such societies, they had a repressive attitude toward sex (Burland, *Middle America*, 147ff). For example, they feared nudity and identified sex with the witch goddess Tlazolteotl. Among the Incas of Peru, the official sex morality was also very strict (Osborne, 191). But in South American civilizations that were not patriarchal and militaristic, we find a great deal of sexual freedom, just as among the North American Indians. This is true of the Mochica people who flourished between 200 BC and 700 AD in Peru. Their art freely depicts every kind of different sex act, including Gay sex, naturalistically and without any reserve (Osborne, 193).

Gay shamans also existed in Africa. Such were the transvestite *omasenge* among the Ambo people of South West Africa (Baumann, 33). Among the Bantu and the Kwanyama, all the medicine people were Gay transvestites. Gay medicine people were also reported among the following societies: the Ovimbundu and Kimbundu of

Northern Angola; the Lango of Uganda; the Konso of South Abyssinia; the Cilenge-Humbi of South Quillenges; and the Barea-Kunama, Korongo and Mesakin, all of Northeast Africa (these examples from Baumann).

In certain African societies, sacred orgies occurred in which Gay people, both women and men, played an important role. People in the orgy reported that they were taken over by a divine spirit that led them to Gay sex acts. Concerning the matriarchal Bantu people, Baumann observes: "During these orgies it sometimes happens that a masculine *ondele* enters a woman, causing sexual desires that lead as an evil consequence [sic] to Lesbian acts" (Baumann, 34-35). Even in certain societies where European commentators claim that homosexuality is not accepted, such as in parts of Angola, during great religious festivals people become possessed by transvestite and homosexual spirits (Baumann, 36).

Magical Gay people were also found in Madagascar, the large island off the coast of southeast Africa. Among the Manghabei, the sacred male transvestites were called *tsecats* (Bloch, 45-46). The Sakalavas and Betanimenes of Madagascar knew of the same institution (Bloch, 46-47).

But an openness to Gay sex, even in a religious context, is certainly not universal in Africa. As we observed in the case of Central and South America, sexual freedom in Africa can be greatly restrained in those societies that are patriarchal and militaristic. In general, an open attitude toward sex is found most often in those nature societies that have not undertaken a program of empire-building and who are free from a rigid hierarchical class structure.

When invading Christians encountered religious Gay practices in Africa, they attributed them to the Devil, just as Christians did in the case of the Indians of North America, and the witches of the Middle Ages. In 1492, the Christian convert Leo Africanus wrote concerning the sacred Lesbians of Morocco:

The third kind of diviners are women-witches, which are affirmed to have familiarity with divels. Changing their voices they fain the divell to speak within them: then they which come to enquire ought with greate fear and trembling aske these vile and abominable witches such questions as they mean to propound, and lastly, offering some fee unto the divell, they depart. But the wiser and honester sort of people call these women Sahacat, which in Latin signifieth Fricatrices [Lesbians], because they

have a damnable custom to commit unlawful venerie among themselves, which I cannot express in any modester terms (Carpenter, 39).

In outlining the sacred role of Gay people in non-industrial societies, we could go on and on, and cite numerous examples outside of America and Africa. Suffice it to say that ritual transvestism and sodomy (or the worship of androgynous deities, which is usually indicative of this) are also found in Australia, the South Sea Islands, the Middle East, Europe, and the Far East (including India, China, Japan and Vietnam).

In addition, indiscriminate sexual orgies are commonly and routinely practiced by non-industrialized societies as a form of religious devotion. Reports of these sacred orgies come from all over the world. An excellent account of their practice can be found in George Scott's book *Phallic Worship*. ("Phallic" as used in this book refers to the genitals of both sexes, and not just to cocks.) For example in the Americas, pictures surviving from ancient Yucatan show religious scenes in which men perform acts of "indescribable beastliness" (Scott, 122-123). In the Far East, the situation is the same. In Japan, many of the oldest practices of the indigenous nature religion continue under the guise of Shintoism. Ancient Shinto temples are full of orgiastic art and "were the scene of sexual orgies rivaling the Bacchanalia of ancient Rome" (229). In ancient China, one of the most celebrated goddesses was Kwan-Yin, a variant of the great mother. She was worshipped with orgies that included homosexuality (222). The most ancient religious artifacts of India are filled with depictions of orgies, and the worship of the sexual organs of both sexes (183). Jacques-Antoine Dulaure, in his classic book on sex worship, notes that "the celebrated and ancient pagoda of Jagannath, and the no less ancient one of Elephanta near Bombay, the bas-reliefs of which William Alen sketched in 1784, offer the most indecent pictures that a corrupted imagination could conceive (*The Gods of Generation*, 83).

Sacred orgies regularly occurred in the religious rites of ancient peoples living around the Mediterranean Sea. Such, among others, were the worship of Isis at Bubasti in Egypt; the festivals of Baal-Peor in the Middle East; the worship of Venus at Cyprus; the worship of Adonis at Byblos; and, of course, the Dionysia, Floralia and Bacchanalia (Bloch, 95).

The purpose of these sacred orgies has been much obscured by modern commentators, who are generally straight males. The or-

gies were *not* done to increase the population as is often maintained. The notion that the purpose of sex is procreation is a modern industrial one, derived ultimately from the Judeo-Christian tradition. Some of the most ancient nature societies did not even know that children are produced by fucking. Besides, most nature societies deliberately restricted population growth through the use of herbal contraceptives and abortions. Nor were their rites a secret symbolizing of some deep hidden theological meaning.

All the evidence indicates that nature people fucked for pleasure. Their purpose was to celebrate sex. Their orgies were acts of sexual worship to the power of sex they felt in themselves and in nature around them. Their religious feasts were characteristically joyous: dancing, feasting, fucking together. The Indians who have been observed in the Americas; the myths that have survived in Europe; the artifacts that exist from all over the world—all attest to the *pleasure* of what the celebrants were doing. George Scott has rightly observed “that, without exception, the worship of sex by all primitive [*sic*] races originated in the pleasure associated with coitus, and not in any clearly conceived notion that intercourse would produce children” (47).

Hence it is a misrepresentation for industrialized academics to call such celebrations “fertility rites,” as they usually do. The orgies were not clumsy attempts to increase the gross national product by people who had a very rude understanding of economic laws. Nature people did, indeed, believe that through such acts their bodies would become stronger, the crops would grow taller, the sun would shine brighter, and the rains would come in profusion when needed. But they believed these things because they had a collective tribal *feeling* of the power of sex throbbing through the whole of nature; their experience of sex was so open, public, communal and intense that they felt it reverberate through the whole cosmos. In this, they were unlike modern industrialized people who practice sex solely for procreation—privately, in the dark, in isolation, and with guilt.

Non-industrialized societies were not in the least embarrassed to practice all sorts of sex acts in public because the notion of sexual obscenity, like the procreative ideal of sex, is a modern Christian/industrial view. “In tribes where no ideas of modesty such as are current in civilized [*sic*] society have arisen, there is no concept of obscenity in connexion with exposure of the genital organs or even with the performance of the sex act itself. Any taboo is concerned

not with the *sight* of the reproductive parts, but with the touching of them by unauthorized persons” (Scott, 125).

Non-industrialized societies also in general treat prostitutes, both heterosexual and homosexual, much differently than Christian/industrial societies. In modern societies, as we all know, the prostitute is a purely economic being: a woman or man rents out her or his body for the sake of someone else’s orgasm or phantasy. In addition, the work of prostitutes is looked down upon in industrialized societies as being somehow dirty, and prostitutes are often caught up in a web of social disrepute, legal harassment, and exploitation by pimps.

In non-industrialized societies, prostitutes are often treated with great religious respect, and their activities are considered as religious activities. For example, in the ancient Middle East, the land of Canaan, later invaded by the Israelites, was originally peopled by a society where Gay male prostitution was very prominent. These prostitutes were located in the temples. As with medieval witches, men and women who impersonated sexual deities were literally thought to become them, and having sex with these people was viewed as the highest and most tangible form of religious communion with the deity.

Payment was made to the temple as a form of religious donation after having sex with the sacred prostitute. In the original Hebrew of the Old Testament, male prostitutes were called *Kadeshim*, which literally means “consecrated ones,” indicative of their high status in the eyes of their worshippers (Carpenter, 29). Most translations of this word into other languages suppress the positive meaning of the word, and mistranslate it negatively, as, for example, “effeminate” (Dulaure, 130-131). Israeli leaders denounced this sex and nature religion as witchcraft (Carpenter, *Intermediate Types*, 50).

Throughout the ancient world, both male and female prostitution was associated with religion. Such was the case in the worship of Baal-Peor, Moloch and Astarte (Syria); Osiris and Isis (Egypt); Venus (Greece and Rome); Mithra (Persia); Myllita (Assyria); Alitita (Arabia); Dilephat (Chaldea); Salambo (Babylonia); and Diana Anaitis (Armenia).

In Mediterranean civilization, the male god associated with these phenomena came in general to be called Priapus (which means “erect cock” and “dildo” in Latin). He is very reminiscent of the horned god of the witches: “In the statues raised in the temples, Priapus was represented under the form of a hairy man, with legs and horns like a goat, holding a wand in his hand and provided with

a formidable virile member” (Dupouy, 503). The corresponding female deity was a great-mother figure often associated with the earth or the moon, reminiscent of the witches’ Diana.

The religious prostitute seems simply to be a historical extension of the practice of having ritual sex with the shaman, either male or female. In tribal societies (where cities, temples, and money are unknown), we have seen the common practice of ritual sex with the shaman, individually or in orgies. As early Mediterranean societies fell victim to urbanism and a money economy, the function of shaman in the countryside was transformed into that of priest in the temple, and money then entered in as a form of religious donation. So we see how Gay history, the history of prostitution, and the religious history of non-industrialized societies are all tied together.

The phenomenon called “witchcraft” in Europe was by no means an isolated thing peculiar to a certain period in the history of that continent. Quite the opposite: the ritual worship of sex and nature was once the case throughout the world, and still is in the societies that industrialized academics call “primitive.” In these societies, as in the case of the witches, women and Gay men generally enjoyed a high status, Gay people of both sexes were looked upon with religious awe, and sexual acts of every possible kind were associated with the most holy forms of religious expression. Admittedly, there were also great diversities and variations in the beliefs and practices of these societies, but there was one great common feature that set them off in sharp distinction to the Christian/industrial tradition: their love of sexuality. This love of sexuality was “the universal primitive religion of the world and has left its indelible impress upon our ideas, our language, and our institutions” (Howard, 7).



Slave-muster at the Casa Grande, Morro Velho

SEX AMONG THE ZOMBIES

I see
I wear
the zombie smile
of the sane
as we tiptoe past mirrors
cradling the grenades
of our truth.

¶ – Claudia Reed, “Women’s Work” in *Plexus* magazine.

American civilization began in genocide.

When the early European colonists arrived in North America, they did not come upon a vacant land. Instead, they found a multitude of nature people who had lived there for ages on end. These nature people had developed some of the highest cultures in recorded history. They lived full, long, healthy lives. Their societies had little hierarchy and no government superstructure. Organized warfare, in the modern sense, was rare or unknown. Labor was free. Women generally enjoyed a high status, and Gay persons of both sexes were regarded with religious awe. They developed beautiful arts and crafts, in which nearly everyone was skilled. They managed to satisfy all the basic needs of human existence with much grace and beauty, and were able to do so without the curse of cities, police, mental institutions, or universities. Although personal violence was known among them, it paled in comparison to the level of violence in any Western society during the past two thousand years. The Indians loved nature and knew how to talk to plants and animals, whom they regarded as their equals. They were able to feel (and not just know) that everything that is, lives.

Onto this scene came the industrializing whites, burdened and propelled by over two thousand years of patriarchal institutions. The whites denounced the Indians as “primitive,” “savage,” and “barbarian.” They accused them of worshipping devils and ridiculed their Gay shamans. They taught them how to practice organized warfare. They plied them into violence against each other, stole their land, and succeeded in killing off nearly every one of them, quarantining their survivors in concentration camps called reservations.

The whites' genocide against the Indians affected how the whites thought about sex: They came to view sex as an instrument of imperial policy. For them, the purpose of sex was to breed as large a number of people as possible in order to push aside the relatively low-density Indian population and the population of colonists from other European nations. Colonial leaders eagerly looked forward to the day when fast-breeding white Americans would force their way over the whole Western hemisphere, both north and south. In 1751, Benjamin Franklin published his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind*. In it, he urged Americans to breed rapidly in order to take over new lands. He called upon the British government to forcibly displace the local Indians to make room for the growing number of rapidly breeding Americans (van Alstyne, 20-21).

One of the most outspoken advocates of the same policy was Thomas Jefferson. In 1786, when the states were under the Articles of Confederation, Jefferson stated: "Our confederacy must be viewed as the nest, from which all America, North and South, is to be peopled," (van Alstyne, 81). Later, in 1801, after the constitution was in effect, Jefferson continued along the same line: "However our present interest may restrain us within our limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand it beyond these limits, and cover the whole northern if not the southern continent, with people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, and by similar laws" (van Alstyne, 87). Jefferson continually pointed his finger at the retreating Indian tribes, whom he considered savages, and urged Americans to "press upon them" until they were pushed out of the way (Williams, 179). He even urged rich Americans to get Indian leaders in debt "because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands" (Williams, 187). The early French colonists had a similar view of sex as a tool for breeding. They vied with the Americans as to who could fill up the continent first with their populations (de Riencourt, 5). Such a twisted view of sex (which must have seemed totally incomprehensible to the Indians) came easily to the colonists. It had lain ready at hand for nearly seventeen centuries in the Christian religion. The various churches of Europe (both Catholic and Protestant) had long been imperialist institutions. They had advocated the very same view of sex for similar reasons. Such a view was also found in the ancient state of Israel, which had invaded the land of Canaan, uprooted the local population, and bred as rapidly as possible to fill up the land.

This attitude became so entrenched that it was projected onto the Israeli god. Accordingly, in the book of Genesis, which was accepted by both Jews and Christians, the Israeli god gives this as his very first commandment to Adam and Eve: “Be fertile and fill the earth and subdue it,” (New American Bible; Genesis 1: 28) In New England, the Puritans were infatuated with the history of the ancient Israeli state. They regarded themselves as the founders of a New Israel in the American wilderness (van Alstyne, 8). They compared the Indians to the sex-worshipping Canaanites whom the Israelis killed.

Imperialism and compulsive heterosexuality go hand in hand, as was well understood by the ancient Israeli state, the Christian churches of Europe, and the American colonial leaders. In early America, this use of sex paid off. Due to rapid breeding and the continual invasion of immigrants, the colonial population grew from 250,000 in 1700 to 1,400,000 in 1750, an increase of well over 500% in only fifty years (Williams, 103).

The British government became alarmed at the rapid growth of the colonial population and tried to stop the seizure of Indian lands west of the Alleghenies. In doing this, however, the Crown was not motivated by any humanitarian reasons. It didn't want to lose the lucrative fur trade it had forced on the Indians (de Riencourt, 6-7). These restrictions infuriated the colonial ruling class. The Declaration of Independence, which was written mostly by Jefferson, attacked the King for this policy. It listed as a justification for rebellion against the King the fact that “he has endeavored to prevent the Population of these States.”

In view of the imperialist use of sex in the colonies and the dead weight of Christian tradition from Europe, it's not surprising that the colonies outlawed sodomy. Even the outbreak of the Revolution had no effect on changing these laws. The Bill of Rights spoke only of intellectual rights, such as speech, religion, and assembly. It had nothing to say about the rights of sex, the emotions, or the body. Jefferson, the originator of the Bill of Rights, helped write a law that Gay men be castrated (Katz, 24). Moreover, the right to religious freedom was (and still is) considered to apply only to patriarchal religions. Public religious orgies using hallucinogens have never been permitted in the United States.

Early America was a slave society. The first permanent English settlement in North America was Jamestown, founded in 1607. Soon thereafter, in 1619, the first boatload of Black slaves was brought to Jamestown (Hacker, 57). Throughout the 17th and 18th

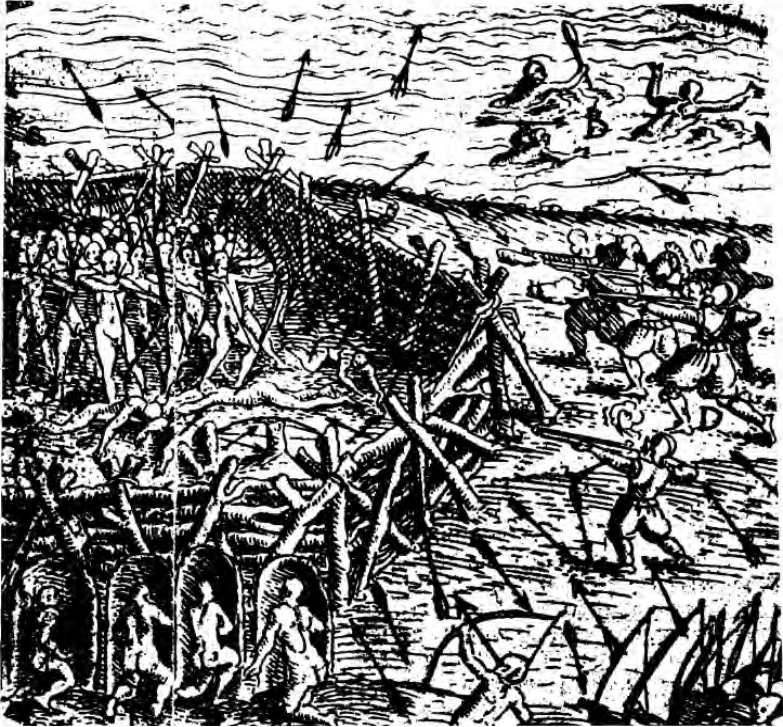
centuries, people from Black African cultures were kidnapped, sold to slave dealers, and shipped across the sea to America. Those who survived the wretched conditions of the journey were sold off to the colonial ruling class. Between 1686 and 1786, more than 2,000,000 Black people were forced to become slaves in the West Indies and in the American colonies (Hacker, 101).

Slaves were the basis of the economy in the *North* as well as the South. This was because of the nature of trade relations in the industrial system of early America. Ships from New England sent foodstuffs, lumber, and animals to the West Indies; they returned from there with sugar and molasses, from which they made rum; they exported the rum to the coast of Africa and with it bought slaves; the slaves were returned to the West Indies and the colonies. Hence “the slave trade made possible the expansion of the mercantile economy of the New England and middle-colony ports” (Hacker, 101). We have seen that Gay people performed the role of shamans in Black Africa, just as they did among the native American Indians. The enslavement of Blacks, like the annihilation of the Indians, is an example of how the sexually repressive American way of life built its empire on the agonies of nature peoples.

White slavery was also widespread in America. It took the form of indentured servitude. Many of the poorer people immigrating to America from Europe had to sell themselves into slavery (usually for seven years) in order to pay for the cost of crossing. Although indentured servitude did not last a lifetime, indentured servants had the status of slaves during their service. “Colonial America was built upon the unfree labor of whites and blacks. Fully 250,000 white men, women and children and another 250,000 black persons—*constituting in all at least one half of the original immigrants to the mainland colonies by 1700*—had gone this way” (Hacker, 97; italics added). The beneficiary of this oppression was the colonial ruling class, which consisted of the landlords of huge estates, land speculators, and rich merchants. A good example of this class was George Washington, who was a plantation lord, a land speculator, a dealer in animal furs and grains, and a moneylender (Hacker, 112).

As the frontier moved westward, the first people to move in after the Indians were pushed out were not bands of pioneers, but wealthy land speculators and large real-estate companies. “The West was not opened up by the hardy frontiersman; it was opened up by the land speculator who preceded even the Daniel Boones into the wilderness” (Hacker, 131-2). Most of the pioneers who followed the

land speculators were not the poor and the down-trodden. They were upwardly mobile middle-class people, since the journey was a very expensive one (Hacker, 202). These early pioneers eagerly slaughtered masses of wild animals in order to sell their furs (Hacker, 133). The images of these invaders today adorn cigarette advertisements as ideals of American masculinity.



¶ *Samuel de Champlain's attack on the Iroquois (1609)*

In the earliest history of Europe, the ancient worship of sexuality originated in a matriarchal agrarian society. The people lived in close emotional communion with the land. This was the ancient economic and religious fact that lay behind the latter-day cultural forces of witchcraft and heresy. This tradition managed to survive in some form or other in Europe until the 17th century. In America—apart from the Indians, who were killed off—no such tradition of relating to nature and the land ever took root. “The American farmer started out as a capitalist farmer from the very beginning” (Hacker, 6). American farmers were entrepreneurs, interested only in getting as much cash out of the soil as quickly as possible, and then moving

on when the land was exhausted. Because of their rapid exhaustion of land, they tended to become a class of land speculators. Hence from the very beginning we find the narrowness of American rural living and the repressiveness of its small towns. Land was not viewed as a manifestation of the Great Mother to be collectively worshipped and loved. It was a mere resource to be exploited and sold on a competitive basis in the markets of big cities. In American history, there was no historical counterweight to the sexually repressive, nature-killing forces of patriarchal institutions. The absence of such a counterweight has had staggering implications for America's sexual, religious, and cultural life.

From the earliest days of independence from Britain, American leaders joyously described the new society as an empire and called for a policy of vigorous imperialism. In 1773, John Adams called for the annexation of Canada and Nova Scotia, and said, "An empire is rising in America" (Williams, 112). In 1783, George Washington described the states as a "rising empire," a phrase that had become commonplace by then (van Alstyne, 1). The ruling class of landowners and rich merchants looked with covetous eyes on the vast tracts of land still held by the Indians, the Canadians, the French, and the Spanish.

During the American Revolution, there was considerable unrest among the lower classes, and many of the poor called for an annulment of debts and a redistribution of land. In several states, poor radicals even took over the machinery of government. Some of them expressed anarchist views. But by 1780, the upper class began to re-assert itself. Upper-class leaders wanted a centralized government that would prohibit states from annulling debts. They wanted a government that would be strong enough to wage war and undertake a program of continental empire-building. Out of these upper-class interests emerged the constitution movement. Its chief spokesperson, James Madison, openly stated that the powers of the central government "ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority" (Hacker, 187). In effect, the constitution movement became "a well organized campaign by a coalition of America's upper-class leadership to establish the institution appropriate to an American mercantilist empire" (Williams, 148). In the various elections for the new constitution, less than one-fourth of adult males were allowed to vote, and women had no vote at all (Hacker, 188). The new constitution was approved (though barely) by these select few. On April 30, 1789, George Washington was in-

stalled as President, and the world saw the birth of what was to become a terrifying new institution, the United States Government.

The single most striking fact of American history—a fact that has conditioned every aspect of the nation's life, including its sex life—is the militarism of the U.S. Government. Indeed, if the nature of an institution is determined by what it does rather than what it says, we would be close to the truth in seeing the U.S. Government as essentially a machine for making war.

In 1775, even before the government was created, the colonists were at war with Britain. They invaded Canada and tried to take it over, but were rebuffed. In 1799, the U.S. Government conducted a brief naval war against France, and in 1812 was again at war with Britain. In 1812, the U.S. Government tried to take over Canada for the second time and was again rebuffed. In 1823, the Monroe Doctrine was issued. In effect, it warned European powers that henceforth the U.S. Government was to be the only imperialist power permitted to operate in North and South America (van Alstyne, 99). Throughout this whole period, a merciless war of genocide was in progress against Indian men, women, and children. In the 1830s, President Andrew Jackson alone spent over \$200 million (an enormous amount of money at the time) in wars of annihilation against the Indians (Williams, 320).

In 1847, the U.S. Government invaded Mexico. The Americans captured Mexico City, and the Mexicans were forced to give up *half of all their territory*. Out of this war booty were eventually carved the states of California, New Mexico, Texas (with the Rio Grande as border), Arizona, Utah, and Nevada (de Riencourt, 17). In 1853, the U.S. Government sent Admiral Perry to Japan to forcibly open up that country to American trading interests. From 1861 to 1865, the Americans were involved in a bloody civil war between the plantation capitalists of the South and the merchant and factory capitalists of the North.

In 1890, the last of the Indian rebels were slaughtered in the Battle of Wounded Knee. In 1891, Queen Liliuokalani ascended the throne of Hawaii and tried to eliminate American influence in the islands. In 1892, she was deposed by the U.S. Marines. In 1898, President McKinley, at the insistence of the Hearst newspaper empire, declared war on Spain and took over Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

In the late 19th century, the attitude of the U.S. Government toward the rest of the world, and especially toward nature peo-

ples, was well summed up in the words of Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana: "We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee under God, of the civilization of the world" (van Alstyne, 187). He was later echoed by Woodrow Wilson, who in 1902 as a private citizen said it was "our peculiar duty" to teach nature peoples "order and self-control" and "to impart to them, if it be possible... the drill and habit of law and obedience" (van Alstyne, 197).

In the first two decades of the 20th century, the U.S. invaded Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Santo Domingo (twice). In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt supported a coup against the government of Colombia in order to set up a puppet government in the region of the Panama Canal. The puppet government gave the U.S. a perpetual lease over the canal, something the government of Colombia had adamantly refused to do.

In 1917, the U.S. Government declared war on Germany and Austria, and thus entered World War 1, which ended in 1918. On December 7, 1941, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, one month after Secretary of War Stimson had written in his personal diary that President Roosevelt had "raised the question of how to maneuver the Japanese into firing the first shot" (de Riencourt, 61). The U.S. Government ended World War II by dropping atomic bombs on the Japanese, thus setting the precedent for the use of nuclear arms in war.

In 1947, the U.S. Government created the Central Intelligence Agency. In the 1950s the U.S. Government got involved in a cold war with the U.S.S.R. and a hot war with Korea. In 1953, the CIA overthrew the government of Iran and installed a fascist Shah; in 1954, it overthrew the government of Guatemala. In 1960, it overthrew the government of Laos, and since that time has been so active no one can keep up with it. By the 1950s, the U.S. Government established a military protectorate over more than 40 nations covering 15,000,000 square miles and more than 600 million human beings (de Riencourt, 96). In the late 1960s, the U.S. Government brought out of the closet a secret war in Indo-China, which became the longest war in American history.

The entrenched militarism of the U.S. Government throughout its history has had a profound influence on American values. It has affected the way Americans think about nature, other people, their own bodies, and sex roles. One notable effect has been on the American concept of sanity, reflected in the American psychiatric movement. The father of American psychiatry was Benjamin Rush,

who lived from 1746 to 1813. *Benjamin Rush was the Physician General of the Continental Army*. He was a stern disciplinarian who believed in using violence against mental patients. He condemned both masturbation and sodomy. He believed that being Black was a disease. He locked up his own rebellious son in a mental hospital for 27 years (Szasz, 137ff.). Today he is highly regarded by many American psychiatrists.

The American Psychiatric Association currently publishes an official list of mental disorders, which, as most readers know, recently listed homosexuality (the A.P.A. was forced into an about face on the issue due to action by Gay activists). This list, which is comparable to the Vatican's index (except that it applies to behavior instead of books), is of *military* origin. It was first developed by Brigadier General William C. Menninger, who was head of the psychiatric division of the Surgeon General's office in the U.S. Government during World War II (Szasz, 38). Before the A.P.A. adopted the list, it was put into use by all the branches of the armed forces. Its purpose was to weed out men who are not fit for military slaughtering. Today, at least one-half of all American psychiatrists are employed by institutions (Szasz, 235). The institutional nature of the A.P.A. itself goes back to its beginning. Its original name was the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions. The first proposition publicly approved by this group was a justification for the use of violence in "treating" the insane (Szasz, 306). Most mental institutions in America are governed on a military model (with lines of command, central control, the threat of forcible confinement, etc.). In 1964, more people were in mental institutions than in prisons (Szasz, 65).

In the U.S.S.R., psychiatry has a similar militaristic coloring and is also used to suppress dissent. In Nazi Germany, the leading role in the development and use of gas chambers was played by psychiatrists, and their first victims were mental patients (Szasz, 214). An untold number of Gay people were exterminated in these chambers.

American militarism has affected the way Americans view masculinity, just as Roman militarism affected Roman views. All American men have been conditioned throughout their lives to think of disciplined aggressiveness as masculine; to look down on effeminacy, playfulness, passivity, and open emotionalism; to admire hardness in other men; to dread above all things being called a sissy; to enjoy relations of domination and obedience; to get a thrill out of

seeing pain inflicted on others; to get turned on by uniforms; and to be able to accommodate themselves to functioning in large, impersonal, hierarchical institutions. Men who internalize these values are considered admirably sane by American society. But this is a concept of sanity that supports war. When the orders come, such sane men are ready to kill other men on command. They are totally unprepared to deal with other men in an openly loving, warm, sexual manner. To them, that's insane. Until just recently, most psychiatrists would have agreed.

In 1960, with the election of President John Kennedy, a revolutionary change took place in the nature of American militarism. This change was to have stunning repercussions in every aspect of American life. President Kennedy centralized control over all the purchasing activities of the Pentagon within the office of the Secretary of Defense (then Robert McNamara). Stringent requirements were written into contracts for firms doing business with the Pentagon, giving the Pentagon the right to decide all important management decisions of these firms, determine their budgets, and oversee the hiring and firing of employees. In effect, the firms doing business with the Pentagon were made into subsidiaries of one giant corporation with the Pentagon as the central office. Kennedy and McNamara deliberately made these changes on the model of the business empire of the Ford Motor Company, with the Pentagon patterned after Ford's central office (Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism*, 2ff.).

The effect of these changes was to create the largest single business monopoly in the history of the United States, and possibly in the world. By these actions, the President and other top officers of the U.S. Government got control over the 15,000 to 20,000 firms that are prime contractors with the Pentagon and over the 45,000 to 60,000 firms that are sub-contractors. The total number of employees working for all these firms is unknown, but the Department of Defense itself employs 10% of the nation's entire labor force (Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism*, 83). More than two-thirds of the spending by the U.S. Government each year is for current or past military operations, despite the fact that such spending is often disguised by such phrases as "payments to individuals" or "interest on the national debt" (Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism*, 174). From 1946 to 1969, the U.S. Government spent more than one trillion dollars on the military; *half of this entire amount was spent under the administrations of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson*. In 1968, the Pentagon business empire produced \$44 billion worth of goods and services.

This exceeded by far the sales of America's leading civilian businesses (AT&T, duPont, GE, GM). In its post-exchange operations, the Pentagon business empire ranks as the third largest retail distributor in the United States, exceeded only by Sears and A&P (Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism*, 24, 73).

The product manufactured by this giant business empire is war. Recent examples are the genocidal wars against Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. These wars happened, not because they were in the interests of the American people, but because war-making is the job, the specialty, the unique product of the nation's largest business monopoly. A government that spends two-thirds of its national budget on a war factory is a government that will manufacture wars.

One effect of this new kind of militarism is the co-option of science and technology. More than two-thirds of America's technical researchers now work for the Pentagon business empire (Melman, *Our Depleted Society*, 4). Another effect is Pentagon influence over universities. During 1963-1966, research in chemical and biological warfare was carried on at 38 universities under contract with the Pentagon (Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism*, 99).

A third effect is Pentagon control over the electoral process. Both the management and the unions of Pentagon subsidiaries make huge campaign contributions to political candidates. They also spend a lot of money on political propaganda. In 1963, Secretary McNamara publicly praised the leadership of the AFL-CIO for "utilizing extensive communications media to promote greater understanding among its millions of members and the public of the vital objective of defense programs" (Dibble, 182). A notorious example of this control over the electoral process is the buying and selling of the Presidency. "The readiest source of campaign funds and political support for nomination and election as President lies in the military-industrial complex. It is also the most skillfully hidden source" (Stone, 25).

In 1969, the Pentagon maintained an army of 339 lobbyists on Capitol Hill, or one lobbyist for every two members of Congress (Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism*, 175). In cases where Congress votes against the Pentagon's wishes, the Pentagon often goes ahead and does what it wants anyway. For example, in December of 1966 it was revealed that in the previous year, the Pentagon had spent \$20 billion on the war in Vietnam—exactly twice what had been authorized by Congress (Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism*, 182). This overspending was a violation of the U.S. Constitution and of U.S. law. The matter

was never investigated, and no one was ever indicted. Soon everyone forgot about it. Similar examples could be cited involving directives of Presidents.

Through the CIA and the FBI, the top government officials who control the Pentagon business empire also exercise a reign of propaganda and terror over the lives of the American people. In 1967, it was revealed that CIA money was being channeled to Billy Graham's Spanish-American Crusade; the National Council of Churches; the Harvard Law School; the National Student Association; the Institute of International Labor founded by Norman Thomas; and hundreds of universities, churches, unions, and legal organizations (de Rien-court, 110). In the mid-1970s it was revealed that the FBI and the CIA had for a long time been reading people's mail, burglarizing offices, planting infiltrators and disrupters in radical groups, infiltrating or buying dissident news media, censoring established news media, training and equipping local police forces, and possibly assassinating protest leaders.

In 1976, a Congressional committee investigating the FBI and the CIA stated that an ex-FBI informer (Robert Merritt) helped the FBI keep tabs on Gay people, especially when they were involved in radical politics. "Merritt told the Committee that his FBI handling agents instructed him to conduct break-ins, deliver unopened mail acquired illegally, and solicit and provide information to the FBI regarding homosexual proclivities of politically prominent people and individuals of the New Left" (*Report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence*, 43). Gay political groups, like the rest of the New Left, continue to be either disrupted or co-opted by government informers and agents.

The United States is a garrison society. The extension of Pentagon and secret-police control over American life has been the material equivalent of a military coup d'etat. As when Augustus Caesar took control in Rome in 27 BC, so it is today: the Senate continues to meet, the tribunes of the people are elected, the courts hand down decisions, new Presidents take office, and all the proper outward forms are observed. But behind the show of the visible government there looms the overwhelming institutional power of the military and the secret police. True, there still remains a degree of freedom of speech and thought, especially for the middle class and the privileged professional classes. But if any group becomes an effective threat to the establishment—as the Black movement did in the 1960s—it will soon find its organizations infiltrated, its offices bombed, and its

leaders shot. As I write these very words, I hear reports that American Indian activists are regularly being killed by the FBI. Such news is not likely to be reported in the middle-class press.

The Pentagon business empire has cast its shadow over the lives of Gay people. For one thing, neither the Pentagon nor any of its vast array of subsidiaries will willingly or knowingly hire a Gay person as an employee. This makes the Pentagon business empire the largest single discriminator against Gay people in the United States. It also encourages Gay people to mimic straight appearances and lifestyles in order to get work. But even more important, this shadow of militarism brings into the lives of millions of American working people the specter of masculinism. The following two facts are not unrelated: 1) most Gay in men in American Society in the mid-1970s are masculine-identified wearers of denim and leather; 2) the single most powerful employer in the United States is the Pentagon war machine. Consider Castro Street, a major Gay hang-out in San Francisco and the center of one of the largest Gay ghettos in the country. On any given day, Castro Street is filled with a conformist mob of male impersonators meticulously decked out in denim, leather, and even Nazi-like uniforms. One of the most popular Gay baths in San Francisco was until recently called The Barracks. A popular bar is The Folsom Prison. Another is The Bootcamp. These facts of Gay life take on added significance when we realize that one-third of all jobs in the San Francisco Bay area are tied to the Department of Defense (Gellen, 190). Historically, the superstructure of sexual style is determined by the substructure of economic power. Our society will never be rid of masculinism until we are rid of militarism.

The history of militarism in the United States with its culmination in the Pentagon business empire is not an isolated social fact. Militarism is related to industrialism. Furthermore, militarism and industrialism are not unique in the United States. Similar phenomena can be seen in all "highly developed" societies, regardless of whether they are capitalist or communist. Industrialism, like militarism, has had a devastating impact on our sensual and sexual lives. Since the end of the Christian era, it has been the single most pervasive force in mutilating Gay culture. No understanding of the oppression of Gay people in modern times is even half adequate without an understanding of the nature of industrialism.

Industrialism is the process by which people cease producing things directly for their own immediate needs. Instead, things are produced through specialized and centralized institutions. The

producing institutions can be quite varied (for example, factories, universities, governments) depending upon the things produced (automobiles, knowledge, law and order). In any given society, there are degrees to which such specialized and centralized institutions control production. Among the American Indians, for example, there were practically no such institutions. In modern America, on the other hand, nearly every aspect of life has been industrialized. When most of a society's production (of whatever nature) is controlled by specialized institutions, I call that society industrialized.

There is no recorded instance in history where a highly industrialized system of life was voluntarily chosen by a non-industrial society. In every case, industrialism has been imposed on the people by the violence of the institutions themselves. In Europe, industrialism was an edifice built on the blood and gore of centuries of Christian violence. In America, it came to power through the annihilation of the Indians and the enslavement of the Blacks. In Russia, it was the fruit of Stalin's grim war of terror against the peasants. In the modern Third World, it is everywhere coming to power through the conflicting imperial ambitions of America, Russia, and China. In every case, militarism has been the means by which industrialism has triumphed. Industrialism, therefore, is not just a system of production. *It is also a system of power.*

Why do nature people everywhere resist industrialism? For one thing, industrialism is not necessary for a nature culture to survive (as long as it's left alone by "higher" civilizations). The classic example is the North America Indians, who managed to meet all basic human needs with a minimum of centralized institutions and without destroying their environment.

There is a second reason for this resistance to being industrialized. Industrialism, by its very nature, destroys the magic of human existence. Consider the way we, as industrialized people, relate to our environment. Everywhere we see huge cities, highways, factories, universities, airports. Everywhere the trees, the plants, the animals have been slaughtered. In 1969, the Atmospheric Sciences Research Center reported that there was no longer any uncontaminated air anywhere in North America (Roszak, 16). In 1970, Thor Heyerdahl crossed the Atlantic in a handmade boat. He reported that he could not find one oil-free stretch of water during the entire crossing (Roszak, *loc. cit.*). What kind of people are we that we do this to the environment? "Only those who have broken off their silent inner dialogue with man and nature, only those who experience the world

as dead, stupid, or alien and therefore without a claim to reverence, could ever turn upon their environment and their fellows with the cool and meticulously calculated rapacity of industrial society” (Rozsak, 168).

We have seen in past chapters how the triumph of Christianity and the emergence of the industrial system resulted in the objectification of nature. What we must now realize is that this objectifying has resulted in the deadening of our feelings. Nature people everywhere believe that the earth, the trees, the moon are living personalities who talk to us and with whom we can communicate. We laugh at them and call them savages. Could they be right, after all? If so, when they talk to us about these things they must feel like people with vision trying to explain color to someone who is blind.

Another loss of the industrial system is art. There are very few of us left with any artistic skills at all. Artists are considered rare birds, slightly bizarre, and not at all normal like everyone else. The artistic skill that remains has been co-opted by industrial institutions, either for selling toothpaste (as in the West) or socialism (as in the East). So rare indeed is art in our lives that art objects are kept locked up in special institutions (museums) which we go to view on special occasions. No doubt in a few more generations there will also be tree museums.

But how could the situation be otherwise with art? In an industrial society, we no longer make things for ourselves. We buy them as consumers. *Art is part of the process of making.* In nature societies, people make everything for themselves. As a result, every inch of their environment is filled with art. Museums are unknown. Wherever industrialism has triumphed, art has disappeared from the life of the people, and museums have taken its place.

Industrialism has killed the animal within us. We become indoor people, surrounded by concrete and plastic, working hours on hours as factory workers, bureaucrats, academics, living in our skulls and dead to our bodies. “Man was created to have room to move about in, to gaze into far distances, to live in rooms which, even when they were tiny, opened out on fields. See him now, enclosed by the rules and architectural necessities imposed by over-population in a twelve-by-twelve closet opening out on an anonymous world of city streets” (Ellul, 321).

Industrialism continues to teach that humans are superior to animals and that “civilization” consists in getting as far away as possible from our animal nature. Wilhelm Reich correctly believed

that the rise of fascism in industrialized countries was dependent on the repression of our animal nature within the bourgeois family. "The theory of the German superman has its origins in man's efforts to disassociate himself from the animal" (Reich, 334). When alienated from their animal nature, people come to view it as evil, and then look for an outside authority-figure to keep it repressed. "The Leader," whether political or religious, suppresses from without what is feared from within. The Nazis associated homosexuality with animal behavior (which, like all sexuality, it is). They violently purged their own party of known Gay people, destroyed the early antecedents of the Gay Liberation Movement, and sent masses of Gay people to the gas chambers (Lauritsen). Similar attitudes could be found among Russian Stalinists (whose overriding obsession was to industrialize Russia as fast as possible).

The industrial system has made us forget how to live. Nature people know how to make their own houses, food, medicine, clothes, religious rites, humor, and entertainment. These skills keep them from becoming enslaved by money. Since people always retain the skills of survival, it's very difficult for an aristocracy of money to get control of their lives. The people don't need money to survive. In an industrial society, however, we are never taught the skills of how to live. We become totally dependent on money for meeting our every need. If the money runs out, we have nothing to eat, nothing to wear, nowhere to sleep. As a result, we become totally dependent on those who control money. In capitalist countries, these are the huge business monopolies. In communist countries, it is the state.

Industrialism has degraded both labor and leisure. Most people in industrial societies are in fact wage slaves, working forty hours a week or more at monotonous, hateful "jobs" for the sole purpose of making enough money to live and enjoy life. When they come home debilitated from such alienated labor, they have nothing left to their souls except alienated leisure: television, movies, newspapers, all of which indoctrinate with industrial values. Like schools and universities, these media are part of the general anesthesia.

Workers in industrial societies tend to work longer hours than people in nature cultures. And industrial work is far less interesting. Industrial workers are kept at their jobs through their dependence on money and through constant indoctrination by institutions. "The natural tendency of man, as manifested in primitive [*sic*] societies, is almost certainly to work until a given consumption is achieved. Then he relaxes, engages in sport, hunting, orgias-

tic or propitiating ceremonies or other forms of physical enjoyment or spiritual betterment. This tendency for primitive man to achieve contentment has been the despair of those who regard themselves as agents of civilization and remains so to this day. What is called economic development consists in no small part in devising strategies to overcome the tendency of men to place limits on their objectives as regards income and thus on their efforts” (Galbraith, 279).

Industrialism has devastated our sexual lives. We complain that we treat each other’s bodies unfeelingly, as so many objects, to use and dispose of. Yet we fail to realize that we treat *everything* (including ourselves) as so many objects to use and dispose of. We fail to see that the total objectification of our environment and of nature is a direct effect of the power system of industrialism. If we have been conditioned throughout our lives to objectify everything, how can we fail to objectify those who excite us sexually?

The industrial system has reduced sex to a productive activity, just as it reduces all human functions to productive activities. Under industrialism, the purpose of sex has become purely economic: to breed consumers, workers, and soldiers for their proper roles in industrial and military hierarchies. Sexual relations have been reduced to productive relations. The basic unit of people-production is the monogamous heterosexual family.

Sex itself is locked up in secrecy, privacy, darkness, embarrassment, and guilt. That’s how the industrial system manages to keep it under control. Among nature peoples, as we have seen, sex is part of the public religion and education of the tribes. It becomes a collective celebration of the powers that hold the universe together. Its purpose is its own pleasure. Any group of people with such practices and values can never be dominated by industrial institutions. That’s why the first thing industrial societies do on contact with “primitives” is make them feel guilty about sex and their bodies. The historical tools for doing this have been patriarchal religions.

The whole industrial system is like one great night of the living dead where the entire populace has been reduced emotionally to the level of zombies. It has deadened us to our environment, deprived us of art, sterilized our animal nature, robbed us of the skills of survival, degraded our labor and leisure, and decimated our sexual lives. And so it has made us like the living dead—dead to nature, dead to each other, dead to ourselves.

Some people may say: “Even if this is true, industrialism has also generated its own antibody, a thing that will ultimately trans-

form it. This is technology, which in itself is neither good nor bad. We can transform the world for the better if we only use technology in the right way. Technology will save us!" Unfortunately, the historical evidence does not support this view. For example, it used to be said that computerization would eliminate idiotic, repetitive jobs, thus giving people more leisure and also giving birth to new kinds of jobs that allow for more creativity. In fact, however, the exact opposite has happened. As a study of the actual evidence shows, "the largest single occupation created by computerization is that of the key punch operator" (Braverman, 83). Being a key punch operator is one of the most deadening jobs in modern society. It involves dealing with machines in the most mechanical, mind-and-body killing way.

One of the most important areas in which computers have had a mass impact is that of clerical work. Since 1900, there has been a disastrous fall in the status of clerical workers, in their pay, and in the avenues for creativity in their work (Braverman, 51). Coincidentally since 1900, the mechanical working-class segment of the general labor force has *increased* from 50% to between 67% and 75% (Braverman, 113). "It takes but a moment's reflection to see that the new mass of working-class occupations tend to grow, not in contradiction to the speedy mechanization and 'automation' of industry, but in harmony with it" (Braverman, 114). The actual effect of technology has been to create a vast surplus of workers available for deadening work at low wages (Braverman, 114).

The economist Harry Braverman notes that corresponding to the disastrous fall in the status of clerical workers has been a change in their sex. In 1900, three-fourths of all clerical workers were male. In 1960, two-thirds were women (Braverman, 50). As all of us who have been clerical wage-slaves know, a very large number of the men who remain in clerical occupations are Gay. Hence the largest growing segment of the work force in industrial America—the one that is among the lowest paid and is most due to the growth of technology—is based on the exploited labor of women and Gay men.

This situation brings to mind the earliest days of industrial technology in England. The first workers in factories were women and children, not men. Because of this situation, large families were encouraged. Large families meant having more workers who could be put to work for wages. "With the rise of the factory, the practice of hiring low-wage child and female labour in preference to male labour in some areas and industries might confront the man with the economic *necessity* of marrying early, reproducing quickly and

abundantly” (Lazonick, 40; original’s italics). Historically, industrial technology has been the cause of overpopulation, not vice-versa.

Technology has not produced more leisure, either. Between 1941 and 1965, a period of great technological innovation and application, the average work week actually increased (Galbraith, 370, note 1). During roughly the same period, the economic power of workers declined. From 1940 to 1950, wholesale prices doubled (Burns, 113). From 1964 to 1970 alone, the purchasing power of the dollar dropped 20% (Melman, “From Private to Pentagon Capitalism,” 4). With every passing year, goods are produced with increasingly inferior quality.

Historically, technology has been associated with militarism. As we have seen, more than two-thirds of the nation’s technical researchers are now employed by the Pentagon business empire. The greatest technological innovations have always occurred during times of war. The modern factory system, itself a crucial technological innovation, was derived from 17th century businesses that manufactured war material (Gilbert, 51).

It’s true that machines and technical skills are not in themselves evil, but only become so when controlled by powerful institutions beyond the will of the people. But the essence of industrial technology is that very fusion of technical skill with institutional power. *Industrial technology, like industrialism itself, is a system of power.*

To be effective, it requires the quantification of needs, which means that personal needs are debased and reduced to mass needs. Once applied it creates problems that can only be solved by more technology. Hence arises the inevitable elite of experts. To be most efficient, it needs the greatest amount of centralized control. Hence arises monopoly. In the Soviet Union, all major industry is controlled by one institution, the state. In the U.S., as early as 1944, 62% of all workers were employed by 2% of all enterprises (Ellul, 154). Today, the concentration is certainly much higher.

All the highly industrialized nations of the earth, regardless of whether they are communist or capitalist, show the same effects of the impact of technology: concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a few; increasing regimentation of every aspect of life, including thoughts, emotions, and even fantasies; and devastation of the environment. “In spite of all the men of good will, all the optimists, all the doers of history, the civilizations of the world are being ringed about with a band of steel” (Ellul, 127).



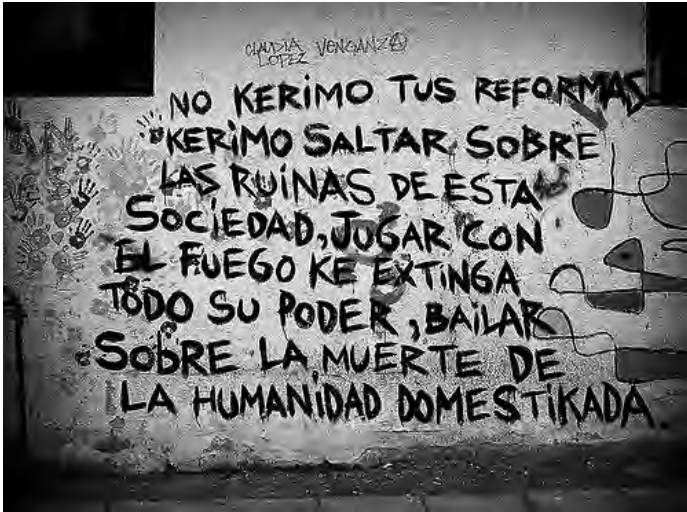
Of course, it's possible to divorce technical skill from institutional control, but then we no longer have industrial technology. Such a change would mean a *new type of technology*, something far different from any productive system that now prevails on the planet.

“But,” someone may finally say, “look at all the progress brought about by technology. What about progress?” And, indeed, technology has brought about breath-taking progress—for *the privileged classes of industrial societies*. But what of the cost? What of the annihilation of the old cultures of Europe and the cultures of the American Indians? What of the enslavement and exploitation of the Blacks? The exploited labor of the modern Third World? The destruction of nature? The twisting of sexuality? What of the millions upon millions of people killed in wars made possible only by technology? Yes, the survivors (some of them) have it very good. But when we take into consideration the *entire* historical cost, “we cannot say with assurance that there has been progress from 1250 to 1950” (Ellul, 192).

The industrial wasteland has come upon us from our past. It is the gestation of over 2,000 years of patriarchal rule, the last offspring of Christian/industrial institutions. It is vast. It is powerful. It has respected neither culture nor ideology. It has spread like a cancer over the whole face of the earth. It has ruined our work, our art, our

environment, and our emotional and sexual lives. It has cost us the magic sense of life.

If we are ever to rise up from the dead and regain our rightful place in nature, we will have to do more than put our faith in the state, the party, or technology—all of which are mere props of industrialism. We will have to tap the saving energies that now lie buried in ourselves and in nature. And that means we will have to summon forth powers that have not been known since the days of the shamans.



*[We don't want your reforms.
We want to skip over the ruins of
this society, play with
the fire that will defeat
all of your power, dance
to the death of
domesticated humanity]*

MAGIC AND REVOLUTION

What is revolution?

Many of us answer this question by rote. As if somebody pushed a button, we feed back the “right line” we’ve been taught in our particular school of thought.

The rote response is bad because it makes us overlook many things we take for granted. For example, almost all of us are locked into the habit of seeing everything through patriarchal eyes. We carry this tunnel-vision around with us even when we allow ourselves flights of revolutionary fantasy.

In the past, many revolutionaries, on coming to power, falsely believed they were starting a new order. Often all they really did was re-establish the old patriarchal order under a more efficient or humane management. In my opinion, this has been the fate of the two most important progressive forces of the past few hundred years: liberalism and industrial socialism. In what follows, we will take a look at each of these two movements in view of what we’ve found out about Gay history. In doing so, I believe we will see the need for transcending both.

Historically, liberalism has been associated with the bourgeoisie. It was originally the ideology of European merchants and business owners in their revolt against the landed aristocracy and the monarchy. Today it is preeminently the ideology of educated members of the middle class and of reform-minded members of the privileged professional classes. Spokespeople for modern liberalism are often connected to schools and universities. Their great hope is for reform through education and peaceful compromise.

Liberalism has had a good record in ending some forms of oppression. It has been of great benefit for those oppressed members of society who have been able to adjust to middle-class lifestyles. In this respect, it has especially helped upwardly-mobile people from a lower middle-class background.

But for those who cannot or will not adjust to a middle-class lifestyle, liberalism has had little to offer. The United States has seen two hundred years of basically liberal institutions and a great host of liberal leaders and programs (recent examples being the New Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society). Yet despite this liberal tra-

dition, the United States today is a corrupt garrison society, living off the exploited labor of non-white people throughout the world and violently repressive within its own borders of Gay people, women, Blacks, poor people, Indians, and Mother Earth.

The great flaw of liberalism is that it accepts the basic values of Western culture as that culture has been handed down from generation to generation through schools and universities. As we have seen, this cultural tradition everywhere represents the values of the patriarchal ruling classes. For example, the most cultured leaders of medieval Europe were the very ones who called loudest for the annihilation of witches and heretics and the lifestyles they were practicing. "The more learned a man was in the traditional scholarship of the time, the more likely he was to support the witchdoctors [that is, the witch-hunters]. The most ferocious of witch-burning princes, we often find, are the most cultured patrons of contemporary learning" (Trevor-Roper, 154). This cultural savagery did not stop with the end of the Middle Ages. "It was forwarded by the cultural popes of the Renaissance, by the great Protestant reformers, by the saints of the Counter-Reformation, by the scholars, lawyers and churchmen" (Trevor-Roper, 91).

Within modern times, schools and universities have become servants of the military-industrial complex. Most of their money comes from the government, the military, or private industry. Their regents most often come from the ruling class (the Hearst family's influence over the University of California being a notorious example). Modern schools and universities push students into habits of depersonalized learning, alienation from nature and sexuality, obedience to hierarchy, fear of authority, self-objectification, and chilling competitiveness. These character traits are the essence of the twisted personality-type of modern industrialism. They are precisely the character traits needed to maintain a social system that is utterly out of touch with nature, sexuality, and real human needs. The degrees issued by modern schools and universities have become little more than tickets of admission to the privileged professional classes. Despite this dismal situation, modern liberals such as John Kenneth Galbraith continue to place their hope for the nation's salvation in "the educational and scientific estate" (Galbraith *passim*).

Liberalism fails to recognize that schools and universities have been major vehicles through which prejudice has been spread against Gay people, women, and Third World people. What is called "common prejudice" was only yesterday taught in the schools as the

refined thinking of learned teachers. Schools, not common people, have “proved” by the most exacting scholarly methods that Gay people are sick; that women are inferior to men; that Third World cultures are primitive, barbaric, and savage. Just as schools today continue to teach that reason is better than emotion; that animals are inferior to humans; that rocks, hills, and stars are inanimate objects; that the most important thing in life is to get a good job; and that education consists in reading books.

Liberals worship professionalism. They urge us to turn to professional historians to find out about history; to sociologists, to find out how social groups work; to psychologists, to find out about the soul. They fail to realize that the more “educated” a person is the more she or he is likely to embody the twisted personality-type of modern industrialism and thus to see reality through the dead eyes of the industrial mentality. They fail to see a horrible irony in the fact that many professional institutions now do the very opposite of what they claim. And so we find state departments of ecology functioning as agencies for licensing the rape of the earth; nursing homes and hospitals as places where most people die; newspapers as means for distorting and censoring the news; schools as graveyards of all personal learning and growth; and departments of defense as machines for planning and carrying out aggressive warfare. Liberals are blind to the fact that the privileged professional classes of modern industrial society are utterly bankrupt, having been bought and paid for by the rotten system that feeds them their money and their values.

Liberals are also blind to the class struggle. They overlook the fact that what is called Western “civilization” has been made possible only by wave after wave of patriarchal domination. As we have seen, this domination has grown in leaps, beginning in the Bronze Age and increasing through the period of the Greco-Roman patriarchy, the Christian Era, and finally the Dark Age of Industrialism. In each period, the patterns of domination have been passed on in sequence from one ruling class to the next. To liberals, this sequence is rarely even acknowledged, let alone resisted.

Within the context of the Gay movement, liberals have been very effective in changing laws and in changing attitudes on the part of some professionals. But Gay liberalism has had little relevance for those of us who reject a middle-class lifestyle. At its worst, Gay liberalism has encouraged Gay men to mimic the behavior of upwardly-mobile straight professional types. This is the line pushed by David Goodstein, the millionaire owner of *The Advocate*, the leading organ

of Gay liberalism in the U.S.; Goodstein, who is proud of his hobby as a horse breeder, urges Gay men to get “respectable” and to push on with the job of being assimilated into the American dream. In effect, he would have all of us become Straight-Identified-Faggots (or STIFFS, for short).

A more subtle emphasis on professionalism and middle-class values is found in the National Gay Task Force, the nation’s leading Gay liberal political group. NGTF greatly admires the ideal of the highly educated, middle-class professional Gay person. It emphasizes the importance of a “professional approach” to Gay liberation. NGTF runs itself internally on the model of a professional business organization. Interestingly, the phrase “Task Force” is a military-bureaucratic term, first being used by the U.S. Navy to a particular group of differing specialists under the leadership of one commander (see entry under “task force” in *The Random House Dictionary*). The founder and co-boss of NGTF is Dr. Bruce Voeller, an ex-geneticist for Rockefeller University, a prominent center of independent research financed by the military-industrial-scientific establishment.

Gay liberals have been indifferent to the way the Gay movement has been co-opted by the owners of Gay bars, baths, and businesses. These owners have capitalized on the new tolerance toward Gay people by creating a network of businesses designed to swallow as much Gay money as possible. Having gotten rich from this take, they now control the largest single source of money in the Gay community. Hence they set the tone and atmosphere of such publications as *The Advocate*.

Gay capitalists are prepared to spend a bundle for Gay “civil rights” (by which they mean the right to run Gay businesses free of harassment). But they raise bloody hell if the Gay movement brings up class issues. Two examples of this type of Gay-bar liberalism are Dale Bentley and Emerson Propps, the Reno-affiliated duo who own the western branch of the Club Baths chain (not to be confused with the eastern branch). These two capitalists boast that they have put a lot of money into making things looser for Gay people in Denver and Idaho. Yet early in 1976, they began a policy of refusing admittance to their San Francisco baths to anyone wearing the T-shirt of Bay Area Gay Liberation (BAGL). In their opinion, BAGL members were “troublemakers” and “communists.” The troublemaking they were referring to was BAGL’s recent protest against racism and sexism at a local Gay bar, the Mindshaft. Bentley and Propps were also accused of discriminating against Gay men who were effeminate,

old, or Third World (which they denied). They were sued in court over the BAGL incident and lost. A suit over the other forms of discrimination is still pending. To Bentley and Propps, Gay liberation seems to mean making the world safe for the owners of Gay bars and businesses. People like them are now footing the bill—and, therefore, calling the tune—for many liberal Gay activist organizations.

Gay liberal organizations tend to seek out “respectable” (that is, bourgeois) Gay men as their spokespeople. These, unfortunately, have been known to oppress Gay people who can’t or won’t fit into the mainstream. We have all seen the late Dr. Howard Brown, health bureaucrat from New York, running around on behalf of the National Gay Task Force. *He was put into that position solely because of his middle-class credentials and connections.* Soon after coming out on the front pages of the *New York Times*, he appeared before a midwest Gay group and proceeded to tell them that cross-dressing should be discouraged because it offends middle America!

So, on the whole, Gay liberalism has all the advantages and disadvantages of any middle-class movement: On the positive side, it has accessibility to the media, to establishment politicians, and to opinion makers in the privileged professional classes. On the negative side, it is insensitive to the struggles of non-middle-class people and is generally oblivious to penetrating questions about lifestyles. Since it takes bourgeois industrialism for granted, it is never revolutionary. In effect, it is nothing more than a movement on behalf of white, middle-class, masculine-identified men.

The second great progressive force of modern times has been industrial socialism. Historically, industrial socialism has been associated with the urban proletariat and those who claim to be its leaders. It reached its classic expression in the 19th century in the writings of Karl Marx. In general, it advocates the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the collective seizing of the means of production by a highly disciplined party.

Industrial socialism has been the single most important force for human liberation in the 20th century. In nearly every case where it has come to power and managed to hold on to power, it has driven out foreign exploiters (usually American business interests), ended mass hunger, and provided the necessary means of survival for its people. Such has been the case, for example, in Russia, China, and Cuba.

Unfortunately, industrial socialism has had some disastrous blind spots, especially concerning sex, the family, nature, science,

the state, and industrialism itself. These weaknesses are all interconnected.

One of the first things the Bolsheviks in Russia did after seizing power in 1917 was to repeal the old Czarist laws, including the laws against homosexuality. For a time, the regime seemed to encourage a freer status for women and a more humane atmosphere for Gay people. Within seventeen years, all this had changed. In January 1934, Joseph Stalin carried out a mass arrest of Gay people in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, and Odessa (Lauritsen, 68). In March 1934, Russia again outlawed homosexuality (Lauritsen, 69).

Corresponding to this drastic reversal were other outrages. In 1929, Stalin had undertaken a war against the peasants, who at the time constituted 80% of the population. Peasant families were deported, their land was confiscated, and many were sent to concentration camps. Those who weren't imprisoned were sent to large-scale industrialized farming units. Stalin compared his war against the peasants to Russia's war against the Germans (Nove, 160-177).

Stalin's goal was to industrialize Russia at any cost, and that's what he did. The industrialization of Russia was made possible through the blood of its peasants, just as the industrialization of Western Europe was made possible through the annihilation of the old religion and its cultures, and the industrialization of the North American continent was made possible by the enslavement of Blacks and the seizure of Indian lands.

Although Stalin was the most extreme example of industrial violence in Russia, the roots of his actions go back to both Lenin and Marx, both of whom never questioned the inevitability or desirability of industrialism and science. Lenin in particular believed there was a necessary link between industrialism and the need for a powerful centralized state. In 1917, shortly after the Bolsheviks came to power, he said: "Neither railways nor transport, nor large-scale machinery and enterprise in general can function correctly without a single will linking the entire working personnel into an economic organ operating with the precision of clock-work. Socialism owes its origin to large-scale machine industry" (Nove, 57). From the earliest days of the revolution, Lenin was accused of taking Russia in the direction of state capitalism, a criticism he rejected as "left-wing childishness" (Nove, 58).

Karl Marx had argued that industrial civilization was the last and highest stage in the progressive dialectic of human civilization. All other forms he viewed as outdated, primitive, or savage. Marx

had faith in science and called his theory *scientific* socialism. He ridiculed socialists who questioned the nature of industrialism itself as “utopian.”

Many modern Marxists continue to view nature societies with contempt. An example is George Thomas, a well known Marxist historian who has written about matriarchy in early Greece. He says concerning nature people in general that “the primitive [*sic*] cultures still surviving in other parts of the world are products of retarded or arrested development” (Thomas, 35). This type of thinking comes straight out of Marx’s theory of dialectical materialism. According to this theory, nature societies are rather low in the scale of social evolution. Sooner or later, as a result of internal class struggle, they develop in the direction of white industrial civilization, which is viewed as high in the scale. The development in this direction is considered inevitable, desirable, and progressive. Such a theory, apart from being false, is inherently racist.

Neither Marx nor Engels had a very good record in dealing with Gay rights. They never lifted a finger to help the Gay struggle in their time, even though both were aware of it (Kennedy, 6). In fact, they were even homophobic. Engels believed that male homosexuality was historically linked to contempt for women, as when he said concerning ancient Athens: “this degradation of women was avenged on the men and degraded them also till they fell into the abominable practice of sodomy and degraded alike their gods and themselves with the myth of Ganymede” (Engels, 128). Marx, like Engels, usually referred to Gay men with derogatory words. He called Karl Boruttau, an early advocate of sexual freedom, “cock-queer” (Kennedy, 6).

Industrial socialism in Russia has turned into capitalism. Russian society is now greatly industrialized and urbanized like the U.S., but the means of production are owned by the state instead of corporate business people. The state itself is the chief capitalist in Russia, and the Russian state competes with other states (both capitalist and socialist) just as corporate capitalists compete with each other in the West. Industrial technology has had the same impact in Russia that it is having everywhere: repression of sexuality, regimentation of every aspect of life, and reduction of the populace to emotional zombies.

As long as socialists do not raise questions about the nature of industrialism itself, I believe that socialism will always end up by becoming state capitalism. This will happen because there are cer-

tain features of industrialism that are in and of themselves capitalist. To understand this point, we recall that industrialism is the system where people stop making things for their own immediate needs. Instead things are produced by specialized and centralized institutions (such as factories). Whether these institutions are called socialist or not makes no difference with respect to one point: they cannot exist at all unless the workers' labor creates a surplus value above what is needed for the workers to survive. All of this surplus value cannot be returned to the workers themselves; otherwise, there would then be no means of paying for the factory or its expansion. So there arises a need to manage and plan the use of this excess capital. If these factories are to be integrated into one huge complex economic system, a special group of experts is necessary to do this managing and planning. Hence, in a socialist society, arise the planners who become agents of the state (if they aren't state agents, there's the risk of the return of corporate capitalism). And so the state itself emerges as the director of all important capital decisions and thus becomes the chief capitalist.

Whenever any socialist society deliberately undertakes to industrialize itself, it immediately comes under tremendous pressure toward state capitalism. The classic example in our time is the People's Republic of China. Under Chairman Mao, China approached closer to the ideal of a true socialist society than any other country. Academics and other professional types spent part of each year working in factories or on the land. Wage differentials were narrowed. Most important of all, Mao emphasized the great importance of the peasants, whom Stalin annihilated in Russia and whom Marx at times considered little better than a sack of potatoes.

But this socialist thrust has been maintained only at the cost of great internal upheaval after the revolution and in the face of stiff opposition. From 1966 to 1969, Mao pushed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This was in fact a civil war in China whose purpose was to stop the rising power of the privileged professional classes. These privileged classes were getting stronger as China moved along the road to industrialism. In the end, the forces unleashed by the cultural revolution seem to have become a threat to the Chinese state itself. They were finally suppressed by the army on orders from Mao (Macciocchi, 59).

No one can say what will happen in China now that Mao is dead, but the forces working toward state capitalism still exist. This threat is actually intensified by the structure of the Chinese Com-

munist Party, which is heavily indebted to the ideal of organization and discipline that it borrowed wholesale from earlier Christian missionaries and monastic orders (Fitzgerald, 133). It is conceivable that communism in China could end up becoming just another patriarchal religion, as it already has in the U.S.S.R. Or perhaps China will continue to raise penetrating questions about industrialism and so take socialism on to a new and unprecedented path.

Industrial socialism of all stripes has been very uptight about sex. As we have seen, homosexuality is now illegal in Russia. In China, Gay people are said not to exist and the subject is not publicly mentioned. In Cuba, homosexuality was declared a “social pathology” in 1971 and many Gay people were sent to concentration camps. The nuclear family—which is the life blood of patriarchal civilization—has never been questioned in any industrializing socialist society, and in fact has been greatly re-enforced.

In addition, industrial socialism eagerly embraces science, views industrialism as desirable and inevitable, and ridicules the old animistic religions that have existed in each country in which it has come to power (which is ironic, since these old religions, if anything, represent the basic values of the peasant masses over the centuries). The leaders of industrial socialism have generally been masculine-identified males who owe their initial success and power to organized armies.

In the context of the Gay movement, industrial socialists often have weak feelings of Gay identity and a shallow concept of Gay culture and Gay spirituality. Typically, they view Gay revolution as meaning nothing more than supporting the programs of the New Left, while also having Gay sex on the side. Too often, they believe that Gay men have nothing more in common than sex (which is actually a lot!).

Just like liberals, Gay industrial socialists also have been insensitive to the true depth of corruption in Western civilization. This insensitivity comes out through such slogans as, “Socialism is the answer!” This implies that all we have to do is get worker control over the factories and all other means of production. As we have seen, however, the problem is not only who controls the means of production, but the means of production themselves. Industrial socialists step back from the conclusion that what we need is not a new administration in Washington or a new economic policy, but a new civilization.

In making these criticisms, I am not saying that industrial socialism has not helped people. It certainly has, far more than bourgeois liberalism ever did or could. But what I *am* saying is that industrial socialism is not necessarily the highest or only form of revolutionary socialism. Even in cases where it has been absolutely necessary (as in China), we can view it as something to begin with, to build on, rather than as the absolute and final end of all human struggle toward liberation. The revolution shouldn't end when the revolutionaries take power.

I believe it is necessary to develop a *new* socialism, one that takes into account the failures of industrial socialism and that makes room for the special contributions of Gay people, women, and ancient Third World cultures. In the remaining part of this chapter, I will try to outline the main features, as I see them, of this new socialism.

To begin with, I believe we must bring about a massive withdrawal of allegiance from the dominant institutions of industrialism. We have all been assaulted with incessant industrial propaganda and lies from newspapers, magazines, television, schools, and universities. As a result, most of us still feel some sense of allegiance to such things as formal education, industrial medicine, and the professions. Nearly every American still has some faith in the U.S. government, the Christian religion, and the American way of life. But as we have seen from this entire book, the dominant institutions of industrialism arose from an oppressive patriarchal culture and continue to function as oppressors to this day. As new socialists, we should never fail to expose the inherent fraud of lawyers, doctors, academics, police, politicians, priests, psychiatrists, generals, and business people. We should miss no opportunity in denouncing their privileges and power and in undermining all vestiges of their moral authority. And we must demystify *ourselves* to overcome the belief instilled in us that we can't heal ourselves, educate ourselves, create our own religion, or wage warfare on our own behalf. We can do all these things—and more! We must work to regain confidence in ourselves as the makers of our own culture and satisfiers of our own needs and to throw off the yoke of the professional parasites who now live off our life energies.

The way to do these things is through collective work. I mean real collective work, not the forced collectivity of industrial socialism (which is often nothing more than state control masquerading as collectivity). For example, we can form small collectives to start getting

food for ourselves in the cities (such as the many non-profit food co-ops on the West Coast). We can join together to publish our own magazines and books. We can study herbs and people's medicine to heal ourselves. We can form collectives to work on satisfying practically any of our needs—and we can do it better than the privileged professionals can (I've seen it happen).

In this way we begin replacing industrial technology with people's technology. In place of large corporations controlled by profiteers and staffed by an elite of experts, we create decentralized productive units that are integrated into the neighborhoods they serve. We rediscover the joys of learning and sharing craft mysteries and feeling love toward the products of our labor. We encourage technical methods that are humane and democratic (like solar energy and wind power) and reject methods that encourage central control and regimentation (like nuclear power). Of course, some may object that such methods are totally inappropriate to "modern" society. But that's the whole point! Non-alienated labor will always be irrelevant as long as society is based on class domination, exploitation of nature, and overpopulation.

The most favorable spot for such collective work is the countryside. There we can remove ourselves as much as possible from industrializing influences and begin struggling collectively with the earth, learning again how to become peasants. If such collective groups are cemented together by magic (which we'll discuss in a moment), we can start building the cells of a new society within the old. We Gay people (like industrialized Third World people) have been locked up in the cities for too long. We have a right to the countryside! But if we can't or won't leave the inner cities, we can still organize there, too. The inner cities of today are comparable to the ancient countryside in the sense that that's where the most oppressed part of the population now lives.

The new work collectives that we form must be more than loose functional groups. Experience shows that such loose groups are usually short-lived and weak. If we are ever to overthrow the industrial patriarchy, I believe we must tap into deeper energies, energies that the ruling classes of Christianity and industrialism have always desperately tried to deny and repress. These are the energies of magic.

Magic is the art of communicating with the spiritual powers in nature and in ourselves. Nature societies throughout history have known that trees, stars, rocks, the sun and the moon are not dead objects or mere resources but living beings who communicate with us.

They have also known that there are mysterious non-rational powers within ourselves. The Christian power system, on the other hand, has taught that spirit and matter are two utterly separate categories and that spirit emanates from one being who exists above and beyond nature. Industrialism has continued this same distinction between matter and spirit, but modified it by viewing spirit as either an illusion or as a quality of certain subjective (and therefore suspect) mental states. Accordingly, we have all been told from childbirth to repress, deny, hide, and kill our natural abilities to communicate with nature spirits and our own inner spiritual energies (just as we have been told to deny and repress our sexuality). This suppression has been aided by forcing people to live in huge urban wastelands, where we scarcely even encounter nature, let alone communicate with it. Urban wastelands also atomize us, keeping us in conflict with one another, and out of touch with our collective power centers.

This suppression has been very useful to the ruling classes in the industrial power system. The moon, for example, ceases to be the fateful goddess whom we worship with rituals in the silence of night and becomes instead a piece of real estate on which to plant an American or Soviet flag. Since we are kept out of touch with our real collective power centers, we have no collective entities to identify with except large, impersonal, industrial, false ones, such as the state.

Magic is inherently a collective activity, depending for its practice on group song, dance, sex, and ecstasy. It is through magic that so-called "primitive" societies are able to hold themselves together and function in perfect order without prisons, mental hospitals, universities, or the institution of the state. Until very recently in history, magic was the birthright of every human being. It is only within the last few hundred years that whole societies have come into being where people live magicless lives.

Magic is one of our most powerful allies in the struggle against patriarchal industrialism. One reason, as we've just seen, is that magic holds our work collectives together and gives us great inner power. But there is a second reason. Patriarchal industrialism has come to power not only by suppressing and killing great numbers of people, but also by violating nature. No one has ever fully recorded (or could record) the atrocities of industrialism against the animal people or the plant people. From the annihilation of animals for their furs in early colonial America to the widespread and grotesque experimentation on animals in the present, industrialism in America has utterly decimated the animal kingdoms. In addition, industrial

society in general, in all times and places, has blackened the whole environment and viewed nature as something to conquer. Indeed, throughout its range in time and space, the entire Christian/industrial system has been one great crime against nature.

By tapping into magic, we tap into nature's own power of defending herself, her corrective for "civilization." We give avenues of expression to a natural force for correction and balance that otherwise would never even be acknowledged. We are in league with the memories of the forest and our own forgotten faery selves, now banished to the underworld. Let us invoke our friends, the banished and forbidden spirits of nature and self, as well as the ghosts of Indian, wise-woman, faggot, Black sorcerer, and witch. They will hear our deepest call and come. Through us the spirits will speak again.

A genuine counterculture that affirms the magic of human life is an ominous threat to the entire industrial order. Once we begin creating such a counterculture, we can expect to encounter a vast barrage of resistance from the establishment. Industrial authorities will try to take our children away and send them to the wasteland's schools. They will try to suppress our medicine people and force us to go to the licensed practitioners of industrial medicine (who cure through violence and chemical drugs). If we live in the country, they will try to force our shelters to follow industrial building codes. If we organize in the cities, they will find a thousand ways to harass us. If we try to openly celebrate our magic and sexuality, they will send in the police. Even if all we ask for are simple human rights, Christian/industrial forces will organize against us. Look at the coalition of churches and corporations behind Anita Bryant in Florida or John Briggs in California.

Hence there arises the need for political resistance. For the sake of our survival, we will need allies. Our natural allies—people who have been victimized by industrialism just like us—are women, Third World people, the poor, the unemployed, the unemployable, and the insane.

Although America is controlled by straight-identified, upper-class people, these classes do not control the rest of the world, and the rest of the world is now on the verge of revolt. It is in our interest to give support to (and demand support from) victims of industrialism throughout the world. And it is in the interest of the international movement against imperialism to get our energy, criticisms, and input, especially concerning matters of sex and the family. A difficult struggle lies ahead in forming these alliances. Many Left

leaders are men who come from a hard, masculine tradition within industrial socialism. But what is the alternative to cooperation with other oppressed people?

The industrial patriarchy has maintained itself in power by means of the most incredible violence, as we have seen in previous chapters. Witch-hunts, torture, and genocide have been regular features of the patriarchy's arsenal from the age of Constantine to the age of Richard Nixon. *These tactics have been effective.* I personally doubt, therefore, that mere good intentions, education, and above-ground organizing will ever be enough on our part. Do we really think that such things can stop a civilization that wiped out the witches? Or murdered the Indians? Or sent Jews and Gay people to the ovens? Or bombed Vietnam into the Stone Age? Or infiltrated domestic protest groups and assassinated their leaders? I doubt it. I doubt that we will ever stop the patriarchy until we fan out like viruses in the body politic, when the time is right, carrying our secret weapons, and striking without warning against ruling institutions, and the politicians, industrialists, warlords, and academics that run them. Many will undoubtedly disagree, but without a revolutionary underground, I fear we will again perish like burning faggots.

I admit that violence against other human beings is a terrible desecration of life. But what are we to do in the face of the atrocities of the patriarchy, when our backs are up against the wall? Trust in liberalism? Pray? Give up? *Every important above-ground movement for reform in the U.S. during the past decade has either been annihilated or co-opted.* When we read *The Pentagon Papers* or follow the Watergate scandal, it's not hard to understand why.

Violence among humans seems to be worst when it is institutionalized (as in a standing army). Then it becomes the basis of the society's economy. It becomes self-perpetuating and self-justifying. In addition to the death and destruction it causes, it re-enforces a masculinist character among the people. This is not the violence I am talking about, but rather the hit-and-run spontaneous violence of autonomous anarchist collectives. Not against the general populace, but against those in control. Anarchist violence still kills, but it is quite a different thing from the massive, scientifically planned objective violence of institutions like the Pentagon. It is more like the violence of a cornered animal defending itself. Still, those who kill defile themselves, and they must be prepared to accept the consequences of that defilement. But at this stage in the crisis in international industrialism, I see no effective alternate to revolutionary violence. And

revolutionary violence *is* effective—that's why the U.S. government is so uptight about it. Despite the great newspaper publicity that erupts when members of the underground are caught, very few terrorists are in fact ever tracked down and arrested.

I'm not saying that revolutionary violence is the only form of resistance or even the most important form at all times. But it does play a part, depending on circumstances. Revolution is an act of both creation and destruction.



For those who detest the very thought of violence, let them consider for a moment the powder keg the U.S. ruling class is already sitting on. The U.S. today is a country whose economy is based on ghastly exploitation of peoples throughout the world. Not only do U.S. corporations exploit these peoples' labor, but they take the better part of their natural resources, churn them into commodities, and sell them in the U.S. and other countries, where they are quickly converted into garbage. As a result of this imperialism, mass starvation now stalks the Third World. Within the borders of the U.S. itself, the ruling class and the privileged professional classes live as zombies, utterly alienated from their sexuality, from nature, and from themselves. The great American middle class lives in a plastic bubble, surrounded by suburbs and television, totally oblivious to the dragon whose tail it is treading on. At the bottom, the lower classes burn with resentment. With each passing year, the skies grow

darker with pollution, and the earth is ever more gorged with refuse. The privileged classes grow old, filled with fat and cancer.

These outrages cannot last forever! Sooner or later, something is going to give, and when it does, the debate over violence will be academic indeed.

The justification for all these struggles is the new society we look forward to. How can we describe it? What does it look like? In many ways, it is practically the opposite of the one we now live in.

We look forward to the passing away of the state, the church, the university, the large corporation, the prison, the mental hospital, and all other institutions that rob people of the meaning of life. These institutions are only necessary within the basic assumptions of industrial patriarchy. For example, industrialism has spread compulsive heterosexuality and repressed homosexuality, thus giving rise to disastrous overpopulation and hideous urban wastelands. Industrialism has kept us from learning the skills of how to survive, thus making us dependent on money and productive institutions. Industrialism has been fostered by an elite ruling class, thus making necessary the existence of prisons, schools, and other coercive institutions for keeping people in their "proper place". There is no reason in the nature of things why these practices and institutions should be part of human experience. There have been many societies in which they were absent.

What is to take the place of the state—and all these institutions? We look forward to the rebirth of the tribe and tribal communism. We look forward to a myriad number of autonomous tribes, small in population, growing like plants from the earth. We look forward to a society in which everyone spends some time working the earth with his or her own hands to provide the food necessary for survival. We look forward to a gradual decrease in the importance of books, and the revival of the oral tradition, where each tribal collective passes on its cumulative wisdom through poetry, song, and dance. We look forward to the revival of personal and sexual learning, as it was once practiced by Sappho and Socrates and the Native American Indians. We look forward to freeing technical skill from institutional control and to the days when local tribal collectives forge their own metals and make machines that serve people rather than dominate them. We look forward to freeing the spirit of art, to the day when we all become artists because we all participate in creating our environment.

We look forward to re-establishing our communication with nature and the Great Mother, to feeling the essential link between sex and the forces that hold the universe together. In so doing, we remember the prophecy of Edward Carpenter, the Gay historian and prophet. In 1889, surveying the industrial wasteland around him, he said this concerning man (and, we might add, women too):

*The meaning of the old religions will come back to him. On the high tops once more gathering he will celebrate with naked dances the glory of the human form and the great processions of the stars, or greet the bright horn of the young moon which now after a hundred centuries comes back laden with such wondrous associations—all the yearnings and the dreams and the wonderment of the generations of mankind—the worship of Astarte and of Diana, of Isis or the Virgin Mary; once more in sacred groves will he reunite the passion and the delight of human love with his deepest feelings of the sanctity and beauty of Nature; or in the open, standing uncovered to the Sun, will adore the emblem of the everlasting splendour which shines within (Carpenter, *Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure*, 57).*

We look forward to creating a genuine Gay culture, one that is free from exploitation by bars, baths, and Gay business owners. We look forward to re-establishing women's mysteries and men's mysteries as the highest expression of collective Gay culture and sexuality. We look forward to regaining our ancient historical roles as medicine people, healers, prophets, shamans, and sorcerers. We look forward to an endless and fathomless process of *coming out*—as Gay people, as animals, as humans, as mysterious and powerful spirits that move through the life cycle of the cosmos.

So we see that the new socialism is a movement that is not just political, but also magical and sexual. It rejects the dominant traditions of the West's ruling classes, including mass industrialism and urbanism. Instead, it calls for these features: creation of tribal collectives that are held together through shared work, sex, and magic; liberation of technical skill from institutional control; release of the captive powers of art; assertive cooperation between all groups oppressed by industrialism; revolutionary violence; and creation of a post-industrial communist nature-society where Gay culture can flourish free from repression and exploitation.

We are casting aside the shackles of the industrial patriarchy. Like butterflies, we are emerging from the shells of our past restricted existence. We are re-discovering the ancient magic that was once the birth right of all human beings. We are re-learning how to talk to the worms and the stars. We are taking flight on the wings of self-determination.

Come, blessed Lady of the Flowers, Queen of Heaven, creator and destroyer, Kali—we are dancing the great dance of your coming.



[The passion for destruction is a creative passion.]

Appendix:

Calendar of Some Interesting Events in the History of Heresy and Witchcraft

399 BC The Athenian philosopher Socrates is condemned to death for corrupting young men and believing in gods the state doesn't believe in (Plato, 24B).

186 BC The Senate of Rome outlaws the Bacchanalia, responding to charges that the rites undermine militarism and make men effeminate (Partridge, 54).

169 BC The Senate of Rome outlaws male homosexuality among Roman citizens (Meier, 179).

122 BC The City of Rome begins a conquest of Celtic civilization (Hatt, 305ff).

58 BC Julius Caesar conquers the Celts of Gaul (Hatt, 305ff).

28 BC The Emperor Augustus Caesar orders all temples of the goddess Isis removed from the inner city of Rome (Angus, 38).

13 BC The Emperor Augustus assumes the title *Pontifex Maximus* (Supreme Priest), a title assumed by all subsequent emperors and later by the Popes (Angus, 37).

12 BC The Emperor Augustus begins a campaign to suppress Celtic religion (Chadwick, *Druids*, 71ff).

0–100 AD Gnosticism, an underground religion combining

elements of Christianity and paganism, arises in Asia Minor (Obolensky, 3).

19 AD The Emperor Tiberius dismantles the remaining temple of Isis (Angus, 38).

100 AD–200 AD Gnosticism spreads rapidly throughout the Roman Empire (Runciman, 6).

190 AD Clement of Alexandria, prominent Christian theologian, condemns the pagan practice of worshipping images of human sex organs, as well as ritual sexual promiscuity among certain Gnostic sects (Benko, 113, Summers, *History*, 99).

242 AD–276 AD Mani, a Persian Christian Gnostic, founds Manicheism as a powerful rival to Christianity (Runciman, 12–26; Loos, 23).

296 AD Amobius, Christian propagandist, condemns the use of dildos in the pagan worship of Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods (Summers, *History*, 99).

300 AD The Council of Elvira decrees that the last rites of the church should be denied anyone guilty of pederasty (Vanggaard, 139). From this date onward and for the next several hundred years, numerous church synods repeatedly condemn the continued practice of pagan rites and the

survival of nature worship (Russell, 55, n. 12; 58, n. 19 & n. 20; Cohn, *Demons*, 157).

312 AD Constantine, supported by the Christian party, becomes sole emperor of the West after a period of civil war, marking the beginning of the Christian Era in Western history.

313 AD Constantine declares Christianity to be a legal religion, appoints Christians to high level government jobs, and lays the groundwork for making Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire.

342 AD The law code of the emperors Constantius and Constantians condemns male homosexuality and urges that sodomites be subjected to “exquisite punishments” (Bailey, 70).

350 AD Bishop Epiphanius publishes his *Panarion*, condemning certain Gnostics for practicing ritual sexual promiscuity (Benko, *passim*).

350 – 400 AD The Massalians, a group of Christian Gnostics prominent in Syria and Asia Minor, absorb pagan traditions and teach mystical revelation through sensual experience (Obolensky, 49-50; Loos, 72).

382 AD Augustine of Hippo converts from Manicheism to traditional Christianity (Runciman, 16).

390 AD The Emperor Theodosius I declares Christianity to be the state religion of the Roman Empire and bans all other religions. He also passes a law making sodomy a capital offence (Barnett, 82, n. 45).

414 AD Nicetas repeats the condemnation of worshipping sex images (Summers, *History*, 99)

430 AD Augustine attacks the Manichees as libertines (Cohn, *Demons*, 17; Summers, *History*, 99).

431 AD The Virgin Mary is declared to be the Mother of God by the Council of Ephesus, in the same city noted for its previous pagan worship of the Mother of the Gods (Branston, 197).

438 AD The Emperor Theodosius II publishes the Theodosian Code, in which the penalty for sodomy, as for heresy, is declared to be burning (Barnett, 80).

447 AD The Council of Toledo establishes the doctrine of the Devil, who is subsequently identified with the Celtic horned god.

450 – 600 AD Western European writers condemn the surviving worship of the goddess Diana (Cohn, *Demons*, 212; Russell, 57 & 58, n. 21).

527 AD Justinian becomes emperor in the East and briefly reestablishes the Roman Empire. He conducts a pogrom against Gay men, whom he tortures and castrates (Bury, 412, n. 5).

550 AD Visigothic Christian law condemns those who offer sacrifices at night to “demons” (Cohn, *Demons*, 157).

650 – 700 AD Pagan Bulgars move into the slavic Balkans and set up the pagan kingdom of Bulgaria (Runciman, 4 & Obolensky, 63). Paulicianism, a movement hostile to the church hierarchy and in favor of a return to early

Christianity, breaks out in nearby Armenia (Obolensky, 28).

689 AD The Christian missionary Kilian is killed for trying to convert the East Franks away from the worship of Diana (Grimm, 237; Russell, 61, n. 25; Cohn, *Demons*, 212).

690 AD A penitential of the Archbishop of Canterbury is the first to mention lesbianism (Hyde, 31).

693 AD The Council of Toledo condemns male homosexuality (Bailey, 63).

700 AD Armenian Massalians are accused of holding orgies and worshipping Satan (Cohn, *Demons*, 18).

744 AD A note attached to the regulations of the Synod of Septinnes condemns the practice of men dressing as women on the occasion of pagan feasts (Russell, 67).

787 AD Charlemagne decrees that anyone making sacrifices to “the Devil” should be put to death (Cohn, *Demons*, 157); later he outlaws sodomy (Hyde, 31).

864 AD Boris, the King of Bulgaria, is forced to convert to Christianity after a Christian invasion of Bulgaria (Obolensky, 71). He tries to force Christianity on the rest of the country. Paulicianism enters Bulgaria and begins to spread (Obolensky, 82; Loos, 42).

866 AD Pope Nicholas I writes to King Boris of Bulgaria, complaining that many Bulgarians continue to practice paganism

(Obolensky, 85; Loos, 242; Runciman, 5).

889 AD Boris retires as King of Bulgaria in favor of his son Vladimir, who tries to restore paganism as the official religion. Boris returns from retirement, defeats and blinds his son, and restores Christianity (Loos, 42; Obolensky, 87).

906 AD Regino of Prum publishes a lost ordinance of the 9th century, the *canon episcopi*. It derides the widespread belief of women who “profess themselves in the hours of the night to ride upon certain beasts with Diana, the goddess of the pagans” (Russell, 75-76).

950 AD Theophylact, Patriarch of Constantinople, writes to Tsar Peter of Bulgaria mentioning a new heresy there, which he defines as Manicheism mixed with Paulicianism (Runciman, 67; Loos, 47; Obolensky, 112 & 112, n. 7).

969–972 AD The priest Cosmas condemns a new Bulgarian heresy called Bogomilism, which he says recognizes two gods and rejects the church and its sacraments (Loos, 50-59; Runciman, 68-69; Obolensky, 117-122).

1000 AD Burchard of Worms calls the goddess of the night riders “the witch Holda” (Russell, 81).

1000 AD Adam of Bremen reports that a large dildo figure is still being worshipped under the name of Fricco in the city of Upsala (Wright, 26).

1022 AD Heretics are uncovered at Orleans and are said to practice

ritual sex orgies, worship the Devil, and have visions of traveling after eating a “heavenly food.” They are called “Manichaeans” (Wakefield and Evans, 75-81; Lerner, 33-34; Cohn, *Demons*, 20-21; Russell, 86-87).

1050 AD The Byzantine theologian Michael Psellus claims that the Massalians practice ritual sex orgies and worship the Devil as the brother of Christ (Obolensky, 185-187). Catharism, a Manichaean heresy derived from Bogomilism, spreads throughout Western Europe (Loos, 115).

1054 AD Peter Damiani writes his *Liber Gomorrhianus*, claiming that homosexuality is spreading at an alarming rate among the clergy (Bailey, 111-114).

1091 AD Ordericus Vitalis tells of popular beliefs in ghostly night riders following “Harlechin” (Lea, v. I, 171).

1100 AD Euthymius Zigabenus reports that the Bogomilism of Constantinople is a mixture of Paulicianism and Massalianism, and that it regards the Devil as the brother of Christ (Obolensky, 206-214; Loos, 67-70; Runciman, 73-78).

1112–1220 AD Peter of Bruys, a priest influenced by heresies from the Balkans, criticizes the need for an organized church or sacraments (Wakefield, 23).

1114 AD Peasant heretics are uncovered at Bucy-le-long and accused of practicing ritual lesbianism and male homosexuality. From this date on, charges of ritual samesex acts become commonplace in heresy trials (Russell,

94-95 & 95, note; Wakefield and Evans, 102-104; Runciman, 120).

1150 AD Catharism becomes entrenched in Languedoc (southern France) and constitutes itself as an organized rival to traditional Christianity (Wakefield, 3031). Geoffrey of Auxerre accuses the Cathars of preaching free sex (Russell, 128).

1150–1170 AD Heretics in Germany are accused of holding orgies and of eating cum as a holy food (Russell, 129).

1156–1159 AD Philosopher John of Salisbury ridicules women who claim they ride out at night with a goddess (Grimm, 235; Cohn, *Demons*, 218-219).

1157 AD The Synod of Rheims condemns spreading Catharism, accusing the Cathars of holding sex orgies. It also complains that Manicheism is being spread throughout the diocese by itinerant weavers who condemn the sacrament of marriage and encourage sexual promiscuity (Runciman, 121; Russell, 128; Loos, 117; Cohn, *Millennium*, 153).

1163 AD Hildegard of Bingen reports that there are heretics who reject the sacrament of marriage, advocate sexual freedom, and say that their god is not invisible (Cohn, *Millennium*, ISS). Eleven heretical weavers are burned at Cologne for advocating sexual freedom (Cohn, *Millennium*, 153-154).

1167 AD The Cathars hold a large meeting at St. Felix de Caraman, near Toulouse, with representatives from France, Italy,

and Constantinople (Loos, 127 & Runciman, 72).

1173 AD Peter Waldo (or Waldes) forms the Poor of Lyon (Waldensians). He advocates a return to early Christianity and opposes both traditional Christianity and Catharism (Cohn, *Demons*, 32).

1175 AD Heretics at Verona are accused of holding orgies in an underground hall (Russell, 126).

1179 AD The Third Lateran Council condemns the spread of homosexuality among the clergy (Bailey, 127). Alan de Lille says of certain heretics that in order to rid themselves of concern for the body they practice random sexual intercourse (Russell, 129; Cohn, *Demons*, 22).

1182 AD Walter Map accuses heretics of holding orgies and of kissing the genitals and asshole of “a black cat of marvelous size” (Russell, 131; 22ff; Cohn, *Demons*, 22).

1184 AD Pope Lucius III condemns the Waldensians and authorizes the use of inquisitorial methods by bishops in trying heretics (Wakefield, 44 & 133).

1190 AD Joachim of Flora preaches that there is no need for law, government, or churches (Russell, 138).

1198 AD Lothar of Segni, a Roman aristocrat and a bitter foe of heresy, becomes Pope Innocent III, the strongest Pope in the history of the church (Wakefield, 86).

1200–1300 AD A new movement arises in which women and men

form sexually separate begging groups that are independent of church control. They are called beguines and beghards (Lerner, *passim*).

1206 AD Death of Amaury of Bene, leader of the Amaurians, a group of heretics who have trances, claim miraculous powers, and say that everything that is, is God (Cohn, *Millennium*, 157–161, 166). They are popularly called by names that are usually applied only to women (Cohn, *Millennium*, 166; Lerner, 13).

1208 AD Pope Innocent III, fearful of the Cathars of southern France (Albigensians), calls for a crusade to wipe them out (Wakefield, 68).

1209–1229 AD A crusade is waged against the Cathars of southern France leading to a bloody civil war and ending in the overthrow of Cathar civilization (Wakefield, 97).

1211 AD The Synod of Tironvo repeats the definition of Bogomilism as a combination of Massalianism and Paulicianism (Obolensky, 238).

1212 AD The Council of Paris condemns the occurrence of homosexuality among the clergy (Bailey, 127).

1214 AD The Council of Rouen condemns the occurrence of homosexuality among the clergy (Bailey, 127).

1221 AD Pope Gregory IX calls for a crusade against rebelling peasants in Germany (Wakefield, 134).

1222–1224 AD Gautier de Coincy publishes a poem claiming that homosexuality is common among the beguards (Lerner, 39).

1227 AD Pope Gregory IX issues his bull *Extravagantes*, reproducing condemnations of early church councils against sodomy (Bailey, 98).

1227–1235 AD Pope Gregory IX passes legislation creating the Office of the Holy Inquisition, a special body of professional heresy-hunters centrally controlled by the Vatican (Russell, 158).

1231 AD William of Paris accuses heretics of worshipping the Devil in the form of an animal and holding orgies (Cohn, *Demons*, 22).

1233 AD Pope Gregory IX issues his bull *Vox in Rama*, accusing certain heretics of orgies holding bisexual (Russell, 161). He also sends Dominican inquisitors to southern France to hunt down any lingering Cathars in the wake of the crusade there (Wakefield, 140).

1235 AD Stephen of Bourbon, an inquisitor in France, tells of male night-time wanderers who dress up as women and who are popularly called “the good women” (Russell, 157).

1240 AD Caesarius of Heisterbach says demons collect all the cum that is ejaculated “contrary to nature” (Lea, v. I, 152).

1245 AD The Inquisition at Toulouse uncovers many Cathar followers who claim that homosexuality is not a sin (Borst, 182 & 182, n. 7).

1249 AD William of Paris mentions popular beliefs in a goddess—Abundia or Satia—who travels at night with a band of followers (Ginzburg, 49).

1256 AD Pope Alexander IV allows inquisitors the use of torture to extract confessions (Wakefield, 179, n. 7).

1259 AD Bishop Bruno of Olnutz condemns beguine women for refusing to obey the orders of men (Cohn, *Millennium*, 167).

1260 AD The legal code of Orleans outlaws male homosexuality and lesbianism, calling for bodily mutilations for the first and second offences and burning for the third (Bailey, 142).

1261 AD The Bishop of Amiens and the town government of Amiens quarrel over who has the proper authority to try sodomites (Bailey, 143).

1268 AD The *Chronicle of Lanercost* reports that some priests in the Scottish district of Lothian urged peasants to raise up a phallic image in order to save their cattle from a rampant disease (Wright, 31).

1270 AD Jean de Meung, author of the second part of *Roman de la Rose*, ridicules the popular belief that large numbers of people roam about at night with Lady Habonde (Russell, 135).

1272 AD The laws of Orleans, Anjou, and Marne call for the burning of anyone convicted of *bourgerie* (Bailey, 141-142).

1279 AD An episcopal statute of Auger de Montfaucon condemns

women who claim to ride at night with Diana, Herodias, or Bensozia (Alford, 355).

1282 AD A Scottish priest, John of Inverkeithing, leads an Easter dance around a dildo figure, and, when challenged by his bishop, says it is the ancient custom of the country (Wright, 31-32).

1290 AD Beguines and beguards increase in number. Among some of them a new heresy appears, the Free Spirit movement. Free Spirits are accused of attacking all existing institutions and saying that there is no sin “under the belt.” The first beguards are arrested for heresy (Lerner, 16-20 & 44; Cohn, *Millennium*, 164).

1290 AD King Edward I of England decrees the death penalty for anyone convicted of sorcery, apostasy, heresy, or sodomy (Bailey, 145-146).

1292 AD A homosexual scandal erupts at the University of Paris, and many professors are banished (Lea, *Templars*, 155).

1296 AD Pope Boniface VIII issues a bull condemning a sect whose members are said to pray in the nude (Lerner, 79).

1300 AD An accused Cathar named Lepzet confesses before a secular court that ritual lesbianism and male homosexuality are practiced at the meetings of his religious group (Russell, 162).

1307 AD King Philippe of France arrests all the French Templars and accuses them of heresy and sodomy (Lea, *Templars*, 158).

1307–1314 AD Through a conspiracy of King Philippe of

France and Pope Clement V, the Templars are hunted down all over Europe, and the order is abolished (Russell, 195).

1307 AD Archbishop Henry of Virneburg condemns beguines and beguards for rejecting the concept of sin and saying that simple fornication is not sinful (Lerner, 66-67).

1310 AD Marguerite Porete is executed by the Provost of the University of Paris for practicing heretical mysticism (Lerner, 71-72). The Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra writes that new heretics have appeared who say that people should not obey the prophets but live freely after the flesh (Lerner, 79). Again through a conspiracy of King Philippe, Pope Boniface VIII is accused posthumously of ritual magic, sodomy, and murder (Cohn, *Demons*, 180-185).

1310–1315 AD Heretics are accused of worshipping Lucifer and practicing orgies in Austria, Brandenburg, Bohemia, Prague, and Krems (Russell, 177-179; Lerner, 28).

1311 AD Pope Clement V, acting through the Council of Vienne, issues the bull *Ad Nostrum*. It condemns the heresy of the Free Spirit, accusing its advocates of rejecting the concept of sin and of believing that no sex act in itself is sinful (Lerner, 81-84).

1317 AD The Bishop of Strasbourg organizes an inquisitorial persecution against the Free Spirit in his diocese (Cohn, *Millennium*, 170; Loos, 85-87).

1320 AD The inquisitor Bernard Gui mentions women who are

called “the good people” and who ride out at night (Russell, 175). Pope John XXII empowers inquisitors to act against practitioners of ritual magic as heretics, thereby broadening the concept of heresy (Cohn, *Demons*, 176).

1323–1328 AD The peasants of Flanders revolt (Cohn, *Millennium*, 216).

1324 AD Lady Alice Kyteler of Kilkenny, Ireland, is accused of sorcery, having sex with a demon, and holding orgies (Cohn, *Demons*, 198201; Russell, 189-192).

1325 AD Heretics of the Free Spirit are spied on at one of their meetings in Colgone and are arrested and burned for holding a communal sex orgy (Cohn, *Millennium*, 190-191).

1327 AD The Austrian Abbot John of Viktring reports that heretics are holding orgies in caves (Lerner, 25-26 & 30-31).

1332 AD Beguines of Silesia in Bohemia confess that lesbianism is accepted in their community (Lerner, 117-119).

1338 AD Heretics at Brandenburg are burned for holding nightly meetings under a “leader of boys” (Russell, 181, n. 25). The Franciscan John of Winterthur claims Swiss heretics are holding homosexual orgies (Cohn, *Demons*, 35; Lerner, 25).

1339 AD The people of southern Bohemia revolt against the Inquisition. The Pope sends in troops and suppresses the revolt (Lerner, 107). Two ex-heretics in Czechoslovakia, John and Albert of Brunn, say that while they

were heretics they believed that any passion of the flesh was permissible, including homosexuality (Lerner, 109110).

1350 AD Daniel of Thaurizio reports that there are Armenian-speaking heretics in Tondray near Manzikert; that they are neither Christians nor Jews; that they worship the sun; and that they practice indiscriminate sex (Russell, 93, n. 49).

1353 AD Boccaccio’s *Decameron* mentions a secret society that meets twice a month for feasting and orgies (Russell, 193). Pope Innocent VI appoints the first papal inquisitor in Germany; his purpose is to suppress the Free Spirit (Cohn, *Millennium*, 171).

1355 AD Lazarus, a Bulgarian Bogomil, refuses to recant his advocacy of nudism and free sex and is branded on the face and exiled (Runciman, 97).

1358 AD Peasant revolts occur in France (Cohn, *Millennium*, 216).

1365 AD Pope Urban V orders the French Inquisition to be on the lookout for heretical beguines and beghards (Lerner, 52).

1367 AD John Hartman of Ossmannstedt confesses enthusiastically and without torture to the Inquisition of Germany that he believes no sex act is sinful in itself and that God is to be found in pleasure (Lerner, 135-139).

1370 AD The Inquisition in Milan indicts a woman for being a member of the “society of Diana” (Russell, 210).

1375 AD An old woman named Gabrina Albetti is convicted by a

secular court at Reggio of teaching other women how to pray to the stars. She is branded, and her tongue is cut out (Russell, 210).

1381 AD Peasant revolts occur in England (Cohn, *Millennium*, 216). A German beggar is accused of being “a perverter of young boys” and then executed for heresy, though no doctrinal dispute is involved (Lerner, 145).

1384 AD A woman named Sibillia admits to a secular court at Milan and to the Inquisition that she and other women are accustomed to travel at night with Signora Oriente, whom they pay homage to; she insists that there is nothing sinful in this. She is sentenced to a relatively light penance and released (Russell, 211-212; Kieckhefer, 21-22; Cohn, *Demons*, 217-218).

1387 AD The Inquisition at Turin accuses heretics of practicing orgies. Followers of Catharism are uncovered who say that homosexuality is not a sin (Russell, 220-223; Borst, 182 & 182, n. 7).

1390 AD Sibillia is again tried at Milan, saying her practices go back to her childhood. Another woman, Pierina de Bugatis, also admits to traveling with Signora Oriente and to robbing the houses of the rich. She says Signora Oriente rules their society as Christ rules the world (Russell, 212-213).

1396 AD John Wasmod, an Inquisitor at Homburg and later rector of the University of Heidelberg, writes a book accusing beghards of practicing homosexuality (Lerner, 57-58). The Synod of Tours repeats the

condemnation of those who worship sex images (Summers, *History*, 99).

1400 AD Groups of heretics called Fraticelli appear and are accused of practicing orgies (Cohn, *Demons*, 43-48).

1411 AD A group of Free Spirits called Men of Intelligence are condemned at Cambrai, after being accused of preaching nudism and free love (Russell, 224; Lerner, 158-161).

1421 AD The chronicle of Laurence of Brezova reports that heretics in Bohemia are accused of practicing nudity, dancing around fires, and sodomy. They are exterminated by the Christian John Zizka (Lerner, 123; Russell, 224-225).

1428 AD The earliest trials for witchcraft proper by inquisitorial methods are instigated against Swiss peasants. In these trials, the figure of Diana is replaced by the Devil (Cohn, *Demons*, 225-226).

1431 AD Joan of Arc is burned alive at the stake for practicing transvestism as a religious duty and for believing that her personal visions are more important than the institutional of the church.

1435 AD A woman of Cologne is excommunicated for wearing men's clothing in imitation of Joan of Arc (Kieckhefer, appendix under 1435).

1435–1437 AD Johann Nider tells of peasant women who anoint is made in a trial document themselves and believe they to the witches' “sabbat” fly with the goddess Diana. Similar stories

are later told by Alfonso Tostato, Bartolommeo Spina, and Johann Weyer (Cohn, *Demons*, 219-220).

1438 AD Pierre Vallin of la Tour du pin is tried for witchcraft. Under torture, he confesses to giving himself body and soul to a male demon (Cohn, *Demons*, 230).

1439 AD Thomas Ebendorfer, in his *De Decem Praeceptis*, condemns the practice of leaving food out at night for Perchta or Habundie (Ginzburg, 51).

1440 AD Gilles de Rais, a close personal friend and bodyguard of Joan of Arc, is executed, after having been charged with sodomy, heresy, and child murder and molestation.

1450–1460 AD Witch hunts make their first appearance in Northern Italy (Cohn, *Demons*, 145)

1451 AD Pope Nicholas V declares that sorcery as such is subject to the Inquisition, even where heresy as previously understood is not involved (Robbins, 272).

1455 AD Pope Calixtus III condemns the practice of holding religious rites in caves decorated with pictures of horses (Rawson, 10).

1460 AD A popular tract appears accusing the witches of Arras with lesbianism and male homosexuality (Robbins, 468).

1475 AD For the first time, reference is made in a trial document to the witches' "sabbat" (Russell, 249).

1484 AD Pope Innocent VIII issues his bull *Summis desiderantes*. He accuses witches of having sex with both male and female demons and gives full backing to a mass witch hunt in Germany. This is a major turning point in the history of witchcraft, since it establishes the view that witchcraft in and of itself is heresy and thus subject to the Inquisition.

1487 AD Pope Innocent VIII organizes a crusade against the Waldensians of Dauphine and Savoy (Lea, v. 1, 204). Tomas de Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, declares, "Diana is the Devil" (Russell, 235, note).

1500 AD A reign of mass terror against supposed witches builds up and lasts for about 200 years. The terror is supported by both Catholics and Protestants and is backed by most intellectuals and members of the privileged professional classes.

1514 AD John Panter of England is accused of consulting demons near the location of Bronze-Age burial mounds. (Grinsell, 73).

1532 AD Domenica Barbarelli of Novi, Italy, admits to traveling with Diana, whom she calls Lady of Play (Ginzburg, 36, n. 3).

1533 AD King Henry VIII of England outlaws sodomy (Barnett, 80).

1539 AD The Protestant leader John Calvin condemns members of the Free Spirit as "spiritual libertines" (Cohn, *Millennium*, 178).

1542 AD King Henry VIII of England passes a law making witchcraft a capital offense (Summers, *Popular History*, 216)

1562 AD A large wood and leather dildo, worshipped at the Catholic church of St. Eutropius at Orange, is seized and burned by Protestants (Wright, 51).

1566 AD John Walsh of Netherburg in England says he gets the power of witchcraft from fairies who reside in prehistorical burial mounds (Grinsell, 73-74).

1573 AD A Swiss woman nicknamed *Seelemmutter* ("Mother of Souls") is arrested and tried by a secular court for "non-Christian fancifulness" and burned as a witch. (Ginzburg, 59).

1575 AD Members of a remnant of the cult of the goddess Diana are uncovered in Friuli, Italy. They are tortured into confessing that they are witches who worship the Devil (Ginzburg, xv).

1576 AD The inquisitor Bartolomeo Spina says the night-riding goddess of the chase is worshipped by "witches" (Lea, v. I, 178).

1582 AD Witches in Avignon are condemned by the Inquisition for having committed "actual sodomy and the most unmentionable crime" (Lea, v. II, 485).

1589 AD King Henry III of France is accused by an anonymous pamphlet of being a homosexual and a witch (Summers, *A Popular History*, 164-165).

1600 AD From this date on, numerous witch trials in Guernsey mention that sabbats occur in the vicinity of Stone-Age burial sites (Grinsell, 77, n. 18).

1612 AD Conflict arises in Lisbon between secular and religious

authorities over the proper method of executing sodomites (Lea, v. II, 485).

1615 AD The reputed witch Gentien le Clerc of Orleans confesses to ritual lesbianism and male homosexuality among his co-religionists (Murray, *Witchcult*, 249).

1619 AD Henry Bourget, a judge involved in a large number of witchcraft trials, says sodomy is commonly practiced at witches' rituals (Summers, *History*, 157).

1620 AD Manuel do Valle de Moura, a Portuguese inquisitor, condemns the connection between sodomy and witchcraft (Lea, v. II, 485).

1625 AD Paul Laymann, a Jesuit publishes his *Theologia Moralis*, in which he says that sodomy and adultery are crimes that lead to witchcraft (Lea, v. II, 680).

1630 AD Diel Breull of Assia claims that he has traveled to the Mound of Venus and seen Frau Holt (Ginzburg, 64).

1650 AD Numerous Ranters appear in England. They are a remnant of the Free Spirit and advocate sexual freedom and economic communism (Cohn, *Millennium*, 317; 319-320). Parliament passes a law to suppress them, calling them "obscene, licentious, impious heretics" (Cohn, *Millennium*, 325).

1660 AD Pagan celebrations are still being reported outside of Edinburgh, Scotland (Hope, 118-120).

1661 AD Florence Newton of Ireland is charged with kissing

and bewitching young servant women (Robbins, 352-252).

1670 AD Thomas Weir, a 70-year-old bachelor, stuns public opinion by confessing, on his own initiative, to witchcraft, fornication, and sodomy (Robbins, 534).

1694 AD A group of men called the Brotherhood of John are tried at Leopoli, Italy, and claim they have visited the souls of the dead on the Mound of Venus and have the power to evoke them (Ginzburg, 64).

1780 AD An ancient dildo is still being worshipped under the name of St. Cosmus in Isernia, Naples (Hamilton, 18-21).

1794 AD Pagan celebrations are reported as still being held in Perthshire, Scotland (Hope, 73).

1801 AD The goddess Demeter is still being worshipped under her own name in the form of a statue in Eleusis, Greece. Two Englishmen, Clarke and Cripps, accompanied by an armed guard, forcibly remove the statue. The peasants riot (Briffault, v. III, 182).

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When originally preparing the index, I first made a card for every name appearing anywhere in the text, but in the end I decided to use only the following personal names in the index: (1) the name of any known Lesbian or Gay man; (2) the name of any person accused of heresy or sexual "crime." Consequently, all the names have been dropped of inquisitors, theologians, most kings, and all except one Pope. A. E.

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