



“A Herstory of Women Women in History”

A Comparative History
through the Ages and Civilizations

Piero Scaruffi (2006)

www.scaruffi.com

**Goddesses
Priestesses
Poetesses
Matrons
Witches
Entertainers
Supermodels
Stars**

Part 1: Prehistory and Early History

Women in History/ History of Women

A Comparative History through the Ages and Civilizations

*Women who seek to be equal
with men lack ambition*

Timothy Leary

*Remember no one can make you
feel inferior without your consent.*

Eleanor Roosevelt

*If you want something said, ask a man; if you want
something done, ask a woman*

Margaret Thatcher

*If you want to sacrifice the admiration of
many men for the criticism of one, go ahead,
get married*

Katherine Hepburn

You are all you've got

Janis Joplin

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Women in Pre-history

- Venus of Willendorf
 - Prototype of a female figurine found across an area of 2,000+ kms



(Willendorf, Austria,
30-20,000 BC)



(Brassempouy,
France,
27-20,000 BC)

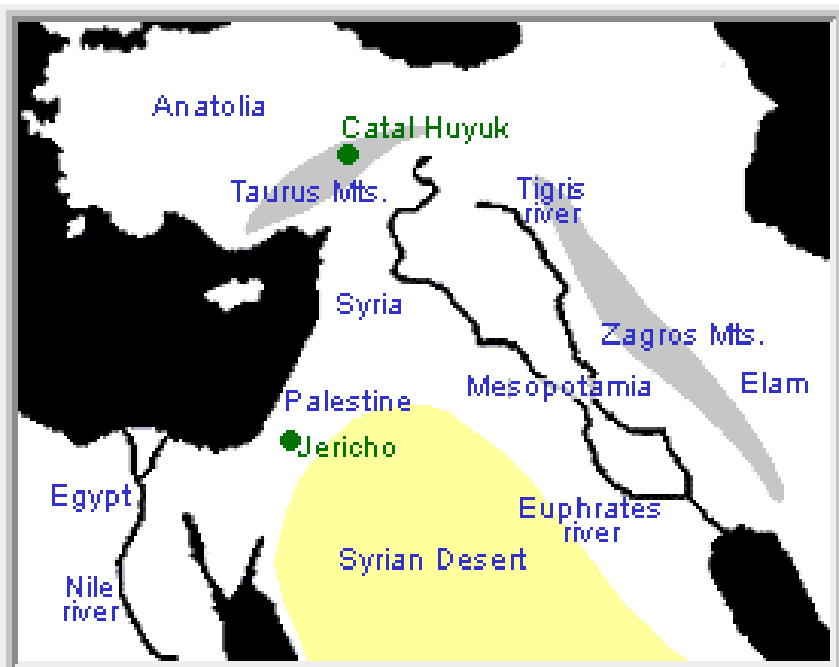


Women in Pre-history

- Catal Huyuk
 - Female figurines
 - Prominence of women in Çatal Hüyük society and culture
 - "Women reigned supreme in religion, law and custom" (Marija Gimbutas)



A 12cm figurine of a woman on a throne with two leopards on either side of her, the head of the baby already visible (Catal Huyuk, 5000BC)



Women in Pre-history

- Mother Goddess?
 - Figurines of Catal Huyuk, Turkey
 - Figurines of Jericho, Palestine
 - Munhata's goddess, Jordan (6,000 BC)
 - Figurines of Badari, Egypt (4,000 BC)
 - From the Syrian coast to the Zagros mountains from 3,600BC
 - Figurines of Niniveh, Iraq
 - Figurines of Hagar Qim, Malta (3,000 BC)
 - Figurines of the Indus Valley (2,300 BC)
 - Xiwangmu ("Western mother") of China (at least 1,700 BC)
 - Amaterasu (sun goddess of Japan)



Munhata, 6000 BC



Badari, 4,000 BC



Japan, 2,500 BC



Indus Valley, 2,500 BC

Women in Pre-history

- **Mother Goddess?**



Cyprus, 2500 BC (Getty Villa)



Crete, 4500 BC
(Heraction Museum)



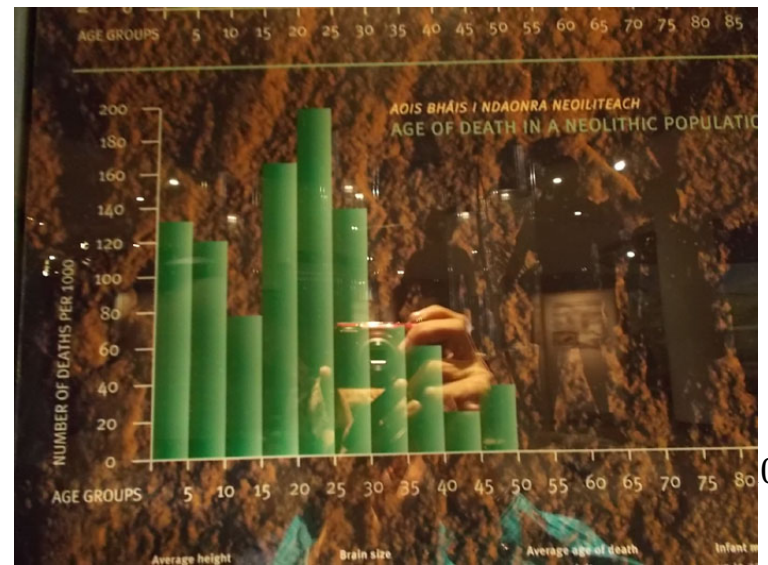
Malta, 3000 BC
(Heraction Museum)

Women in Pre-history

- Mother Goddess?
 - Female figurines dominate art for almost 30,000 years
 - Only major exception: Persia!

Women in Pre-history

- The female brain reaches full maturity between 21 and 22 years of age. The male brain does not reach full maturity until about 29. ("*Sexual Dimorphism of Brain Developmental Trajectories During Childhood and Adolescence*", the world's largest study of brain development in children, conducted by the National Institutes of Health - NeuroImage, volume 36, number 4, pages 1065-1073, July 15 2007)
- Most people died before 25 in prehistoric societies



Women in Pre-history

- The women in ancient communal societies lived together, practicing their *religion* together as a fundamental way of life



Borneo



Women in Pre-history

- Diet of prehistoric humans: mostly plant food (meat was scavenged). Meat by hunting only provides occasional feast, while plants (gathered by women) constitute the staple food. Thus *woman the gatherer* may have been more important than *man the hunter* as a food provider



Malawi



Yemen

Women in Pre-history

- The first tool: the sling

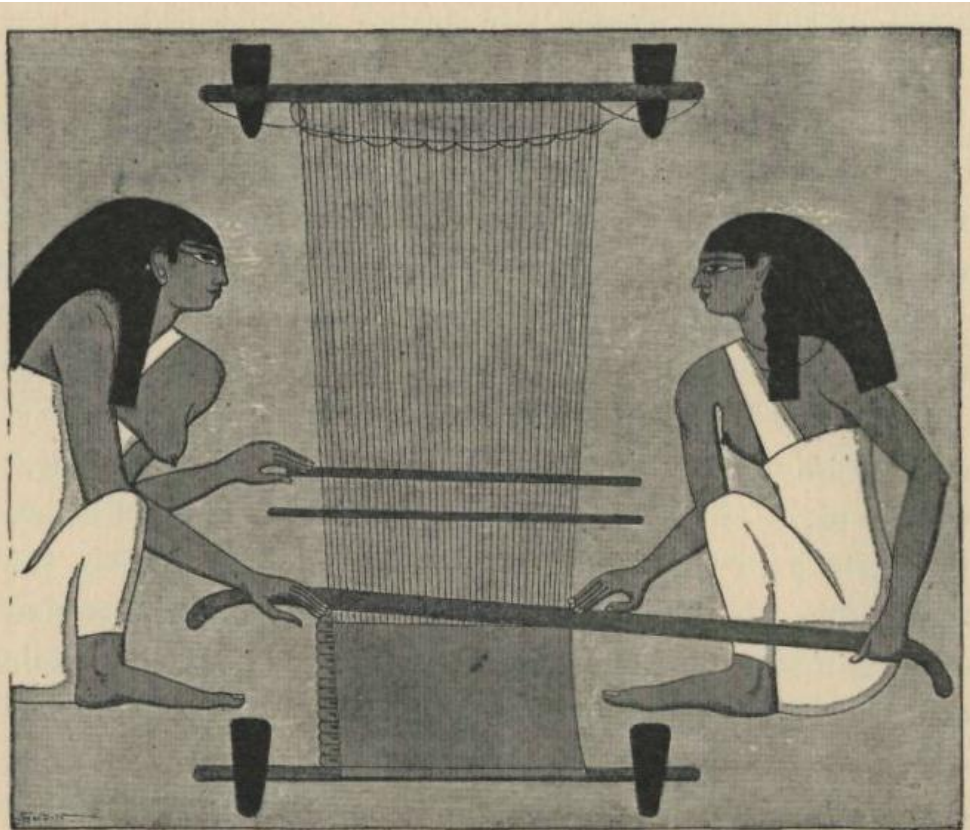


Women in Pre-history

- Cooking
 - In most primitive societies women cook for men
 - A woman cooking for a man means that they are engaged
 - The husband-wife bond is sometimes more exclusive for food than for sex (you can cheat with another man but not cook food for another man)
 - Cooking allowed humans to absorb more energy and freed them from time-consuming chewing
 - Cooking (fire) is easy to detect. The cook needed protection: man the food guard and woman the food provider
 - Origin of the human household?

Women in Pre-history

- Women's ancient role in *cloth-making* made them crucial to the survival of humans and to the developing economic system



TWO WOMEN WEAVING LINEN AT A HORIZONTAL LOOM.¹



Women in Pre-history



Turkmenistan



Osh market

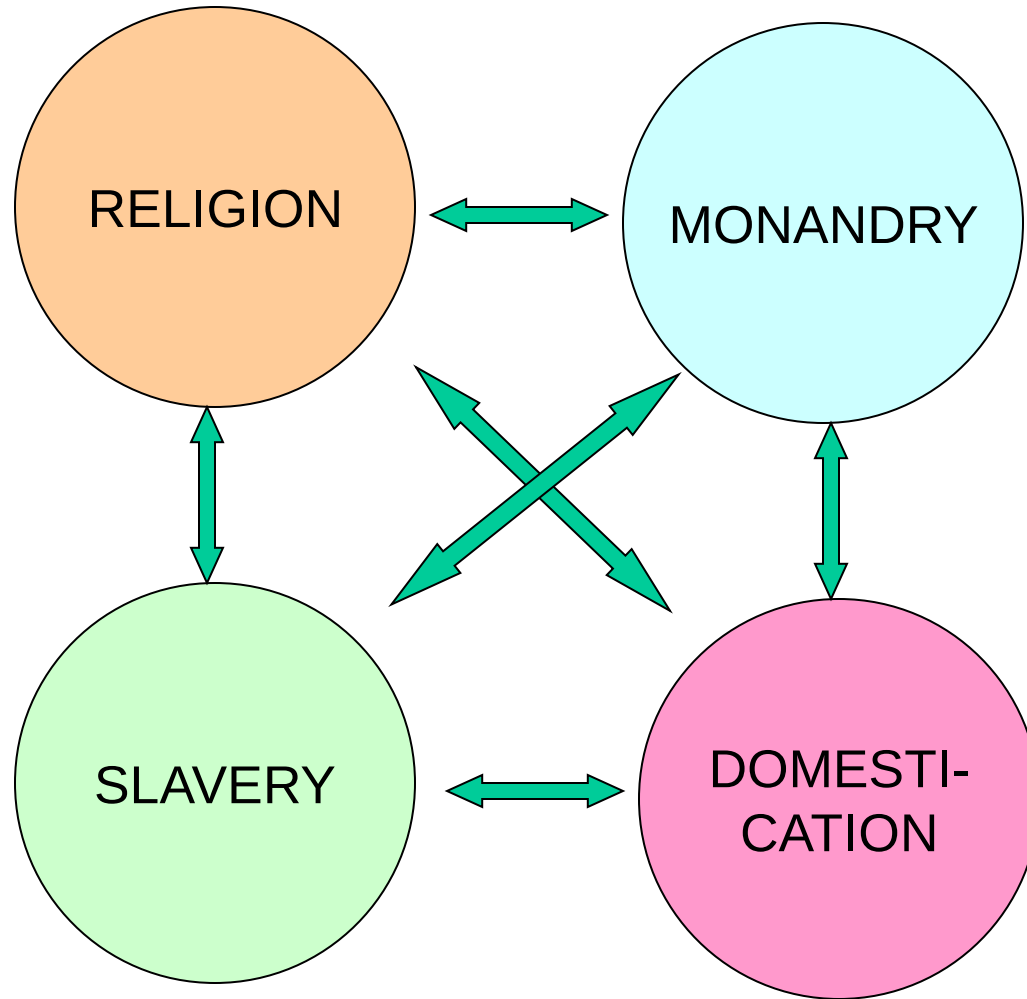


Women in Pre-history

- Ownership
 - Farming society
 - Value of labor
 - An animal is a good
 - A man is a good
 - A woman is a good
 - Society as a whole is a good
- Different forms of the same concept: ownership
 - Domestication of animals
 - Monandry (one husband only)
 - Slavery
 - Religion

Women in Pre-history

- Domestication, monandry, religion and slavery emerge at about the same time



Women in Pre-history

- Monogamy: both women and men have only one spouse at a time
- Monogyny: a man has only one spouse at a time (a woman can have many)
- Monandry: a woman has only one spouse at a time (a man can have many)
- Polygamy: both men and women can have many spouses at a time
- Polygyny: a man can have many wives at a time
- Polyandry: a woman can have many husbands at a time

**Modern
western
civilization**

See polyandry

**Majority of
pre-Greek
civilizations,
Jews, Islam,**

?

See monandry

Polyandry

- Polygamy in nature
 - The great apes (gorillas, orangutans, chimpanzees) practice polygyny (many wives)
 - Gibbons are monogamous
 - Bonobos are polygamous
 - Mammals: when males of a species are much larger than females (gorillas, bison), polygyny (many wives) is common
 - Mammals: when the females are larger than males, polyandry (many husbands) is more likely
 - Mammals: only 3% of mammalian species are socially monogamous (15% of primate species)
 - Birds: 90% of bird species are socially monogamous
 - Insects: polyandry (many husbands) widespread

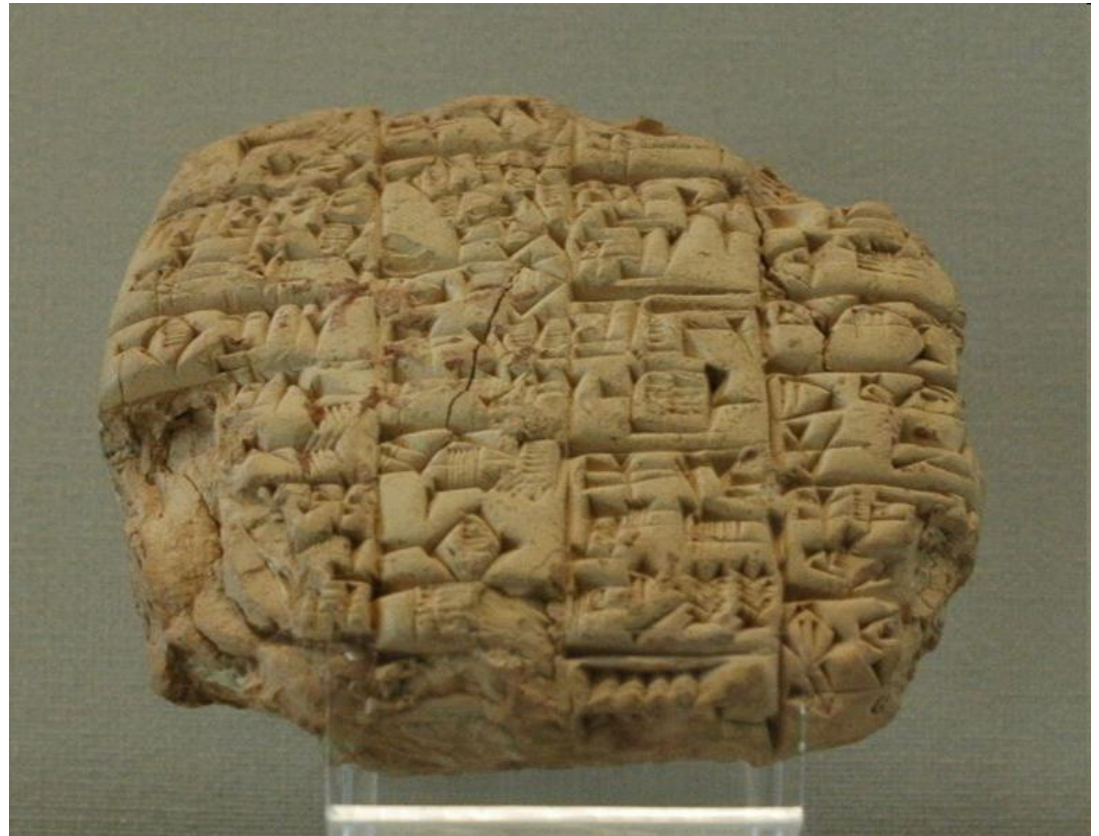
Polyandry

- Polyandry among humans
 - Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan
 - India (Zanskar, Ladakh, Toda of South India, Nairs of Kerala, the Nymba and Pahari of North India)
 - Sri Lanka
 - China (the Mosuo of Yunnan), Mongolia
 - Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania
 - Guanches of the Canary Islands
 - Surui of northwestern Brazil



Polyandry

- Polyandry among humans
 - Urukagina of Lagash (ca. 2300 BC) bans polyandry condemning the woman taking multiple husbands to public stoning.



The Male Principle

- It is obvious who your mother is
- For a long time it may not have been obvious at all who one's father was.
- One of the most important discoveries of all times: sex and pregnancy are related.
- Before that discovery, a woman knew which were her children, but a man didn't. Therefore it made sense that society was matriarchal.
- After that discovery, the man had a way to know which were his children: keep the woman from having sex with anyone else.

Humans are Unique

- Unique to humans and chimps (Wrangham):
 - Patrilineal, male-bonded communities
 - Women move to neighboring groups
 - Male-initiated territorial aggression
 - Rate of male chimps that die of violence: 30%
 - Rate of men in primitive tribes who die of violence: 30%
 - Chimps and humans (that eat nuts, fruits and meat) have to travel to find food (unlike bonobos that eat leaves)
 - Travel slows down females that have to carry and nurse the infants

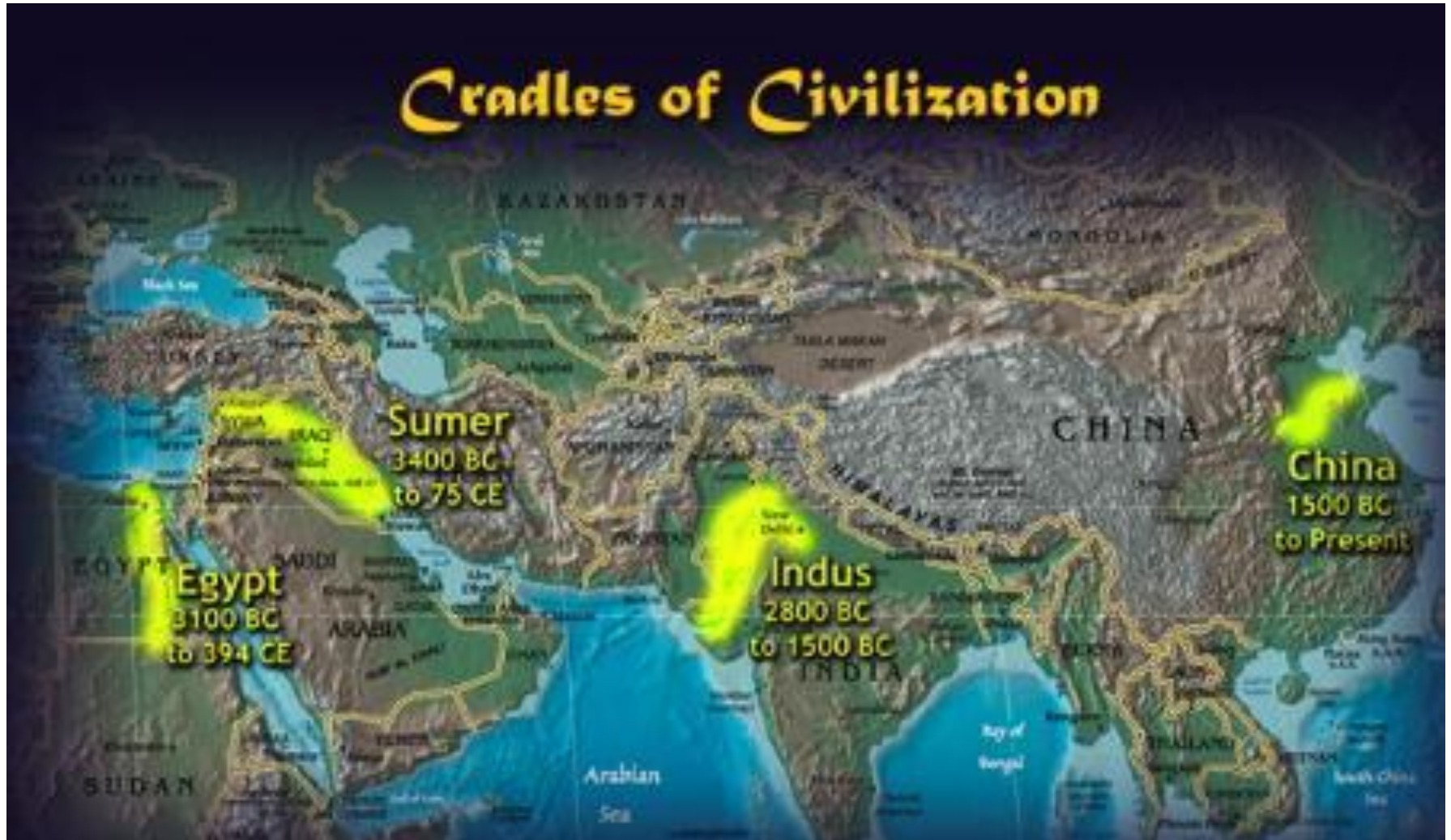
Humans are Unique

- Unique to humans and chimps:

What makes this social world so extraordinary is comparison. **Very few animals live in patrilineal**, male-bonded communities wherein females routinely reduce the risks of inbreeding by moving to neighboring groups to mate. And only two animal species are known to do so with a system of intense, male-initiated territorial aggression, including lethal raiding into neighboring communities in search of vulnerable enemies to attack and kill. Out of four thousand mammals and ten million or more other animal species, this suite of behaviors is known only among chimpanzees and humans.¹⁷

(Richard Wrangham)

Women in History



Mesopotamia/Egypt

- Organized religion began as matriarchal religion
- Adoption of a sedentary lifestyle because of agriculture may have fundamentally reoriented society towards patriarchal organization
- The rise of city-states made war more important than fertility
- Separation of public life and private life
 - Administrative and military organization by men
 - Domestic and agricultural organization by women
- Urbanization dramatically precipitated gender inequality

Women in Mesopotamia



Women in Mesopotamia

- Mother goddess: yearly renewal of life, both mother and bride
 - The goddess Nammu, who had no beginning in time, created the world and all living creatures
 - Ninhursaga, goddess of birth (Kesh)
- Male triad/ divine aristocracy (2500 BC)
 - Enlil, dwelling in Nippur, becomes the greatest of the gods, and the god who punishes people
 - Anu: god of the sky, head of pantheon
 - Enki/Ea: god of irrigation waters (Eridu)
- Male divine tyranny (2000 BC)
 - Marduk, god of Babylon, replacing Enlil



Women in Mesopotamia

- Mother goddess
 - The young male god dies annually and has to be rescued by the old mother goddess every year
 - Sumeria: Inanna and Dumuzi
 - Later: Descent of Ishtar to the underworld to “resurrect” Tammuz
 - Inanna/Ishtar = source of regeneration
 - Tammuz/Dumuzi (husband of Ishtar) = agent of the regeneration
 - This event brings about the revival of life in nature (and, later, in humankind)

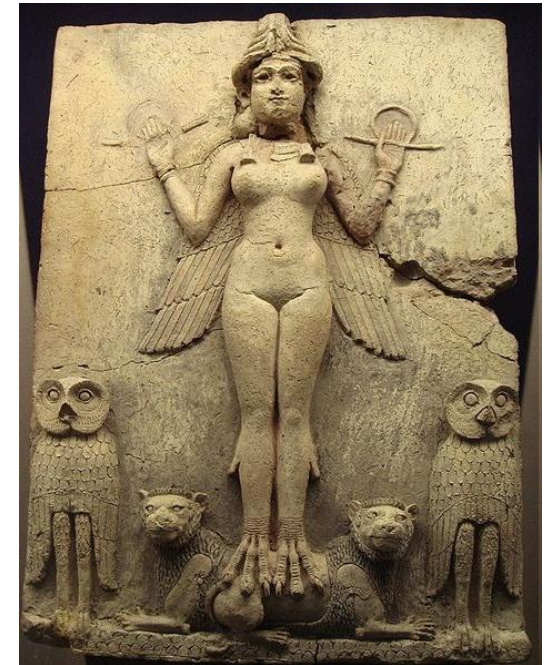


Ishtar, leading a king by the hand (1700 BC)

Women in Mesopotamia



- Sumeria (3500-2000 BC)
 - Women were free to go out to the marketplaces, buy and sell, attend to legal matters for their absent men, own their own property, borrow and lend, and engage in business for themselves
 - Priestesses and princesses could read and write
 - Several city-states had a goddess as the chief deity



The Burney Relief of an unknown female deity³¹
(1800 BC - British Museum)

Women in Mesopotamia

- Temple of the goddess Bau: Lagash, 2350 B.C.
 - The temple was run by chief priestess Shagshag
 - 1000 persons employed year round
 - Her domestic staff consisted of:
 - 150 slave women: spinners, woolworkers, brewers, millers, and kitchen workers
 - One female singer, several musicians
 - 6 women who ground grain for feeding pigs
 - 15 cooks
 - 27 other slaves doing menial work
 - Brewery: 40 men and 6 females
 - One wet nurse, one nursemaid
 - One hairdresser



Women in Mesopotamia

- Enheduanna (2300 BC)
 - Daughter of king Sargon of Akkad
 - High priestess of the Moon-God temple of Ur
 - First known female poet in history

"I, Enheduanna, the highest priestess. I carried the ritual basket, I chanted your praise.

Now I have been cast out to the place of lepers.

Day comes and the brightness is hidden around me.

Shadows cover the light, drape it in sandstorms.

My beautiful mouth knows only confusion.

Even my sex is dust."

Women in Mesopotamia

- Laws in the Hammurabi Code (Babylonia, 18th c BC)
 - "If a married lady who is dwelling in a man's house sets her face to go out of doors and persists in behaving herself foolishly wasting her house and belittling her husband, they shall convict her." (Law #141)
 - "If a husband neglects his wife, she shall take her dowry and go back to her father's house." (#142)
 - Dowry



Women in Mesopotamia

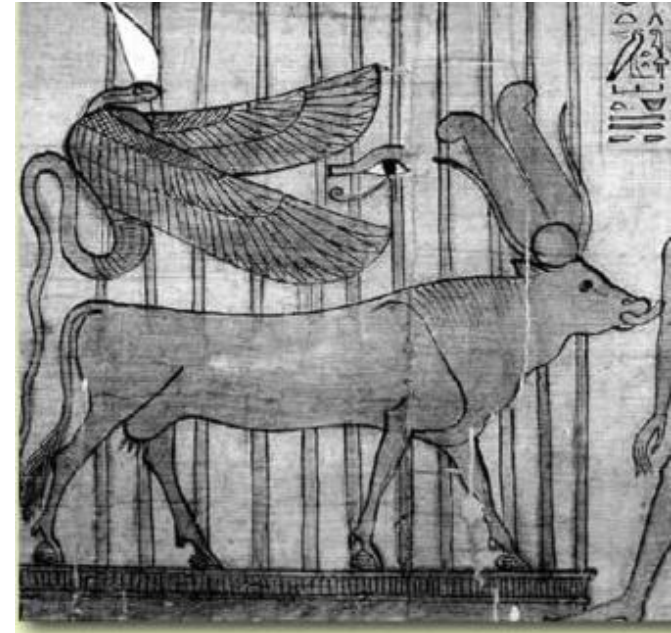
- Sammuramat (9th c BC)
 - Assyrian queen
 - Sammuramat accompanied her husband into battle, greatly expanded Babylonia's control over neighboring territories, irrigated the flatlands between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and modernized the capital Babylon (including the famous gardens)

Women in Egypt



Women in Egypt

- Mother goddess (pre-dynastic)
 - Oldest deities: Horus is associated with the king, **Hathor** with the queen
 - Hathor virgin mother of all gods (notably of Re/Ra)
 - A cow bearing the sun disk between her horns
 - All subsequent goddesses (e.g., Isis) were aspects of Hathor
 - Queens and noblewomen wore a menit when officiating rites for Hathor (menit necklace is prominent in Egyptian art)



Horus the falcon and
Hathor the cow



Women in Egypt

- Isis
 - First mentioned in the 5th dynasty (2494-2345 BC)
 - Sister and wife of Osiris
 - Isis taught Osiris the secrets of agriculture
 - Horus becomes the son of Osiris and Isis
 - Isis **resurrected** Osiris via Horus
 - Cult of Isis spread throughout the Hellenistic and Roman world (sanctuaries in Roma and Pompei)



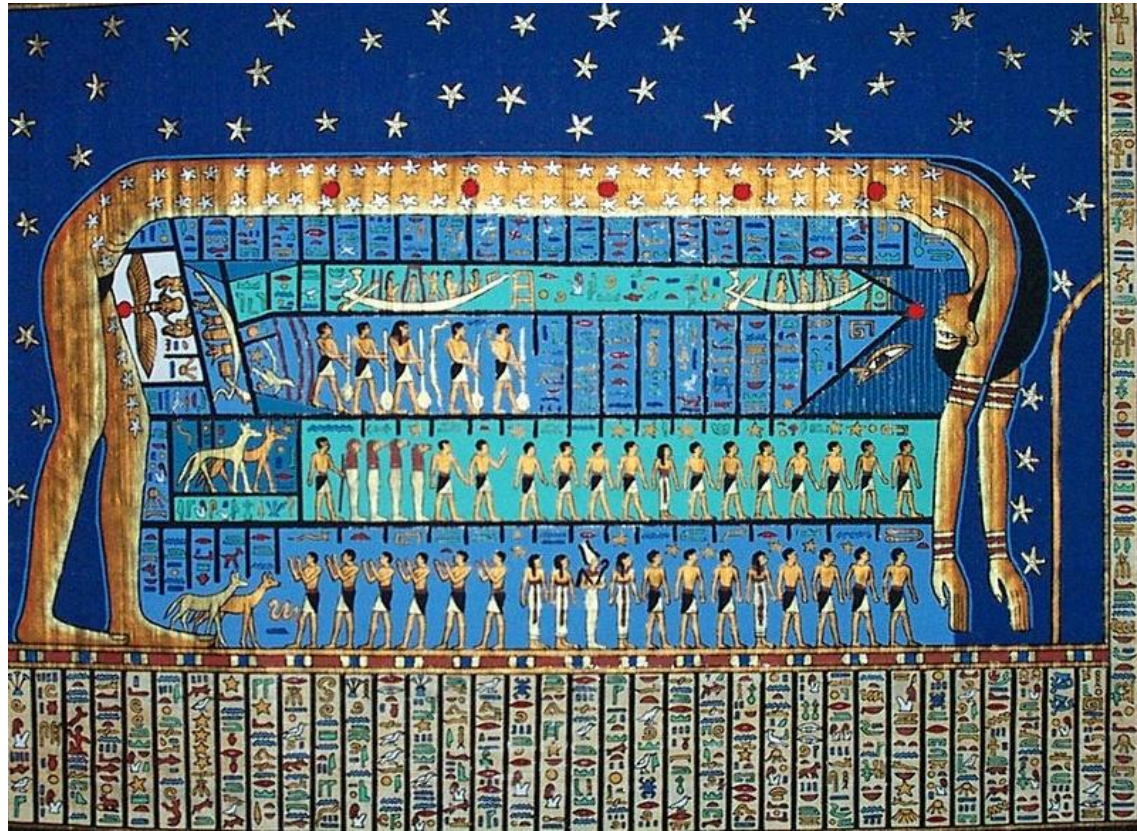
Women in Egypt

- Maat
 - Goddess that personifies cosmic harmony and a model for human behavior
 - Justice personified by goddess Maat
 - Chief justice was the high priest of Maat
 - All judges were also priests of Maat



Women in Egypt

- Nuut
 - Late Egyptian age (Graeco-Roman)
 - Mother of Osiris and Isis
 - Swallows the stars and gives birth to the sun



Women in Egypt



- Sexual equality
 - The throne descended through the female line
 - Most queens were sisters of the king
 - Immortality for the queen
 - Female priests
 - Women could own property
 - No dowry
 - Unless a will stated otherwise, estates were divided equally among all of their children, both sons and daughters

Women in Egypt



- Sexual equality
 - The Egyptians viewed their universe as a complete duality of male and female
 - Female deity Maat permeates the universe and provides cosmic harmony
 - Queens portrayed executing prisoners or firing arrows at enemies
 - Female graves containing weapons are found throughout the three millennia of Egyptian history
 - Financial independence

Women in Egypt



- Women's rights
 - Inherited their parents's fortune even after marriage
 - Share equally with their husband any wealth acquired within their marriage
 - Conduct business on their own
 - Own and sell property
 - Represent themselves in court
 - Leave their wealth to whomever they wish
 - Adopt children
 - Keep their own name after their marriage
 - Work at jobs other than being a housewife
 - Seek any employment they are qualified for

Women in Egypt

- Musicians and dancers

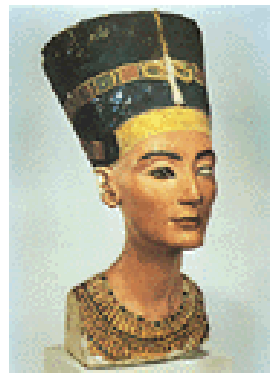


Women in Egypt

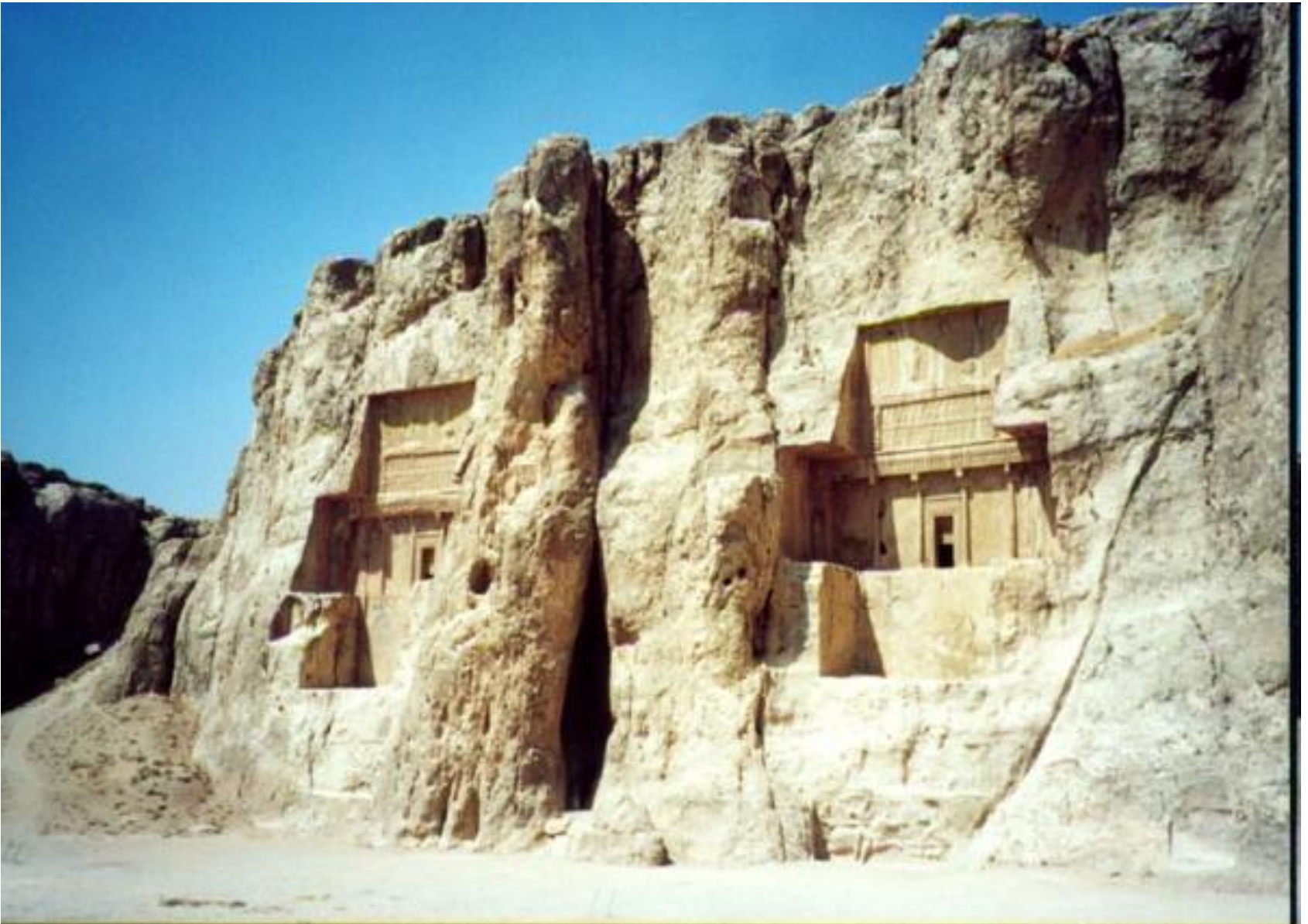
- Female pharaohs
 - Neithikret (c.2148-44 BC), first female ruler of Egypt
 - Sobeknefru (c.1787-1783 BC), second female ruler

Women in Egypt

- Hatshepsut
 - Queen of Egypt, 15th c. B.C.
 - Daughter of the god Amon-Re
 - Peaceful reign promoting trade and the arts
 - Her temple at Deir el-Bahri (west of Thebes)
- Nefertiti
 - Queen of Egypt, 14th c. B.C.
 - Wife of Akhenaton, who worshiped a new religion honoring only one god, Aten
 - Later rejected this religion, backing her half-brother who re-established the sun-god Amon
 - Her beauty was immortalized in many sculptures



Women in Persia



Women in Persia



- Mazdaism (Zoroastrianism)
 - Angel hierarchy has feminine spirits
 - Three of the seven Amesha Spentas)“Holy Immortals”) who stand next to Ahura Mazda are female
 - Armaiti (devotion, daughter of Mazda, mother of all humankind)
 - Ameretat (immortality)
 - Haurvatat (perfection, life after death)

Between Persia and Greece



Women in Syria

- Queen Shibtu of Mari (18th c BC), wife of Zimri-Lim
- Goddess before 1,400 BC:
 - The Northwestern Ishtar:
 - Hittites (1500 BC): El and his **wife** Ashera
 - Canaanites (1400 BC - 800BC): Baal and his **wife** Anat
 - Jews (800 BC): Yahweh and his **wife** Asherah

"Jahweh and his asherah"
(from Kuntillet, Sinai, 800 BC)



Women in Phoenicia

- Trinity (1,200 BC)
 - The father El/Baal, creator of the universe
 - The son Baal/Melqart, responsible for the annual cycle of vegetation
 - The heavenly **mother** Astarte/Ashera/Baalat, protector of the homes



Women in Judaism



- Jews (800 BC): Yahweh and his wife Asherah
- Jeremiah (44:15-19, 7:17-18) denounces the people who worship "the Queen of Heaven"
- King Josiah (600BC) destroys the statue of Asherah in the temple and expels the sacred prostitutes from the temple (Chronicles 34:3-7)
- Genesis: God creates Eve from a rib of Adam
- Genesis: human race falls because of Eve

Women in Judaism



- Almost all prophets are male (48) except
 - Miriam (Exodus 15:20)
 - Deborah (Judges 4 & 5, 12th c BC)
 - Huldah (2 Kings 22:14; 2 Chronicles 34:22)
 - Noadiah (Nehemiah 6:14)
 - Sarah (not a prophet but wife of Abraham)
 - Hagar (16th BC), the Egyptian handmaid of Sarah, wife of Abraham

Women in Judaism



- Jews (800 BC):
 - Jezebel, Phoenician wife of king Ahab, worships the Canaanite god Baal (“a wicked, shameless woman”)

Women in Judaism



- The commandments are only for men (e.g. “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife”) as women are mere property (“Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, nor your neighbour's wife, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's”)



Oldest papyrus fragment of Ten Commandments (2nd c BC)

Women in Judaism



- Polygyny (many wives) tolerated
 - Solomon had 700 wives and 300 concubines (1 Kings 11:3)
 - David had many wives and concubines (2 Samuel 5:13)
- Nowhere does the Old Testament mandate monogamy
- Palestine still polygamous in Roman times

Women in Judaism

- Poetry
 - “The Song of Deborah” is the earliest extant example of Hebrew poetry (and one of the oldest passages of the Old Testament)

Women in Judaism

- Virginity
 - A recurring theme throughout the Old Testament mainly in foreign translations
 - bethulah, a woman still living in her father's house (often translated as "a virgin")
 - `almah, an unmarried young woman (often translated as "a virgin")
 - The Greek ideal of virginity as possessing a high religious value is foreign to true Jewish thought

Women in Judaism

- Virginity
 - Deuteronomy 22:21 (6th-5th c BC) seems to prescribe chastity before marriage
 - “If the woman that was married as a virgin was not found to be one she was to be stoned to death at her father's door” (paraphrase)

Women in Crete

- A matriarchal religion: the gods were all female
- Monotheism?
- No fortification, no depiction of warriors
- Palace society
 - Emphasis not on tombs, temples or forts, but on comfort and luxury

Women of Crete



The goddess



Women in Phrygia (Anatolia)

- Cybele (the Earth Mother, related to the Greek Gaia and the Minoan Rhea)



Legendary Queens

- Old Testament: Queen of Sheba
 - Ethiopia: Makeda, wife of Solomon, mother of Menelik I, first emperor of Ethiopia
 - Yemen: Bilqis
- Plato's Timaeus and Critias
 - Antinea, queen of Atlantis, matriarchal ruler

Women in India



Women in India

- Pre-Aryan India (2500 BC)
 - Figurines of the Indus Valley
 - **Mother-goddess** worship predating the Aryan migration and the Vedic religion
 - Pre-Aryan Indus valley culture worshipped primarily female fertility goddesses
 - Aryans (nomadic and warriors) focused on **male sky deities**
 - South India (mostly non-Aryan) played an important role in the development of **goddess worship**

ARYANS



DRAVIDIANS



Indus Valley, 2,700 BC

Women in India



- Rig Veda (Aryan India, 1,500 BC)
 - None of the goddesses comparable to even second-tier male gods, but some may be the original elements of Devi worship
 - Prthivi the earth (mother figure related to the male god Dyaus)
 - Usas the dawn (mother figure who rouses life and sets things in motion)
 - Aditi mother of the gods (**abstract** goddess, mentioned nearly eighty times in the Rig-Veda at no time as a consort to any of the gods)
 - Vac the speech (**abstract** goddess, she enables one to hear, see, grasp and then express in words the true nature of things)

Women in India



- Rig Veda (Aryan India, 1,500 BC)
 - "The mind of woman cannot be disciplined. She has very little intelligence " (Rig Veda 8:33:17)

Women in India



- Mentioned, tolerated and even prescribed by the Vedas:
 - Child Marriage
 - Dowry
 - Bride-Burning (e.g., if the dowry is insufficient, about 5,000 yearly in the 1990s)
 - No Property
 - Sati/ Widow-Burning (upon the death of the husband)
 - No divorce
 - No re-marriage

Women in India

- Female philosophers in the holy books:
 - Gargi Vachaknavi (three of the oldest of the Upanishads, the Br̥ihadaraṇyaka, 700 BC)
 - Sulabha (an ascetic Yogic wanderer, who wins a lengthy philosophical debate against the philosopher king Janaka in the epic Mahabharata, 2nd c AD)

Women in India

- Vedic India
 - Between the Vedas and the Puranas (5th c AD)
little literary material relating to goddess worship
 - a Buddhist monument at Sanchi (1st BC)
 - a temple to the goddess Kanya Kumari at the southern tip of India (1st c AD)

Women in India



- Manusmrti (100 BC)
 - Vedas: Women can even be deities
 - Ramayana and Mahabharata: Positive roles
 - Manusmrti: Decline in the status of women

Women in India



- Manusmṛti (100 BC)
 - "Men must make their women dependent day and night, and keep under their own control those who are attached to sensory objects. Her father guards her in childhood, her husband guards her in youth, and her sons guard her in old age. **A woman is not fit for independence.**" -- 9:2-4
 - "A thirty-year-old man should marry a twelve-year-old girl who charms his heart, and a man of twenty-four an eight-year-old girl" -- 9:94
 - "**A virtuous wife should constantly serve her husband like a god, even if he behaves badly,** freely indulges his lust, and is devoid of any good qualities" -- 5:147-164

Women in India



- Visnusmṛti (8th c AD but based on preexisting text)
 - "Now the duties of a woman:
 - To live in harmony with her husband
 - To show reverence to her mother-in-law, father-in-law, to elders, to divinities, and to guests
 - ...
 - To remain subject, in her infancy, to her father; in her youth, to her husband; and in her old age, to her sons.
 - After the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity, or to ascend the pile (funeral pyre) after him" -- Visnusmṛti 25:1-17.

Women in India

- Vedic India
 - Devi
 - Shiva's wife
 - Shiva and Devi are complementary aspects of Brahman
 - Good manifestations: Uma as 'light'; Parvati 'the mountaineer'; and Jaganmata 'the mother of the world'.
 - Evil manifestations: Durga, Kali, Chandi, Bhairavi
 - First appearance as Durga, a warrior

Women in India

- Vedic India
 - Durga
 - A manifestation of the goddess Devi or Shakti
 - She was created by Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, and embodies their collective energy (shakti).
 - They created her to slay the buffalo-demon Mahisasura, whom they were unable to overcome.



Women in India

- **Devi**



Mother Goddess
Chennai, 10th c



Parvati, 10th c
(Metropolitan Museum)



Durga killing the bull,
Mahamallapuram,
7th c

Kali, 12th c
(Delhi Museum)



Women in India

- Polygamy not banned by “hinduism” (Vedas, Manusmṛti) but rarely practiced throughout history
- Polyandry (many husbands) in the “Mahabharata” (the Pandavas are married to one common wife, Draupadi)



Draupadi with her five husbands (the Pandava princes)

Women in India

- Women in literature
 - Banabhatta/ Bana (North India, 59#): "Kadambari" (6##)
 - Subandhu (North India, 6##): "Vasavadatta" (6##)
 - Andal (South India, 8##): "Nachiar Tirumozhi"

Women in China



Women in China

- Nvwa
 - Nvwa is the ancestor of mankind
 - She married her brother, emperor Fuxi, and they made many human children
- Guanshiyin/ Guanyin Pusa
 - Guanyin is the only buddha who is worshipped in households
 - “If we Chinese pray, generally we only pray to Guanyin Pusa, who is considered our goddess of mercy, in charge of our real happiness”
- Xiwanmu/ Queen Mother of the West
 - First mass religious movement (Han dynasty)

Women in China



- Confucian revolution (5th BC)
 - Confucian teachings have enshrined in people's heart for more than two thousand years that **women are inferior to men**, and women should be subservient to men
 - Concubines common among rich men
 - Emperors have many consorts, frequently protagonists of palace intrigue
 - The emperor was attended by an army of wives and concubines with a tightly defined rotation of duty
 - Foot-binding

Women in China



- Politics
 - Empress Lu (195-180 BC), second emperor of the Han dynasty (wife of the first one)
 - Empress Wang/ Xiaoping (8 BC), deposed by her father Wang Mang
 - Empress dowager Liang Na (144-150)
 - Empress Wu Zetian (reigned 655-705)
 - Yang Kuei-fei (born 719), concubine of emperor Hsuan-tsung , the most famous beauty in Chinese history

Women in China



- Writers
 - Ban Zhao (45-116 CE), who completed the Book of Han
 - Yu Xuanji/Yu Hsuan-chi, poet (born 844)

Women in Meso-America



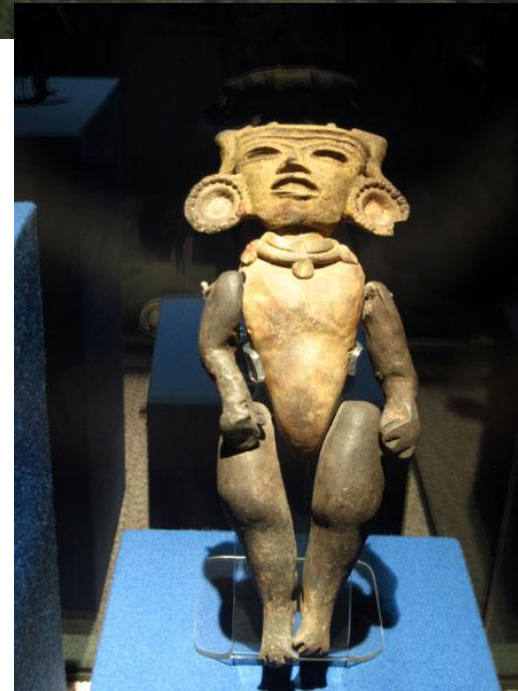
Women in Meso-America

- Matriarchate of Xochitecatl (1000-400 BC)?



Women in Meso-America

- Matriarchate of Teotihuacan (150 BC)?



Women in Meso-America

- Fewer and fewer female deities after 500 AD

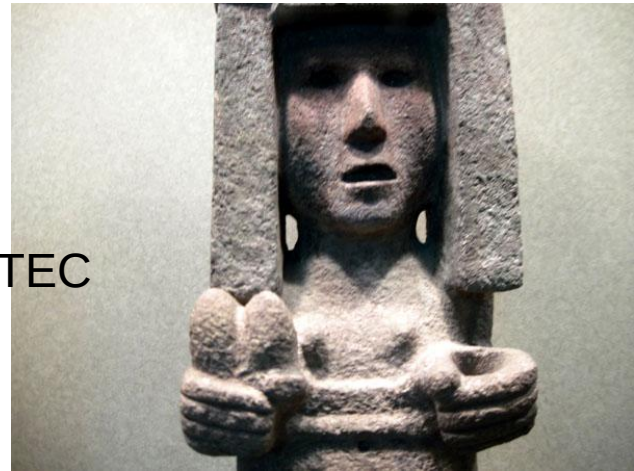
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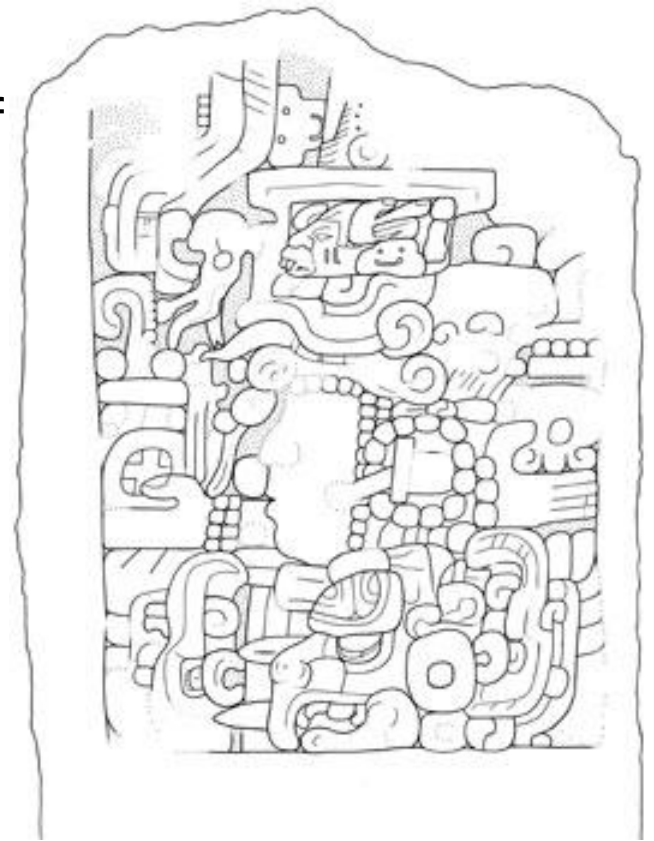


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Women in Meso-America

- Very few female representations in Maya cities (100-900 AD)
- When hieroglyphic texts mention women, it is usually in the context of being either someone's mother or someone's wife



Oldest known female stela
(Naachtun, 5th c AD)

Everywhere

- Witchcraft
 - Witches exist in all popular traditions (Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas)
 - Egypt and Babylonia: witches (both white and black magic)
 - Vedic India: witches (yogini) performing black magic (abhichara)
 - Judaism: witches condemned in the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 18:11-12; Exodus 22:18)
 - Women were traditionally the repository of **white magic** (folk medicine)
 - Fear of women's power to do also black magic

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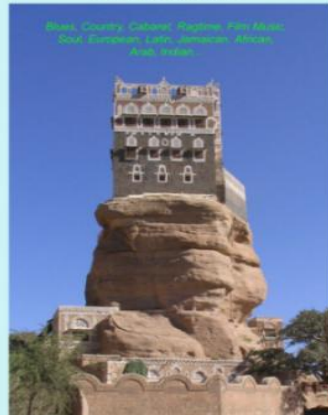
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