



Blind: the Western gaze at matricultures, historically Part I

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Abstract

Matricultures are glaringly absent from the historical archive. Societies where women play a central role do have a presence in Western historical accounts – but mostly through words written by men who are not members of the culture and who generally fail to understand the cultural system in question (for example, the Jesuit account of the matricultural Mohawk). This results in many analyses and descriptions which do not provide a reliable emic account of the matricultural community in question. Why is this? The hypothesis of this article is that, due to the overpowering historical influence exerted by a corrupted Classical concept of the Amazon as man-killer, Western writers were unable to accurately perceive cultures where women held and continue to hold central social and cosmogenic positions (ie: matrilineal, matrifocal, matrilocal, or matriarchal societies).

This article surveys the historical record for Western views of matricultures and introduces a summary of the evolution in outsiders' thought about these societies ranging from the Classical era to the 21st Century. The heuristic is Marie-Françoise Guèdon's concept of matriculture (see Introduction, this Issue), specifically the following: matriculture is culture approached as a whole, taking the female world as primary and as a cultural system in the Geertzian sense of the term.

Les matricultures sont manifestement absentes des archives historiques. Les sociétés où les femmes jouent un rôle central sont présentes dans les récits historiques occidentaux - mais principalement par le biais des mots écrits par des hommes qui ne sont pas membres de la culture et qui ne comprennent généralement pas le système culturel en question (par exemple, le récit jésuite de la matriculture mohawk). Il en résulte de nombreuses analyses et descriptions qui ne fournissent pas un compte émique fiable de la communauté matriculturelle en question. Pourquoi est-ce? L'hypothèse de cet article est qu'en raison de l'influence historique écrasante exercée par un concept classique



corrompu de l'Amazone en tant que tueur d'hommes, les écrivains occidentaux n'ont pas été en mesure de percevoir avec précision les cultures où les femmes occupaient et continuent d'occuper des positions sociales et cosmogéniques centrales (c.-à-d. : sociétés matrilineaires, matrifocales, matrilocales ou matriarcales).

Cet article examine l'histoire des perspectives occidentales concernant les matricultures et présente un résumé de l'évolution de la pensée des étrangers sur ces sociétés allant de l'ère classique au 21^e siècle. L'heuristique est le concept de la matriculture de Marie-Françoise Guèdon (voir l'introduction du présent numéro), spécifiquement le suivant: la matriculture est la culture abordée dans son ensemble, prenant le monde féminin comme primaire et comme système culturel au sens geertzien du terme.

Introduction

This article explores the European gaze upon matricultural cultural systems from Antiquity to the present, discussing perceptions of matricultures by Western observers, the accuracy of their descriptions, and, briefly, consequences of any misperceptions. I will also question the gaze itself, speculating upon the reason global matricultural cultural systems have been largely invisible until today. My thesis is that the encounter of Classical Greeks with certain tribes among Scythian society before the Common Era provided the raw material for a Western cultural stereotype of a specific style of feminine equality to men – martial equality - which eclipsed historical matricultural cultural systems when they were encountered later and in other places. In effect, I will demonstrate that the concept of the one-breasted, man-hating Amazon blinded Westerners to the reality of prospering Indigenous matricultural cultural systems encountered during the following centuries, and some consequences of that. The topic is large, covering centuries of historical documents and several areas of encounter between matricultures and Westerners, including European exploration, European colonization, Western anthropology, and Western feminism. Given the length constraints of journal articles, this article is the first part of three; parts II and III will be published in future issues of *Matrix*.

As our understanding of matriculture as a cultural system deepens and widens, its absence from the Western historical record deserves some attention. Patriarchal customs and *moeurs* may have diminished Western matricultures to near-silence, but during the expansionist and colonial centuries, men from England, Spain, Holland, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, and other European countries came into contact with flourishing matricultures all over the world. That contact inspired a well-known behaviour: explorers would provide their country of origin (whether in person or in writing) with sufficient information to provide the foundations of national or imperial policy and practice. Was there a promise of material resources which were intrinsically valuable to Europeans, as in the case of Aztec gold, or which could be transformed into items of value, such as the pelt of *Castor Canadensis*? Details about the challenges in extracting it were provided. What about the humans who occupied the lands wherein these resources were located and their culture? This was also provided, because hostile natives were liable to impede a cost-effective harvesting of the resource in question. European explorers and colonizers, therefore, made a point of describing previously unknown societies and cultures in order to provide understanding and knowledge for

decision-makers in Europe and, also, to feed public curiosity about strange people in strange lands.¹

Differences in other types of cultural systems, such as religion or art, were recognized as stemming from different 'conceptions of a general order of existence'.² They were identified and sometimes described in detail, such as forays made into the Chinese mathematical system during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³ Little attention, however, was given to varying conceptions of sex and gender relations. Since at least fifteen percent of world societies today are matrilineal⁴ - at least eighty-four different societies⁵ - and matrilineality is a strong indicator for matriculture, a method of exploring the record for historical views of societies with a strong matriculture is simply to search the archive for initial comments about societies which are matrilineal today or are known to have been matrilineal at time of contact.

My analysis relies upon Marie-Françoise Guédon's theory of gynocentric gender relations, referred to as the matricultural cultural system, or matriculture for short. It was initially articulated as follows at the 2018 annual meeting of the Canadian Anthropological Society (CASCA):

For many years, anthropology has explored the expression and role of women in culture and not noticed matriculture, which is a cultural system that supports the expression of women. Matriculture is culture approached as a whole, taking women's voices and statements seriously, not fitting or superimposing women within a world defined by male authority but rather taking the female world as primary. Using Geertz' definition of cultural systems as a methodology, particular matricultural systems can therefore be compared to other matricultures. Some cultures have a weakly defined matricultural system; other cultures have strong matricultural systems with all kinds of ramifications that may include matrilineal kinship, matrilocality, matriarchal features, with serious consequences on the socio-cultural status of women and children, as well as men.

As mentioned, Guédon's theory is founded upon Clifford Geertz' classical definition of a cultural system, whose importance in the context of matricultures lies in serving, for an individual or for a group, as a source of general, yet distinctive conceptions of women, of men, of sexes and gender, and of relations among them in the world, on the one hand - its model *of* aspect - and of rooted, no less distinctive social, economic, or political dispositions - its model *for* aspect - on the other.⁶

1 For examples, see the collection and analysis of Raleigh's reports about Virginia to Queen Elizabeth I in Michael G. Moran, *Inventing Virginia: Sir Walter Raleigh and the Rhetoric of Colonization* (New York: Peter Lang, Inc, 2007) or the first collected publication of Cortes' letters about Mexico to King Charles V in Hernán Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones de Hernán Cortés al emperador Carlos V*, edited by Pascual de Gayangos (Paris: A. Chaix, 1866).

2 Clifford Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural Symbol' in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (Basic Books, 1973), 90.

3 See, for example, Edouard Biot, 'Note sur la connaissance que les Chinois ont eue de la valeur de position des chiffres', *Nouvelles et Mélanges, Journal Asiatique* (Leuven: Société Asiatique / Peeters, Décembre 1839), 497-502, or Alexander Wylie, 'Jottings on the Science of the Chinese', first published in the *North China Herald* (Aug.-Nov. 1852, Nos. 108-111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 119, 120, and 121) and reprinted in A. Wylie, *Chinese Researches* (Taipci: Ch'eng-wen, 1966), 159-84.

4 See the electronic Human Relations Area Files (<https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/ehrafe/>).

5 Aberle, David F., 'Matrilineal Descent in Cross-cultural perspective', in *Matrilineal Kinship*, eds. David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), p. 655.

6 Based on Geertz' famous definition in 'Religion as a Cultural System' in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 123.

In this context, matrilineal kinship systems and matriarchal, matrilineal, or matrifocal societies are social expressions of a matricultural cultural system. Based on the theory of matriculture as a cultural system, one could equally argue that there is an as-yet-unnamed cultural system of which patriarchy is a social expression,⁷ or even perhaps other cultural systems for sex and gender relations – central to human society as ways of conceptualizing sex and gender relationships in the context of human reproductive biology.

Further, Geertz notes that the effects of cultural systems ‘spread beyond their specifically metaphysical contexts⁸ to provide a framework of general ideas in terms of which a wide range of experience – intellectual, emotional, moral – can be given meaningful form’ and that such beliefs do not merely interpret social and psychological processes, but also shape them.⁹ Given their centrality to questions of identity and concurrent social roles, cultural systems for sex and gender relations are fundamental to human communities past and present. As recently discussed by Laura Clark, “Together, kinship and clans were the inward and outward anatomy, figuratively the flesh and matrilineal bones that moved many details of Mvskoke Creek life and formed a tribal worldview.”¹⁰

Still referring to religious cultural systems, Geertz also wrote that in one society, the level of elaboration of symbolic formulations of ultimate actuality may reach extraordinary degrees of complexity and systemic articulation; in another, no less developed socially, such formulations may remain primitive in the true sense, hardly more than congeries of fragmentary by-beliefs and isolated images, of sacred reflexes and spiritual pictographs.¹¹ In her definition of matriculture, Guédon speaks directly to this point by saying that some cultures may display developed matricultures, while others do not. Her comment points to the systemic nature of cultural systems; some cultures have developed cultural systems in arts but not maths, while others have developed cultural systems of maths but undeveloped cultural systems of arts. While every society on earth includes women, some have developed matricultures and others not, which is to say that in some societies, the level of elaboration of women’s expressions and access to experience may reach extraordinary levels of complexity and systemic articulation – and other societies, not so much. Those societies with developed matricultures foster and support the experiences and expressions of women and will, therefore, have a historical archive that records these experiences and examples of these expressions. For societies without developed matricultures, the experiences and expressions of women in the historical archive is largely absent.

Finally, when discussing art as a cultural system, Geertz noticed that “The feeling an individual, or what is more critical, because no man is an island but a part of the main, the feeling a people has for life appears, of course, in a great many other places than in their art. It appears in their religion, their morality, their science, their commerce, their technology, their politics, their amusements, their law, even in the way they organize their everyday practical existence.”¹² Cultural systems all.

7 I speculate that such a cultural system might be called ‘patriculture’, or ‘androculture’, but that is an exploration for another article.

8 In this context, Geertz is discussing religion as a cultural system; in the context of this article, ‘metaphysical contexts’ could comfortably be replaced with ‘sex and gender relations’.

9 Geertz, p. 123.

10 Clark, Laura Marshall, “‘The World At Our Door’: Scottish and Irish settlers among Muscogee (Creeks) and other southeastern tribes, 1700-1830” (unpublished masters thesis, University of Oklahoma, Department of Native American Studies, 2019), p. 37.

11 Ibid., p. 124

12 Geertz, Clifford, ‘Art as a Cultural System’, *MLN*, Vol. 91, No. 6, Comparative Literature (Dec., 1976), (1473-1499) p. 1475.

Geertz went on to analyze common sense and ideology as cultural systems,¹³ and others have taken advantage of the concept to analyze such widely disparate subjects as advertising,¹⁴ design,¹⁵ and memory.¹⁶

Other scholars have further developed the Geertz' insight; authors of a recent introduction to cultural systems declares that "culture is not defined by a single process or system, but is the conjunction of many aspects of human cognition and organization. These would include processes or systems relating to communication, learning, adaptation, representation and transformation."¹⁷ And, finally, the same authors state "All modern anthropologists (and most post-modern anthropologists) dispute any conception that culture can be represented in terms of static structures; culture is dynamically enacted, constituted differently by different culture-enacting agents, but with results that are comprehensible, if not acceptable, to other agents."¹⁸ Guédon's research into sex and gender relations as a cultural system worthy of analysis and her conclusions regarding the nature of matricultural cultural systems make a noteworthy addition to the field.

This article is structured chronologically, and begins with a brief exposition of current research on Amazons, a concept now known to have been based on nomadic and semi-nomadic people who lived during the early Classical period, followed by a summary of Classical Greek descriptions of them and the corruption of those descriptions into an inaccurate stereotype. The bulk of the article consists of exploring European encounters with Indigenous matricultures around the world (explorers, missionaries, anthropologists, even feminists) and the frequency with which they were mis-labeled as Amazons, misunderstood culturally, and/or dismissed as irrelevant – also for centuries.

Amazones antianeirai

In her outstanding 2014 monograph *The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World*, Stanford Classicist Adrienne Mayor assembles persuasive linguistic, documentary, and material evidence confirming the historical reality of Amazons – but not as those of us living in the twenty-first century would recognize them. Rather, Mayor shows how the basis for today's notion of the Amazon originates in an 'extensive cultural zone consisting of a great many loosely connected nomadic and seminomadic ethnic and language groups that ranged over the great swath of territory extending from Thrace, the Black Sea, and northern Anatolia across the Caucasus Mountains to the Caspian Sea and eastward to Central and Inner Asia'.¹⁹ Currently referred to as the Thracian and Scythian peoples, Greeks encountered these loosely confederated

13 See Geertz, Clifford, 'Common Sense as a Cultural System', *The Antioch Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Spring 1975), pp. 5-26, Geertz, Clifford, 'Ideology as a Cultural System', in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 193-233, and

14 Sherry, John F., Jr., 'Advertising as a Cultural System', in *New Directions in the Study of Signs for Sale* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987), pp. 441-62.

15 Murphy, Keith M., 'Design as a Cultural System', *EPIC: Advancing the Value of Ethnography in Industry* (Perspectives), 17 May 2016 (<https://www.epicpeople.org/design-as-a-cultural-system/>), accessed 9 May 2019.

16 Schwartz, Barry, 'Memory as a Cultural System: Abraham Lincoln in World War II', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 16, No. 5 (Oct., 1996), pp. 908-27.

17 Fischer, Michael D., Dwight Read, and Stephen M. Lyon, 'Introduction: Cultural Systems', *Cybernetics and Systems: An International Journal*, 36 (2005), p. 721

18 *Ibid.*, p. 722.

19 Adrienne Mayor, *The Amazons: Lives & Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 35. See also Eileen Murphy, *Iron Age Archaeology and Trauma from Aymyrylg, South Siberia*, BAR International Series 1152, pp. 3-4, and Table 1, p. 4.

tribes when they established trading colonies along the Black Sea, beginning in about 700 BCE.²⁰ They were, in effect, neighbouring societies and, until the nomadic Scythians disappeared from the archaeological record in about 300 CE, contemporaries.²¹ It is plausible that the Amazons described in Homeric times were a specific tribe among the Scythian peoples, one whose gender relations stood out to Greek observers, but, as evidence shows, not remarkable for Scythians.

Since the advent of osteoarchaeological or paleo-osteological methods of analysis, particularly DNA analysis, research with Scythian graves shows that roughly twenty-five percent of warrior burials were women and, in the region directly north of the Black Sea, up to thirty-seven percent.²² The tombs of these women include a full range of items necessary for fighting and hunting and their bones bear battle scars similar to those of male warriors; until these advanced methods of analysis were available, the graves had been assumed to contain men.²³ Having assembled this data, Mayor turned to documentary evidence for more information about the women, primarily Greek but also Persian, Egyptian, Arabian, Chinese and Central Asian.

There are an abundance of references to Amazons in Greek sources from Antiquity, many of whom could have personal experience or second-hand experience of Amazons or Scythians. The earliest recorded mention is in Homer's *Iliad* (8th C. BCE), where they are named as *Amazones antianeirai*.²⁴ As the first reference, the term deserves some attention. The first word takes the form of an ethnic designation commonly found in epic poetry, similar to *Trooes* for the Trojans and *Hellenes* for the Greeks themselves. This indicates that *Amazones* was, originally, a Hellenized noun for a people, a group, a tribe. However, it does not have the distinctively feminine ending for nouns one would expect if the tribe was composed entirely of women; that ending is *-ai*, such as *Trooiai* for Trojan women.

The second word – *antianeirai* – is a descriptor following the noun, similar to *Saka Tigraxauda* ('the Saka, Pointed Hat Wearers') or *Budini Phtheirotagein* ('the Budini, Eaters of Lice'). It was common for the Greeks to identify foreigners by referring to their exotic or disturbing customs, such as lice-eating, pointed-hat-wearing, or cannibalism. Although *antianeirai* is often translated in modern times as 'opponents of men', this translation fails to recognize the drift of meaning accrued to the prefix over centuries. In ancient Greek epic diction, the prefix *anti-* meant 'equivalent' or 'matching' – not 'opposing' or 'against'. Moreover, the descriptor is a uniquely feminine plural ethnonym compounded to include the Greek masculine noun *aner* ('man'). Greek names for tribal people were typically masculine, with the understanding that female members were included in the collective name. With the feminine ending, however, the Greeks were calling attention to the extraordinary status (to them) of women among the *Amazones*. The ethnonym is likely to have originally meant something like 'Amazons, the tribe whose women are equal to men' or, 'Amazons, the equals'.²⁵

20 Müller, Christel, 'Nomades scythes et états grecs du nord de la Mer Noire (VIIe-IIe s. a.C.)', in *Le monde de l'itinérance en méditerranée de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne : Procédures de contrôle et d'identification, Tables rondes*, eds. Maurice Sartre, Claudia Moatti, Wolfgang Kaiser, and Christophe Pébarthe (Pessac: Ausonius Éditions, 2009), pp.93-112.

21 Ivantchik, Askold, 'Scythians', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2018, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/scythians>; accessed 15 May 2019.

22 Ibid., p. 82; see also Bryan Hanks, 'Reconsidering Warfare, Status, and Gender in the Eurasian Steppe Iron Age', in *Are All Warriors Male? Gender Roles on the Eurasian Steppe*, eds. Katheryn Linduff and Karen Rubinson (Lanham MD : Altamira Press, 2008), pp. 15-34.

23 Mayor, pp. 63-5.

24 Homer, *Iliad*, 3.189; 6.186; for an example of *Trooiai*, see Homer, *Iliad*, 3.384.

As a result, within the oral-tradition based *Iliad*, Greeks have identified the *Amazones* ethnographically as a people with both men and women, distinguished by something outstanding (to the patriarchal Greeks) in their gender relations. There are many more Greek descriptions of elements of Amazon and Scythian life, such as the trousers worn by both sexes among the tribes, as reported by Herodotus (ca. 484 – 425 BCE) and others,²⁶ the tattoos of Amazon / Scythian / Thracian women,²⁷ horsemanship,²⁸ light weaponry suitable for use from horseback, especially the recurve composite bow,²⁹ and, of course, the martial skills of Amazon / Scythian / Thracian women.³⁰ Documentary material from other literate societies bordering the nomads record similar features, but since this article focuses on Western scholarship, they will not be discussed further here.

Each detail mentioned above finds material confirmation through archaeological research. Both wide and narrow trousers fashioned from leather, wool, hemp, flax and silk have been found preserved from decomposition for over 2300 years in Scythian burials towards the dryer and colder eastern limits of their territory, such as that of a mass grave at the western end the Tarim Basin where female and male warriors were interred together.³¹ There are unfortunately few textile remains from Black Sea-area tombs. Tattoos on both women and men have been found on mummified human remains from the same eastern areas,³² including those on the stunning 1993 'Ice Maiden' discovery by Natalia Polosmak,³³ while equipment for tattooing has been discovered

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- 25 Mayor, pp. 22-4 and Ch. 5. This view of the name is supported by Richard Burton, *A Mission to Gelele King of Dahome*, ed. C.W. Newbury (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 254, n.1. For further linguistic discussion of the name Amazon, see also Josine Blok, *The Early Amazons : Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth* (Leiden : Brill, 1995); M.E. Huld, 'Some Thoughts on Amazons', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 30:93 (2002), pp. 93-102; John Colarosso, *Nart Sagas from the Caucasus Myths and Legends from the Circassians, Abazas, Abkhaz, and Ubykhs* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); and Adrienne Mayor, John Colarosso, and David Saunders, 'Making Sense of Nonsense Inscriptions Associated with Amazons and Scythians on Athenian Vases', *The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 83:3 (July-September 2014), pp. 447-93.
- 26 Herodotus, Bk. IV, 111, Bk. VII, 61-93; Hippocrates, *Airs Waters Places*, 22; many Antique vase paintings depict trousered Amazons, such as the white-ground alabastron held by the Princeton University Art Museum, Carl Otto von Keinbusch Jr. Memorial Collection Fund. It is thought to have been made by the Syriskos Painter, ca. 480-470 BCE. (<https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/32602>, accessed 16 May 2019)
- 27 Clearchus of Soli, *Lives*, ca. 320 BCE; the original account of his travels through Thrace and Skythia is lost and preserved only in fragments. His comment about tattooing is relayed in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 12.27 (524 d, e).
- 28 Lysias, *Funeral Oration 4* (395 BCE). Horses were first domesticated on the grasslands of Ukraine, southwest Russia, and west Kazakhstan around 4000 BCE – Scythian territory during Antiquity.
- 29 Lysias, *Funeral Oration 2* (395 BCE); Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.4.16. (ca. 370 BCE).
- 30 Arctinos, *Aethiopsis* (775 BCE?), now lost. The epic tells of the arrival of Penthesilia and her Amazons to Troy after the burial of Hector, the battle between Achilles and Penthesilia, and Penthesilia's death. The story is retold in Quintus of Smyrna, *Fall of Troy (The Trojan Epic: Posthomeric)* (375 CE?), trans. and ed. A James (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004); Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 68-70 (b. 436– d. 338 BCE);
- 31 Mayor, pp. 204-7; Robert A. Jones, 'Centaur on the Silk Road: Recent Discoveries of Hellenistic Textiles in Western China', *The Silk Road* 6/2, pp. 25 and 28; Lyn Webster Wilde, *On the Trail of the Women Warriors: the Amazons in myth and history* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 1999), p. 65; Margareta Gleba, 'You Are What You Wear: Scythian Costume as Identity', in *Dressing the Past*, edited by Margarita Gleba, Cherine Munkholt, and Marie-Louise Nosch, Ancient Textiles series V. 3 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008), p. 26; Elena E. Fialko and Yuri V. Boltryk, 'Textiles from Scythian burial complexes', *Tyragetia* (Serie Nouă), (2013), pp. 335-44.
- 32 Barkova, L.L., and Pankova, S.V., 'Tattooed Mummies from the Large Pazyryk Mounds: New Findings', *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, 2 (22), 2005, pp. 48-59, and Natalya Polosmak, 'A Mummy Unearthed from the Pastures of Heaven', *National Geographic* 186:4 (1994), 80-103.
- 33 Polosmak, Natalia, 'A Different Archaeology. Pazyryk culture: a snapshot, Ukok, 2015', in *Science First Hand*, Dec 2015, N3(42), p. 95; also available online at <https://scfh.ru/en/papers/a-different-archaeology-pazyryk-culture-a-snapshot-ukok-2015-/> (accessed 3 October 2019).

in graves of both sexes everywhere on the steppes - directly implying a widespread practice.³⁴ The intimate relationship between Scythian people and horses is evidenced by numerous human graves of both sexes who are accompanied by equine sacrifices, along with thousands of pieces of tack (harnesses, bridles, bits, frontlets, false antlers and masks, light saddles, saddle blankets, and more).³⁵ Both male and female Scythian skeletons show typical signs of extensive time on horseback.³⁶

With respect to weaponry, the graves of warriors who are confirmed to be women through DNA analysis have the same types and quantity of weapons as the graves of male warriors. Typical weapons found with grave goods include those common to horse warriors: battle-axe, light spear, crescent shield, sword, the composite recurve bow and a quiver of arrows.³⁷ It should be noted that riding a horse removes the advantage of men's greater upper body strength in violent conflict. Also common is skeletal evidence that Scythian women engaged in and died by violence as often as men.³⁸ Typical of pastoral societies, Mayors speculates that youths of both sexes learned to ride by age five and, when grown, were capable of defending themselves, herds, property, and tribal territory. The ratio of female to male graves and the age of their occupants suggest that young women could choose to remain hunters and warriors when they were adults, paralleling statements of Herodotus and Hippocrates that it was customary for young women to prove themselves in battle and that older women fought by choice or whenever necessary.³⁹

Centering around DNA analysis, the evidence suggests that horses rendered irrelevant physical differences between women and men as warriors, that communities where sex appears to have been less important as an indicator of social status were situated directly on the edges of northern Greek society, and that the *Amazones Antianeirai* were likely one tribe of people among Scythian society. These people would not recognize themselves in the modern notion of the Amazon, with

34 Yablonsky, Leonid T., 'Extraordinary Kurgan Burial Shines New Light on Sarmatian Life', *Ancient Historical Research Foundation* (17 September 2013), <http://www.ancienthistoricalresearchfoundation.com/index.php/item/31-extraordinary-kurgan-burial-shines-new-light-on-sarmatian-life>, accessed 16 May 2019; Adrienne Mayor, 'People Illustrated', *Archaeology* 52: 2 (1999), 54-7.

35 Baumer, Christoph, *The History of Central Asia: The Age of the Steppe Warriors* (London: Tauris, 2012); Emilian Teleaga, 'Die Prunkgräber aus Agighiol und Vraca', in *Amazonen: Geheimnisvolle Kriegerinnen*, Exhibition Catalogue, Historischen Museums der Pfalz, Speyer (Munich: Edition Minerva, 2010), pp. 78-85; Iaroslav Lebedynsky, *Les Amazones, mythe et réalité des femmes guerrières chez les anciens nomades de la steppe* (Paris: Errance, 2009), pp. 40-42; Renate Rolle, 'Frauen und Pferde', in *Amazonen: Geheimnisvolle Kriegerinnen*, Exhibition Catalogue, Historischen Museums der Pfalz, Speyer (Munich: Edition Minerva, 2010), pp. 160-3; Mayor, 'Bones: Archaeology of Amazons', in *The Amazons: lives and legends of warrior women across the ancient world* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 63-83; Alan K. Outram *et al.*, 'The Earliest Horse Harnessing and Milking', *Science* 323 (March 2009), <https://science.sciencemag.org/content/323/5919/1332>, accessed 17 May 2019.

36 Murphy, Eileen M., 'Herodotus and the Amazons Meet the Cyclops: Philology, Osteoarchaeology, and the Eurasian Iron Age', in *Archaeology and Ancient History: breaking down the boundaries* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 169-84.

37 Mayor, p. 209. For a full discussion of the range and volume of weaponry found in women's graves, see Mayor, pp. 63-82 and 209-33. See also Elena F. Fialko, 'Zhenskiye pogrebeniya s orushiem v skyphskih kurganah stepnoi Skyphii (The female burials with weapons among the Scythians: Kurgans of the Scythian steppes)', *Editorial Naukova Dumka* (1991), pp. 4-18, and Zaur Hasanov, 'The Cult of Female Warriors and Rulers in the Scythian and Sarmatian Cultures', *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica 1* (2018), pp. 131-50.

38 See above note, as well as Mayor, p.156; Renate Rolle, *The World of the Scythians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 88; Mike Adamson, *An Archaeological Analysis of Gender Roles in Ancient Non-Literate Cultures of Eurasia* (unpublished masters thesis, Department of Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide, July 2004).

39 Mayor, p. 83.

her single breast, hatred and regular murder of men, and propensity towards male infanticide. What happened?

The Amazon

The single-breasted, man-hating Amazon galloped into the archive at an early date. First mentions of Amazonian cauterization of the right breast appeared in a now-lost history of Hellanikos (ca.450 – ca. 380 BCE), written some three hundred years after Homer. Hellanikos played a common etymological game of interpreting foreign words through Greek sounds, declaring that, since *-mazon* was similar to *maston* (the Greek word for breast) and the prefix *a-* means ‘not’ or ‘without’, this must mean that every Amazon lacked a breast.⁴⁰ Hippocrates, writing around 400 BCE, supported Hellanikos’ game in his work *On Airs, Waters, Places* when discussing the Sauromatae, a neighbouring Scythian tribe, with the following:

Their women mount on horseback, use the bow, and throw the javelin from their horses, and fight with their enemies as long as they are virgins; and they do not lay aside their virginity until they kill three of their enemies, nor have any connection with men until they perform the sacrifices according to law. Whoever takes to herself a husband, gives up riding on horseback unless the necessity of a general expedition obliges her. They have no right breast; for while still of a tender age their mothers heat strongly a copper instrument constructed for this very purpose, and apply it to the right breast, which is burnt up, and its development being arrested, all the strength and fullness are determined to the right shoulder and arm.⁴¹

There are strong reasons to doubt the breast-cauterizing statements of Hellanikos, Hippocrates, and others, beside its possibility of originating in a word game: first, Herodotus did not once refer to what would have been a horribly painful practice in all his careful descriptions of Scythian tribespeople. Secondly, some thousand or more visual depictions of Amazons on Greek vases, statues, and coins all have both breasts; there is not a single one with a breast removed.⁴² If Amazon, Scythian, or Thracian women regularly removed a breast, surely it’s not too much to ask that a single image portray it? Finally, and most tellingly, the graves of Scythian women where mummification occurred due to a dry or frozen environment have corpses with both breasts intact. It remains impossible to prove a negative; of course, regularly cauterizing the right breast of girl-children *could* have happened, but more convincing material or cultural evidence must be

40 Writing slightly later than Herodotus, there are only fragments surviving of Hellanikos’ works, but his introduction of a chronological framework to chronologies and, hence, an historical narrative has proven influential and enduring. Phillip Harding, trans. and ed., *The Story of Athens: the fragments of the local chronicles of Attika* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 3-13. Other examples of such word play include a competing theory that the name meant ‘without grain’ because *maza* was Greek for barley, Aphrodite’s name due to her having been born from the sea foam (*aphros*), (Hesiod, *Theogony*) or her son being called *Aeneas* because she had terrible grief (*ainos*) due of him (*Homeric Hymn* 5.198-9). Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth*, 2nd Ed.(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). See also David Braund, ‘Myth and Ritual at Sinope: From Diogenes the Cynic to Sanape the Amazon’, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 16 (2010), p. 18, and Robert L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography: Volume 2: Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 687 and n19.

41 Hippocrates, *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, trans. Francis Adams, ca. 400 BCE, part 17; <http://classics.mit.edu/Hippocrates/airwatpl.17.17.html>, accessed 19 May 2019.

42 Pomeroy, Sarah B., *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken, 1975), p. 24; Mayor, pp. 89-90.

provided to support an acceptance of a life-threatening and unnecessary practice.⁴³ The lurid vision of a one-breasted warrior woman, however, proved influential and has endured for centuries.

The title *androktones* or *oiorpata* ('man-killer')⁴⁴ is another facet of the modern Amazon for which supporting evidence is absent. She is renowned for having a hatred of men, implicitly resulting in the indiscriminate murder of men in war and peace, and, occasionally, of male children (for discussion of the latter, see below). She is frequently presented as living in a community or on an island composed only of women. However, once again, there is no material evidence to support the historical existence of a band of women-only warriors; even following immediately upon reporting they were called *oiorpata*, Herodotus recounts a story of a group of Amazon women accepting a group of Scythian men as life partners. Several stories feature individual Amazon women taking men for lovers or husbands; in artistic versions of Hippolyte, the Amazon is shown in courtship scenes with Heracles. Some versions of the Antiope myth say that she fell in love with Theseus and willingly became his wife in Athens. The legend of the Amazon queen Thalestris, recounted by several ancient Greek historians, claims that she requested to have sex with Alexander the Great in order to bear his child. The active presence of healthy men in Scythian society is materially witnessed by the high number of skeletons of male warriors across the steppes, more than double the number of female warrior skeletons. That occasionally skeletons of both sexes are found in the same grave points to, if nothing else, an absence of the furious hatred of men ascribed to Amazons. There is no basis for the label of Amazons as *androktones*.

A secondary consequence of their supposed hatred for men is the Amazons' reputation for maiming or disposing of their male children. It is likely that this element of the stereotype originates in a text in the Hippocratic Corpus, the surgical treatise *On Joints*, which opens by reporting the rumour that Amazons 'dislocate the joints of their male children while mere infants',⁴⁵ - but another text of the corpus, *On Airs, Waters, Places*, attributes lameness and hip-joint problems (and impotence) among Scythian men to a lifetime of horse-riding.⁴⁶ During Mayor's exploration of this element of the modern Amazon stereotype, she notes once again that Herodotus, with his keen eye for the odd or unusual, did not mention such a practice and wrote, instead, that nomad girls and boys were brought up alike.⁴⁷ She also speculates that rumours of men's lameness may have arisen because of hereditary or childhood hip dysplasia, found among Scythian skeletons by archaeologists. The latter is prevalent today among the nomadic Saami people and the nomads of Mongolia. As well, it is possible that, in common with medieval Highland Scots, Welsh, or Irish social practices, the Scythians practiced fosterage and thereby rise to the rumour that they 'sent away their sons'.⁴⁸

This author accepts Mayor's thesis that the Amazons were Scythian nomads, male and female together, likely a tribe whose territory was north of the Black Sea area from ca. 750 to ca. 250 BCE; there is more evidence for it than any alternative theory, as outlined above. However, historians of

43 Horse archers, both male and female, hold the small recurve composite bow out and away from the chest and face when firing an arrow, as free motion by the rider on the horse and the motion of the horse itself demand it. As a result, the 'Parthian shot', fired backwards when the horse rides forwards, becomes possible. Mayor, 210-7.

44 Herodotus 4.110.

45 Hippocrates, *On Joints*, trans. Francis Adams (ca.400 BCE), <http://classics.mit.edu/Hippocrates/artic.53.53.html>, accessed 19 May 2019.

46 Hippocrates, *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, trans. Francis Adams (ca. 400 BCE), <http://classics.mit.edu/Hippocrates/airwatpl.22.22.html>, accessed 19 May 2019.

47 Herodotus,

48 Mayor, 45-9 and 155-8.

Antiquity such as Diodorus of Sicily (writing from 60-30 BCE),⁴⁹ Strabo (ca. 64 BCE – ca. 24 CE),⁵⁰ or Justin,⁵¹ wrote and repeated stories about Amazons cauterizing a breast on girl children, mutilating or murdering boy children, hating men in general, or living in women-only bands of warriors (with visits by men for procreation). This established a stereotype with little resemblance to the Scythian women warriors and it is this image of the Amazon which predominates in today's Western culture, historically and today.

Moreover, and most pointedly for this article, the strength of the Amazon as a cultural concept meant that Europeans during the expansionist and colonialist eras were unable to recognize non-patriarchal sex and gender relationships (ie: matricultures) because they did not conform to the Western concept of the Amazon – virtually the only conceivable option available for societies where women and men did not organize themselves along patriarchal norms. The following section describes several instances of this failure of perception.

The Beast with One Breast

This above-described concept of the Amazon communicated itself to medieval Europeans as part of the inherited bundle of cultural heritage from Classical Greece and Rome. For example, Saint Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636 CE) mentioned the cauterizing of breasts by Amazons in his *Etimologias*.⁵² In his *Travels*, Marco Polo (1254–1324 CE) refers to an Island of Men and an Island of Women, where the men visit the women solely for procreation;⁵³ the eponymous author claims the same in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (first circulating between 1357 and 1371 CE).⁵⁴ Jean Fonteneau, called Alfonse, de Saintonge (ca.1484-1544/49) identified the specific months where men visited the Amazons to make babies (April, May, and June) in his *La cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil du nord*.⁵⁵

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375 CE) – who may have learned of Amazons from his friend Paolo de Perugia, a collector of Classical material - wrote a long poem entitled *Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia*. Modeled after Statius' *Thebaid*, Boccaccio devoted the first book to an account of the reinvention of Theseus and Scythian Amazons as antagonists in a war to decide how women should live their lives. In the poem, Theseus invades Scythia – now depicted as 'the land of women', conquers it, and marries Ippolita, the Amazon queen. A few decades later, Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1343–1400)

49 Diodorus of Sicily 2.44-46, (ca.60-ca.30 BCE),

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/2B*.html, accessed 19 May 2019.

50 Strabo, *Geographica* 11.5.1 (ca. 20 BCE – ca. 23 CE), <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0198%3Abook%3D11%3Achapter%3D5%3Asection%3D1>, accessed 10 May 2019.

51 Justinus, Marcus Junianus, *Epitome of the Phillipic History of Pompeius Trogus*, trans. John Selby Watson (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 2.4, <http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/trans2.html>, accessed 19 May 2019.

52 Isidore of Seville, Oxford Classical Texts: Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi: Etymologiarum Sive Originum, Vol. 1: Libros I–X, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), Vol. 1, IX, par. 2, lines 62-5; http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Isidore/9*.html, accessed 21 May 2019.

53 Rustichello da Pisa, *The Travels of Marco Polo (the complete Yule-Cordier edition)*, trans. Henry Yule, rev. Henri Cordier (ca. 1300), Bk. III, chapter 31; <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/p/polo/marco/travels/book3.31.html>, accessed 21 May 2019.

54 Mandeville, Sir John, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, The version of the Cotton Manuscript in modern spelling (London: MacMillan and Company, 1900), chapter XVII, p. 102; <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/782/782-h/782-h.htm#page102>, accessed 21 May 2019.

55 Fontenau, Jean, *La cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil du nord par Jean Fonteneau dit Alfonse de Saintonge, capitaine-pilote de François Ier*, trans. And ed. Georges Musset (Paris, 1904), p. 233; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6535486p/f249.item.r=Amazones>, accessed 21 May 2019.

opened *Canterbury Tales* with 'The Knight's Tale' - whose hero, Theseus, conquered 'al the regne of Femenye, That whilom was ycleped Scithia'.⁵⁶ Theseus weds the Amazon queen, Hippolyta; this wedding frames the events of William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, penned two centuries later.⁵⁷

A hundred years before Shakespeare wrote his comedy, though, European explorers of the Americas already wrote of encountering Amazons. Influenced by both Mandeville and Marco Polo,⁵⁸ Christopher Columbus was ready to find a community of women hostile to men - and he did. On 6 January 1493, Columbus' journal notes that he has been told by many natives of an island upon which there were only women. He declares his interest in visiting, because he'd like to bring five or six of them to the monarchs of Spain.⁵⁹ In a letter to Luis de Santangel, composed six weeks later during his voyage back to Europe, Columbus further declared that the women did not follow the normal occupations of their sex, but were interested only in archery, that they armed themselves, and covered themselves with leather plates. The men with whom they (reportedly) mated were ferocious cannibals, the Caraib.⁶⁰

Hernando Columbus expanded upon this in *Historia del Almirante*, the biography he wrote of his father. In it, he recounted that on 13 January 1493, a native told the Admiral that that the *Ísla Matinino* was populated entirely by women with whom, at certain times of the year, the Caraib men had sexual relations. If the women gave birth to male children, they gave them to their fathers so they might raise them.⁶¹ It should be noted that although both Columbuses evoked the myth of the Amazons, neither raised it explicitly. It fell to Italian humanist Pietro Martyre d'Anghiera (1457-1526 CE) to openly make the connection in the histories he wrote while in service to the King of Spain. In the 1511 first Decade of *De Orbe Nova*, he wrote the following :

Those natives who had been brought to Spain on his first voyage, and those who had been delivered from captivity, declared that it was called Madanina, and that it was inhabited exclusively by women. The Spaniards had, in fact, heard this island spoken of during their first voyage. It appeared that the cannibals went at certain epochs of the year to visit these women, as in ancient history the Thracians crossed to the island of Lesbos inhabited by the Amazons. When their children were weaned, they sent the boys to their fathers, but kept the girls, precisely as did the Amazons. It is claimed that these women know of vast caverns where they conceal themselves if any man tries to visit them at another than the established time. Should any one attempt to force his way into these caverns by violence or by trickery, they defend themselves with arrows, which they shoot with great precision.⁶²

56 Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Tales of Canterbury*, ed. Robert A. Platt (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), p. 26.

57 Anderson, David, *Before the Knight's Tale: Imitation of Classical Epic in Boccaccio's Teseida*. Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); p. 26.

58 Adams, Percy G., *Travel Literature Through the Ages* (New York: Garland, 1988), p. 53.

59 Columbus, Christopher, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (During His First Voyage)*, ed. Clements R. Markham (Hakluyt Society, 1893; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 151, 165.

60 Columbus, Christopher, *The Spanish letter of Columbus to Luis de Sant' Angel, Escribano de Racion of the Kingdom of Aragon, dated 15 February 1493*, trans. M.P. Kerney (London: Quaritch, 1893), pp. 16-7.

61 Columbus, Hernando, *Historia del Almirante*, ed. Luis Arranz, *Cronicas de America I* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1984), chap. 36, pp. 138-9.

62 Martyre d'Anghiera, Pietro, *De Orbe Nova*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt, Vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1912), Decade 1, Book II; <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/12425/12425-h/12425-h.htm>, accessed 21 May 2019.

On 6 January 1493, Columbus was at the island now known as Hispaniola, likely near the border of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The island was occupied by the Taíno people, whose society has been designated 'Classic Taíno' by archaeologist Irving Rouse and characterized by complex chiefdoms, social hierarchy, a horticultural economy based on root crops, and the highly artistic craft and ritual expressions associated with the Ostionoid cultural tradition.⁶³ The Taíno are reported to have traced descent through the female line, supported by the Taíno cosmogenic myth of descent from an immortal being who had a mother with five names and a maternal uncle. In practice, matrilineal descent was expressed in the inheritance of rank through the female line, with women sometimes inheriting chiefly position. *Zemis*, representations of the lineage's ancestors, were also passed through the female line and women are reported to have been both the producers and the distributors of certain high status goods. A new couple resided with his mother's brother in the village of his lineage, a viri-avunculocal residence pattern also recorded among the Trobriand Islanders, and Haida, Tlingit, Gitksan, and Longuda peoples. Taíno women seem to have participated at all levels in the political hierarchy, both wielding power and accumulating wealth. Male and female sexuality were openly expressed in Taíno art, and it appears that chastity was not valued for either gender.⁶⁴

From all indications, the Taíno were a flourishing matriculture at the moment of Columbian contact, with significantly different conceptions of sex, sex roles, and gender relationships from European concepts and structures of the period and correspondingly different social expressions of them. The Taíno matricultural cultural system is socially visible to historians as, among other things, opportunities for women to experience status and authority, as the mother's brother playing a significant role with her children, as matrilineal inheritance of rank, and an open expression of women's sexual experience. These differences passed completely un-perceived by Columbus, whose attention on the issue was given to rumours of an island of Amazon-like inhabitants. It is unlikely that Columbus and the Spanish colonizers who followed would have behaved differently towards the Taíno if they had recognized the hitherto-unknown cultural system at play, nor that the tragic fate of the Indigenous society would have been different. However, recognizing today that a matricultural cultural system was central part of Taíno society is a small step towards acknowledging the nature of what was lost.

The influence on Europeans of Columbus' and Pietro Martyr's depiction of Amazon-like women in the New World is difficult to under-estimate; at the least, it served to give the stereotype new vitality. For example, in his 1510 novel *Las Sergas de Esplanadián*, Spanish novelist Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo described the following:

Know that on the right hand from the Indies exists an island called *California* very close to a side of the Earthly Paradise; and it was populated by black women, without any man existing there, because they lived in the way of the Amazons. They had beautiful and robust bodies, and were brave and very strong. Their island was the strongest of the World, with its steep cliffs and rocky shores. Their weapons were golden and so were the harnesses of the wild beasts that they were accustomed to taming so that they could be ridden, because there was no other metal in the island than gold.⁶⁵

63 Rouse, Irving, *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 9-17.

64 Deagan, Kathleen, 'Reconsidering Taíno Social Dynamic after Spanish Conquest: Gender and Class in Culture Contact Studies', *American Antiquity*, 69:4 (2004), pp. 597- (pp. 600-1).

65 Rodríguez de Montalvo, Garci, *Las Sergas de Esplanadian* (acosta y espensa de Juan de Junta, 1526), Ch. clvii.

The novel was popular and enjoyed several editions. Hernan Cortés (1485-1547 CE), writing in 1524 of an expedition he sent to the Pacific coast, describes how the returning *conquistadors* told of seeing an island off the coast of Cihuatlan where only women lived, where men were allowed to approach for reproduction only at certain times, and where boy babies were rejected. Cortés added a detail missing from Columbus' accounts: the island was rich in pearls and gold.⁶⁶ Cortés' account was repeated three times by Fernández de Oviedo in *La historia general y natural de las Indias* (1851-55), and twice by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar in his unfinished *Crónica de la Nueva España* (1560?). When the Spanish later began to explore and settle the Pacific coast, they named the area *Las Californias*; as its peninsular nature began to be known, the name settled to California.

Spanish historian Francisco López de Gómara (ca. 1511-ca.1566 CE), in writing about the Lucayan Archipelago in 1552, described the Indigenous people as very beautiful. He attributed this as the reason for which men from surrounding islands visited, and 'this likely being the cause of rumours about Amazons in this region'.⁶⁷ The Lucayan people were a branch of the Taino culture; like them, matrilineal, and like them, dispossessed of their territory within a few decades of European arrival.

This concludes Part I of this exploration of the European encounter with matricultures from Antiquity to the present, and the manner in which, thanks to a cultural bias towards the concept of the one-breasted, man-hating Amazon, Westerners did not perceive the many prospering Indigenous matricultural cultural systems which they met. This part has defined the concept of a cultural system, identified key characteristics of matricultural cultural systems, discussed current research on the Amazons and positioned them as nomadic matricultural Scythians, outlined a deepening misconception of the Amazons among Classical authors and traced changes and developments in the mistaken concept through Europe's mediaeval period. After an example of Columbus' distraction by the idea of the Amazon during his visits to the Caribbean, a distraction which completely occluded the flourishing matricultural system of the Taíno people who provided him and his crew with necessary supplies, this part concludes by describing the effect of the Columbian encounter on the already-distorted concept of the Amazon.

Parts II and III will be published in future issues of *Matrix: a Journal for Matricultural Studies*. The article progresses chronologically; Part II will conclude the section on Europe's Age of Exploration and begin the Age of Colonialism. Part III will conclude the Age of Colonialism and delve into the relationship of the modern Western gaze and contemporary matricultural societies.

66 Cortés, Hernán, 'Cuarta Carta-Relación de Hernán Cortés al Emperador Carlos V, Tenxtitlan, 15 octubre de 1524', in Hernán Cortés, *Cartas de Relación*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (Paris: Imprenta Central de los Ferro-Carriles, 1866), p. 288.

67 López de Gómara, Francisco, 'Hispania Victrix. Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia General de las Indias, con todo el descubrimiento, y cosas notables que han acaecido desde que se ganaron hasta el año de 1551 ; con la conquista de Mejico y de la Nueva-Espana', in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias, t.I.* (Madrid: Atlas, 1946), col. "B.A.E.", no. 22, pp. 155-455 (p. 178)