

THE ROLE OF MATRIARCHIES AND PATRIARCHIES IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION
VIS-À-VIS BACHOFEN AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

A Thesis

by

RACHEL ROMERO

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

May 2008

Major Subject: Sociology

THE ROLE OF MATRIARCHIES AND PATRIARCHIES IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION
VIS-À-VIS BACHOFEN AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

A Thesis

by

RACHEL ROMERO

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Stjepan G. Mestrovic
Committee Members,	William Alex McIntosh
	John McDermott
Head of Department,	Mark Fossett

May 2008

Major Subject: Sociology

ABSTRACT

The Role of Matriarchies and Patriarchies in Social Evolution Vis-à-vis Bachofen and
His Influence on the Social Sciences. (May 2008)

Rachel Romero, B.A., University of North Texas; B.A., University of North Texas

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Stjepan G. Mestrovic

Johan Jakob Bachofen (1815-1887) was a Swiss anthropologist and sociologist whose 1861 book, *Mother Right: An Investigation of the Religious and Juridical Character of Matriarchy in the Ancient World* is best known for his radical claims that matriarchy preceded patriarchy, and that matriarchy is the source of human society, religion, and morality. Scholars have acknowledged Bachofen's influence on a long list of writers, including but not limited to: Lewis Henry Morgan, Friedrich Nietzsche, Thomas Mann, Friederich Engels, Karl Marx, Erich Fromm, Joseph Campbell, Emile Durkheim, Carl Gustav Jung, Thorstein Veblen, Ferdinand Tonnies, and Pitirim Sorokin. The focus of my thesis is to bring attention to Bachofen's influence on the early sociologists (Engels, Durkheim, Tonnies, Sorokin), and more importantly, on the later sociologists and other social scientists whom these early sociologists in turn influenced, including: David Riesman, Talcott Parsons, and Jean Baudrillard.

DEDICATION

To motherhood; and to my mother Beatriz Escandell (1961-1994),

To the Blessed Mother, my aunt, my grandmothers, Elvira, and my father
who all in many ways have attempted to fulfill the void of losing mami,

To my sister, who will one day be the best mother of all time and to
Teresa, who already is so.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing the current page has been, possibly, the hardest part of this entire project. The reason is simple; I'm extremely fortunate to have an incredible amount of people to thank. This is mainly because I cannot get myself to think of this thesis as something that happened over a certain time span, but rather, I think of this thesis as an accumulative venture, something that I may have written in a few months, but its fervor traces back to my youngest memories, in which I find my parents nesting the kind of environment needed to love, hope, and believe that *this*, and anything else I set my mind to *is* possible.

I know if I were to write an actual list, the pages could not contain the many thanks- so here goes my best shot. Thank you God. Thank you everyone. Thank you all the teachers I have ever had; from grade school to grad school. Thank you mom, although you are not around; and thank you dad, for always being there. Thank you Massy. Thank you McGlynn's. Thank you Texas A&M Department of Sociology. Thank you St. Mary's Catholic Center. Thank you Dr. McIntosh for all the comfort and the humor. Thank you Dr. Mestrovic, I just know I could not have done this without you. The many talks, the e-mails, the forgotten books, the green teas, your cigarettes, every single conversation about every single neglected genius, the laughs, the theory, your philosophy, and stories, all, in everyway possible contributed to this written work. And finally, thanks to you, J.J Bachofen, this thesis could not have been written without the existence of your brilliance first. Again and again, thanks!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Influence of Bachofen’s Discovery	3
II AN ALTERNATIVE GENESIS.....	6
Mother Right	7
The Mother Archetype.....	11
The Tradition-Directed Character	16
Mother-Centered Societies.....	18
The Great Matriarchy of the West.....	20
Conclusions	23
III THE OVERLOOKED CULTURAL REVOLUTION.....	25
From Left to Right.....	25
The Inner-Directed Character.....	29
Father-Centered Societies	32
Conclusions	34
IV FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY: MERE SIMULACRA?.....	37
The Other-Directed Character	40
The Consciousness of Postmodernity.....	49
Conclusions	51

CHAPTER	Page
V CONCLUSIONS: TRYING TO BALANCE THE EXPRESSIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIETY	53
Balance and Social Integration.....	58
REFERENCES	66
Supplementary sources	67
VITA	69

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Johan Jakob Bachofen (1815-1887) was a Swiss anthropologist and sociologist whose 1861 book, *Mother Right: An Investigation of the Religious and Juridical Character of Matriarchy in the Ancient World* is best known for his radical claims that matriarchy preceded patriarchy, and that matriarchy is the source of human society, religion, and morality. Scholars have acknowledged Bachofen's influence on a long list of writers, including but not limited to: Lewis Henry Morgan, Friedrich Nietzsche, Thomas Mann, Friederich Engels, Karl Marx, Erich Fromm, Rainer Maria Rilke, Joseph Campbell, Henri Ellenberger, Henry Adams, Emile Durkheim, Robert Hertz, Carl Gustav Jung, Thorstein Veblen, Ferdinand Tonnies, and Pitirim Sorokin. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to analyze the full extent of Bachofen's influence on these many writers. My focus shall be on the early sociologists (Engels, Durkheim, Tonnies, Sorokin) who were influenced by Bachofen, and more importantly, on the later sociologists and other social scientists whom these early sociologists in turn influenced, including: David Riesman, Talcott Parsons, and Jean Baudrillard.

For example, it is not well-known that Erich Fromm incorporated Bachofen's theory of the dominance of matriarchy into his version of psychoanalysis, and through his roles as therapist to and friend of David Riesman, indirectly influenced Riesman's theory in *The Lonely Crowd*. Similarly, Veblen adopts Bachofen's theory of the primacy

This thesis follows the style and format of the *American Sociological Review*.

of matriarchy into his theory of social evolution, and in turn, was also highly influential on Riesman. Another strand of Bachofen's influence runs through Ferdinand Tonnies, who posited a social evolution from a matriarchal *Gemeinschaft* to a patriarchal *Gesellschaft*, and who in turn influenced both Sorokin and Parsons. Sorokin's theory that societies evolve from idealistic (matriarchal) to sensate (patriarchal) types follows Bachofen's overall trajectory. Similarly, it is not widely known that Parsons was highly influenced by Tonnies in positing a fundamental dimension found in all societies that he termed expressive (matriarchal) versus instrumental (patriarchal). Parsons's instrumental versus expressive dimension is well-known, but its theoretical origins, and consequences for social theory, are not clear because Bachofen has been largely forgotten by contemporary theorists. Finally, in *Consumer Society*, Baudrillard demonstrates that he was influenced directly by Riesman, Veblen, and Marx—all of whom absorbed Bachofen's thought to some degree—so that, indirectly, his version of postmodernism also bears the mark of Bachofen's discovery. But contemporary discussions of postmodernism tend to obscure these conceptual origins.

My goals in this thesis are to demonstrate that some of sociology's most fundamental assumptions and concepts owe their origins directly or indirectly to Bachofen's bold claim that matriarchy preceded patriarchy. Because of the limitations of space, I shall limit myself to a finite list of concepts: social integration, the expressive-instrumental dimension, tradition- versus other-directedness, simulacra versus authenticity, and right-hand versus left-hand collective representations, among others. In order to make the discussion manageable, I shall concentrate on Jung, Hertz, Fromm,

Durkheim, Parsons, Riesman, and Baudrillard. The importance of analyzing the hidden influence of Bachofen's theory upon classical as well as contemporary social theory is that it challenges the opposing view that social theory is based upon the premise that patriarchy preceded matriarchy. The consequences of this new, yet old reading, that matriarchy preceded patriarchy, is that solutions to social problems should be sought not in favoring one dimension at the expense of the other, but in achieving a balance or "integration" of these opposing social forces.

The Influence of Bachofen's Discovery

Society and God are mirrors of each other, and society is the "womb" which gives birth to all forms of "civilization" (Durkheim 1912). Individuals, societies, and cultures are reflections of the divinity they worship (Bachofen 1967). A society's sacred totem not only represents the clan, but is also a part of the clan. The totem and the clan are manifestations of social symmetry; in many ways they parallel one another. Therefore a culture that glorifies the Great Mother greatly reflects the emotions of love, nurturance, affection, and emotional expression. A social world that worships the Virgin is consequently a world of purity, wholesomeness, and innocence. Similarly, societies that glorify the "dynamo" (machines, industry) are in turn rigid, unyielding, automatic, and demanding (Adams 1907).

The preceding thoughts resemble the dialectic expressed by Henry Adams in *The Virgin and the Dynamo* as Adams reflects on the concept of the dynamo as a metaphorical illustration for modernity, and the Virgin representative of times past in

which veneration for the divine symbolized the force of greatest power. Adams himself said, that the more he emerged himself into the world of modernity and machines, the more “he began to feel the forty-foot dynamos as a moral force, much as the early Christians felt the Cross,” and the more he understood the similarities “between the steam and the electric current than between the Cross and the cathedral,” noticing how these “forces were interchangeable if not reversible” (Adams 1970:1067).

Henry Adams and his influential works were directly inspired by Bachofen. Adams’s *Primitive Rights of Women* (1876) imitates Bachofen’s *Mother Right* (1861) in both method and content, and his *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1905) pertains to Bachofen’s dialectic struggle between the male and female principles to the Middle Ages (Partenheimer 2006). However, much like many great geniuses and masterminds throughout time are often forgotten so has, in many ways, the brilliance and works of Bachofen.

Bachofen posited a progression of four cultural evolutionary stages: From Hatairism to Mother Right, which are dominated by female cultural symbols and deities such as Demeter, to the Dionysian and Apollonian stages, which are dominated by male cultural symbols and deities. The crux of his theory is that patriarchal, Apollonian stages eventually self-destruct and result in a new synthesis of Dionysian and Apollonian, matriarchal and patriarchal culture. Table 1 summarizes the ways in which various social theorists incorporated, built upon, and elaborated upon Bachofen’s theory. It serves as a template for the discussion that follows.

Table 1. Theories of Social Change

	Traditional Societies	Modern Societies	Desired Goal
Bachofen	Matriarchies/Dionysian	Patriarchies/Apollonian	Synthesis/Dionysian
Tonnies	Community/Gemeinschaft	Society/Gesellschaft	Nostalgia
Marx	Primitive	Capitalism	Synthesis/Communism with Industrial Base
Durkheim	Mechanical Solidarity	Organic Solidarity	Egoistic with Altruistic Currents
Hertz	Left-hand Representations	Right-hand Representations	Integration
Jung	Collective Unconscious/Anima	Collective Consciousness/Animus	Integration of Myth and Rationality
Fromm	Mother-centered	Father-centered	Synthesis
Riesman	Tradition-directed	Inner-Directed/Other-Directed	Autonomy
Parsons	Expressive Dimension	Instrumental Dimension	Integration of Expressive/Instrumental
Sorokin	Idealistic/Ideal	Sensate	New Revival of Idealistic

CHAPTER II

AN ALTERNATIVE GENESIS

The scholar must be able to renounce entirely the ideas of his own time, the beliefs with which these have filled his spirit, and transfer himself to the midpoint of a completely different world of thought. Without such self-abnegations no real success in the study of antiquity is thinkable (Bachofen 1861:81-82).

My goals in this chapter are to first, introduce and briefly describe Bachofen's concept of Mother Right, which deserves more depth and attention than any current literature provides. His theory was highly influential on sociology's founders such as Tonnies, Marx, Durkheim, and Sorokin, yet his influence is poorly understood. Second, I will illustrate some of the impact that Bachofen's discovery of primordial societies had on Jung's psychology, namely, Jung's concept of the Great Mother and the mother archetype, which according to Jung is an essential element to the balance of human psyche. Moreover, Jung's psychology hold relevance for sociology because his emphasis on cultural myths and symbols. Third, I will analyze Riesman's concept of tradition-directed character type in relation to Fromm's theory of mother-centered social character to Bachofen's depiction of matriarchies. The works of Riesman and Fromm will continue to appear in similar ways in the chapters to follow, that is, juxtaposed to Bachofen's social evolution theory of cultures. Finally, at the end of the chapter I will exemplify how the Dionysian aspects described in *Mother Right*, Jung's concept of the Great Mother and mother archetype, as well as elements of the Riesman's tradition-directed and Fromm's mother-centered cultures, show affinities with the Catholic tradition and other religious traditions.

Mother Right

Bachofen's most important discovery was that of Mother Right, *mutterrecht*. Unlike the English word *right*, the concept of *recht* in German communicates various meanings, "rights, law, justice, title, privileges, advantage, prerogative, something to which a person is entitled," and of course the word *mutter* translates into mother. Therefore, Bachofen's concept of Mother Right pertains to the celebration of motherhood and mother lineage favored over fatherhood and father lineage as the "natural" way that societies were formed. Mother Right refers to societies in which children were named after their mothers instead of their fathers, and genealogical records "dealt entirely with the maternal line, and the status of children was defined solely in accordance with that of the mother" (Bachofen 1861:70). Mother Right conveys a special significance to the concept of womanhood and the prestige women held in ancient societies, and it must be clear that this concept of Mother Right "is not confined to any particular people but marks a cultural stage" (Bachofen 1861:71). A cultural stage in which women, much like man in patriarchal societies, took the lead and the ruling of the collective.

Through the study of myths, symbols, and religion of ancient societies, specifically Greece, Egypt, Lycia, Crete, India, Central Asia, Northern Africa and Spain, Bachofen came to realize that patriarchies as most people have always conceived the world, were the cultural stage that followed one in which women ruled; a cultural stage in which the Mother Right ruled, and one which began to decline with the growth and development of the paternal system (Bachofen 1861). During this matricentric cultural

period, birthrights, justice, names, lineage, social policy, interests, privileges, religion, and power belonged to women. Women of this stage were rulers, warriors, and priestesses. Much like Medusa, as Freud discovered, was a priestess (Goodrich 1990), women were some of the first deities; like Aphrodite, Hera, Athena, Isis, and Osiris. They were included with the muses. They were glorified by their societies.

This “homogeneity of matriarchal ideas is confirmed by the favoring of the left over the right side. The left side belongs to the passive feminine principle, the right to the active masculine” (Bachofen 1961:77). During this cultural stage many customs and practices, of the religious life as well as the civil life, the wearing of “headdresses, and certain linguistic usages reveal the same idea, the *major honos laevarum partium* (greater honor of the left side)” and its peculiar connection with the ideology of Mother Right (Bachofen 1961:77). There was as well, the favoring of night over daytime, and the moon over the sun, as the night and the moon are symbols related to the mother’s womb. Therefore, nighttime was chosen as the time for battle, the time for taking counsel, and for declaring justice. Nighttime was the time for the practice of sacred rituals and for dealing with many culturally significant acts of this social period (Bachofen 1961). It is important to link these interpretations by Bachofen to Emile Durkheim and his follower, Robert Hertz’s, writings on the concept of the “right” becoming a “sacred” collective representation in patriarchal societies, while the “left” became “profane”—a complete reversal of the “natural” order that Bachofen discovered. These thinkers regard the categories, left and right, expressed through language as well

as spatially, as collective representations; namely, collective symbols that involve culture (language, myths, religion, art, and so on) and the individual simultaneously.

Bachofen assumed furthermore than this primordial stage that preceded patriarchies was itself not the beginning, but the following phase of a more crude and even less civilized cultural stage. He referred to this earlier period as hetaeristic matriarchy. This extremely primitive social phase entailed both a wild habitat and a wild form of human living, as the earth was filled with plants and swamps and society had very little order and organization. At the hetaeristic level of society, the mother and the children alone constituted the family, and any concept of civil living, such as that of marriage, did not exist (Bachofen 1961). Matriarchies therefore, according to Bachofen's study, were the middle stage between hetaerism and patriarchies, the lowest and the highest forms of social evolution. For this reason the concept of Mother Right has been a theme of controversy in recent times. Originally, the notion of Mother Right was intensely embraced by feminists because women felt empowered by historical evidence that showed the always known to be "weaker sex" as very prevailing and potent. Later, the same concept of Mother Right was rebuked by a different generation of feminists for allegedly proclaiming the male principle as superior to the female principle (Partenheimer 2006). Interpreted in different ways Bachofen's theory of cultural evolution, should not be read under such strict parameters, but rather, as Erich Fromm portrays the parallel, similarly to Karl Marx's theory of historical materialism, in which each historical experience is to be understood as a reaction of an earlier and opposite state.

Therefore, Bachofen's theory in *Mother Right* may be studied as a comparable theory of social evolution where the social process "is centered around the dominant roles of the mother and the father figures respectively. History moves from the prerational motherly world through the rational patriarchal world, but at the same time from freedom and equality to hierarchy and inequality. Eventually man will return to the establishment of love and equality on a new level, a synthesis of matriarchal-patriarchal principles" (Fromm, 1994:5). A synthesis, in Friedrich Engels' terms, an equilibrium of the feminine and the masculine, according to Emile Durkheim (Durkheim 1912); a union of the anima and animus in Jungian terminology (Jung 1959); a level of steadiness between the instrumental and the expressive dimensions of society, as Talcott Parsons characterized it (Parsons 1978); the balance of David Riesman's inner-directed and the other-directed character types (Riesman 1965); the stability between the matriarchal and patriarchal positive principles (Fromm 1970); fundamentally, a truly egalitarian stage. In various ways these and other theorists were striving to achieve grand theories of balance between opposing forces.

Additionally, the most important aspect of Bachofen's theory was the analysis of love and attachment styles of motherly and fatherly love correspondingly. Bachofen treats the mother and the father, as ideal types, archetypes, collective representations of the overall regulatory system and cultural evolution of societies. Bachofen saw the role and functions of motherly and fatherly love as an essential examination tool of the levels of social civilization. The motherly role, he describes, is "raising her young, the woman learns earlier than the man to extend her loving care beyond the limits of the ego to

another creature, and to direct whatever gifts of invention she possesses to the preservation and improvement of this other's existence" (Bachofen 1967:79). And this is possibly where the key of his discovery and most contribution to the social sciences lies. Because the motherly love is so free, so unconditional¹, so desperate and intense and at the same time so elementary and altruistic, children, individuals do not feel like they have to compete for love or attention, as one will see they do in the patriarchal cultural stage. Instead the members of these societies already feel safe, confident, reaffirmed, and society thus function in similar ways. In matriarchies there are no orphans, and no abandoned children, there is equality, and universality, and fraternity, and benevolence (Goodrich 1990:8).

The Mother Archetype

Carl Gustav Jung, Swiss psychiatrist and founder of analytical psychology was also a follower of Bachofen's work and greatly influenced by the theories of psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud. But he also corresponded with and paralleled the works of some of Durkheim's followers, such as Lucien Levy-Bruhl and particularly the concept of collective representations (Mestrovic 1992). Similarly to Bachofen, Jung approached the understanding of the human psyche by studying mythology, symbols, culture, world religion, art, and dreams. Of all his contributions to the social sciences, Jung is most distinguished for coining the concepts of psychological archetype and that of collective unconscious, both of which are widely used in the comprehension of the

¹ Carl Rogers, in *Becoming A Person* is credited with discovering "unconditional love" in psychotherapy

individual and society. Archetypes refer to “representation collectives,” they are the “psychic content which have not yet been submitted to conscious elaboration” (Jung 1959:5). Jung describes the collective unconscious as a phenomenon that is not only individual but also universal. The collective unconscious is related to “modes of behavior that are more or less the same everywhere and in all individuals” (Jung 1959:4). These two concepts therefore, archetypes and collective unconscious, work together, as the collective unconscious is precisely composed of various primordial motifs or archetypes, symbols and representations that are relatively familiar to all individuals.

Expanding on Freud’s conceptualization of devotion to female deities, which supposedly stems out of the infantile desire for reunification with the mother, Jung goes a step further than Freud by creating an archetypal feminine notion to explain the same theory. The mother-archetype is then one of Jung’s most essential archetypes and as a result takes great importance in his writings. The concept of the Great Mother, a term that Jung exclusively borrows from Bachofen, specifically derives from the mother archetype, and the mother archetype or the mother-image can, and often appears under a variety of characteristics, a “church, university, city or country, heaven, earth, the woods, the sea or any still waters, matter even, the underworld and the moon” (Jung 1959:15). In concurrence with Bachofen’s interpretations of the feminine principle in *Mother Right*, Jung furthermore associates the mother archetype with the symbols of religion, liquids, darkness, nourishment, the moon, earth, and the material (Bachofen 1961). It would be superfluous to state that these representations described by Bachofen,

and later by Jung to conceptualize the notion of the mother-image simplistically illustrate the principle of the motherly consciousness in matriarchal societies, in which the feminine characteristics, of mystery, divinity, fruitfulness, wholesomeness, passivity, peacefulness, and the world of the dead, are glorified. Still today many of the same images and concepts are coded under the primordial feminine standard, the mother Earth, the motherland, the church which for many it metaphorically represents a bride, one's *Alma Mater*, and the concepts of wisdom and spirit, specifically the wisdom and spirit coming from the disputable gender-ambiguous God, to name a few.

Wisdom particularly, is not infrequently an attribute represented by the Great Mother as this one is often held to greater ranks, more greatly exalted, more regularly consulted, and traditionally sought in times of larger needs and suffering. The concept of the Great Mother originates from “the mother of the mother, she is ‘greater’ than the latter; she is in truth the ‘grand’ or ‘Great Mother’” and therefore symbolizes greater love, greater compassion, greater understanding, greater sheltering (Jung 1959:36). The Great Mother is ultimately the superior mother-archetype. It is the grandmother, the Great Mother, whom infants seek when the mother fails to say yes. It is the Great Mother who intercedes in times of desperation and who assumes higher esteem in the psychological as well as the physical social development. The Virgin Mary is subsequently a symbol of the Great Mother for the West, as Kali is of the East. This is much like Isis holding Horus, which was a symbol of vast significance for the ancient Egyptians. Mary and Isis are not only the mothers of Jesus and Horus, respectively, but they are the Great Mothers (as collective representations) for the generations and

societies that follow. Their images represent greater substance and power, and their importance surpasses that of other mother illustrations and archetypes.

Additionally, the mother archetype develops the foundation for the mother-complex, which entails different effects depending on whether it is a son or a daughter. In the case of the son, the understanding of the mother-complex is much less difficult than in the case of the daughter, but in either situation it is the mother-image, the archetype that awakens the anima in the man and animus in the woman. It is “because the child lives at first in complete participation with her [the mother], in a state of unconscious identity” that the mother becomes “the psychic as well as the physical precondition of the child” (Jung 1959:36). The anima and animus belong in the realm of what Jung called the shadow, one example of the individual’s unconscious personality, and they function in the reverse role of the outward persona of the individual. Said simply, a very masculine man would have a feminine soul, portrayed in his anima, and a very feminine woman would have a masculine soul, again, depicted in the representation of her animus. “Whereas logic and objectivity are usually the predominant features of a man’s outer attitude, or are at least regarded as ideals, in the case of a woman it is feeling. But in the soul, it is the other way round: inwardly it is the man who feels, and the woman who reflects” (Jung 1959:102).

As a man typically embraces the role of rationality, control, and detachment, the demonstration of his anima results in the opposing characteristics- expression of emotions, lightheartedness and involvement. The contrary happens for women. The outward feelings of understanding, care, and weakness, are reflected through the shadow

therefore, as strictness, egoism and durable strength. The anima in the man will produce irrational moods, and the animus in women irrational opinions (Jung 1983). In either case it is the anima and animus, which complement the persona of the individual, that which brings wholeness and balance to the human psyche. Each individual is consequently equalized by characteristics that are both masculine and feminine.

Whether conscious or unconscious, both men and women exhibit attributes that belong to the instrumental as well the expressive social dimensions (from Parsons), features that are practical as well as emotional, rational as well as irrational, orderly as well as carefree. “How else could it have occurred to man to divide the cosmos, on the analogy of day and night, summer and winter, into a bright day-world and a dark night-world peopled (...) unless he had the prototype of such division in himself, in the polarity between the conscious and the invisible and unknowable unconscious?” (Jung 1959:35). And it is precisely the effects of the mother-complex which derives from the mother-image or the mother-archetype, that when stripped from their intricate futures direct to the unconscious as their place of genesis. It is “the *mother*, the matrix- the form into which all experience is poured. The *father*, on the other hand, represents the *dynamism* of the archetype, for the archetype consists of both--form and energy” (Jung 1959:36).

The mother archetype is therefore one of the first universal collective representations branded in the human psyche. The darkness and shape of the pregnant womb, the motherly fluids, the nourishment, tenderness, warmth and care of a mother’s love, softness, silence and shelter precede light and steepness, rational thought, law and orders, abstinence and discipline. The split from the motherly love, indulgence,

understanding and forgiveness is therefore a delicate transition; it constitutes the developing of the ego-consciousness, and consequently the awakening of the anima and animus.

The Tradition-Directed Character

David Riesman, American sociologist, theorist, and Henry Ford II Professor of Social Science at Harvard University published *The Lonely Crowd* an analysis of the American social character in 1950s. Reisman's psychoanalyst was Fromm, another scholar who followed the works of Bachofen and whose works greatly influenced Riesman. In this eminent study of the American social character, Riesman makes observation of three social character types, the tradition-directed, the inner-directed, and the other-directed; all of which pertain to a specific cultural period classified under different economical and demographical basis. The three character types fall in a continuum of social development and civilization, starting with the tradition-directed as the most elementary and ending with the other-directed as the most advanced. Each phase of development entails specific characteristics that are common mostly to that particular stage, and because the character types fall in a continuum of analysis there can be overlapping of social behavior and traits for the different stages.

Riesman's tradition-directed character closely reflects characteristics found in Bachofen's description of societies in which the mother principle ruled, where "existence is regulated naturalism, its thinking is material, its development predominantly physical." (Bachofen 1961:92). During this social period division of

labor is relatively simple and it usually entails the cultivation of the land. For this reason, the members of these societies have a special affinity towards nature, natural processes, and the world of materialism. The tradition-directed character type also pertains to societies in which social actors embraced Jung's concept of the Great Mother, as in the tradition-directed culture one of most important agent of socialization and character formation is the extended family, the grandmother, the Great Mother. Earth and nature themselves are also seen as a Mother. While it is true that Riesman invokes the theory of demographic transition to explain social evolution, he adds, along the cultural trajectories of Bachofen and Fromm, that high birth rates and high growth potential are "not merely the result of a lack of contraceptive knowledge or techniques" but rather "a whole way of life- an outlook on chance, on children, on the place of women, on sexuality, on the very meaning of existence" (Riesman 1965:13).

Additionally, the depiction of the tradition-directed character closely resembles that communal ideal type established by matriarchies where "ritual, routine, and religion" occupy and guide the norms and values of the society (Riesman 1965:11). In tradition-directed societies, individuals are sanctioned with the "fear of being shamed" rather than the laws of science and legislature (Riesman 1965: 24). And as a result, respect towards tradition, the clan elders, and reverence for the dead are of great importance and veneration.

Mother-Centered Societies

As Bachofen understood in *Mother Right*, matriarchies were the first developed societies, in which the laws of nature and the world of the material were regarded as extremely important. Similarly Jung's mother-archetype is represented by symbols pertaining to earth, the natural, the mysterious and often the magical and divine. Jung furthermore supposes that the mother-archetype is so significant to the human psyche because it is the mother's love that which everyone experiences first, it is her psychological and as well as her physiological conditions the first things that humans come into contact. Riesman's theory of social character, once again, depicts the tradition-directed culture under the parameters of communal living in which the feelings of love, benevolence, and care for children govern social activities. Furthermore, human life in the tradition-directed societies is allowed to mature as expected, taking only its natural course. And these are but a few of many social scientists who have alleged the characteristics of primordial social life in which the mother consciousness, the material, and religion, precede the father principle, spiritual development, and logical thinking.

Cultures described under such premises are therefore mother-center societies, societies in which "the main emotional tie is to the mother" (Fromm 1970:111). To reiterate, mother-centered societies, or matriarchies are ruled by "unconditional love, mercy, the natural equality of children, the prevalence of natural law over man-made law, and the natural groups like the family or the tribe over man-man groups like the state" (Fromm 1970:113). One can think of this concept as the nation illustrated by Marx and Engels in *The Communist Manifesto*, a state in which all individuals are equal.

“For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeoisie at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial” (Marx 1983:224). The main difference between primitive and modern communism is that communal mother-centered societies that have risen in the past and the few that still exist, have done so in a manner that is spontaneous and instinctive, they have risen out of love and not rebellion. Whereas the state of communism Marx and Engels suggest entails very Apollonian characteristics that belong under the father principle of rational and scientific expression, which therefore makes the theory of communism merely an ideal, as one cannot force the function of unstructured mother-centeredness to exist under the rule and government of patriarchal values.

Therefore, because a mother’s love is not anything children can compete for but a natural gift, and the mother’s satisfaction and interest cannot depend on the infant’s pleasing her, a mother’s love comes naturally and is based on equality. “Its absence produces a sense of lostness and utter despair since a mother loves her children because they are her children, and not because they are good, obedient, or fulfill her wishes and commands” (Fromm 1970:113). Individuals from mother-center cultures tend to feel more secure, affirmed, and accepted. These feeling of security, affirmation, and acceptance therefore transmit into the other aspects of social living, and as a result society works under the same basis. That is to say, the relationship between a mother and her children, is also reflected in the relationship between the other institutions of

society and its members in the state of matriarchate, “whose governing principles are not anxiety and submissiveness, but love and compassion” (Fromm 1994:35).

The Great Matriarchy of the West

As I have already shown, the concept of a matriarchy, or mother-centered culture, is similar to the tradition-directed social character, and both entail characteristics that are held in great esteem: the role of the mother, natural processes, tradition, and respect for the dead and ancestors, as well as the feelings of universality, equality, love, fraternity, and mercy as these all belong to the mother principle. “While Catholicism also exhibits many patricentric traits- God the Father, hierarchy of males priests, etc.- the important role of the matricentric complex cannot be denied. The Virgin Mary and the Church herself psychologically represent the Great Mother who shelters all her children in her bosom” (Fromm 1994:42). The Virgin Mary represents “purity, totality, protection against law, who pleased, with her divine Son to show sinners mercy rather than punish them according to their just deserts. Mary is a sanctuary, a refuge, a source of remedies” (Preson 1982:333). In Jung’s words, “The Virgin Mary is the earth from which Christ was born” (Jung 1959:41).

Her incredible love extends and intercedes for all her children, and her relationship with her son Jesus Christ is so intimate that he could never deny any of her requests; and in turn Mary, could never refute the requests of those who love her. The Virgin represents the *mater dolorosa* who feels the pain and suffering of her kin, because their hearts are her heart. She is described as the Great Mother of the West. The Queen

of Heaven. Referred to as the second Eve, “Mother *undefiled*,” “Mother of *good counsel*,” “Virgin *most powerful*,” “Virgin *most merciful*,” “*Mirror of Justice*,” “*Seat of wisdom*,” “Tower of David,” “Refuge of sinners,” and “*Queen of patriarchs*,” amongst other titles (Litany of Loreto, 1587 added emphasis). A sublime symbol of compassion, tenderness, understanding, care; Mary and Jesus represent the feminine principle that complements the sternness, fury, strictness, and seriousness figurative for the masculine principle of the Old-Testament Yahweh who often used punishment as means of teaching and communicating with humankind.

Much like the word catholic means universal, universality itself being a characteristic of the mother-centered culture, the image of the Virgin Mother and her significance have similarly been embraced universally. Figures and statues of the Madonna are found in South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. In the same way, the Virgin has made appearances in North America, Northern and Eastern Europe and India to name a few places. Universities, colleges, cities, states, providences, cathedrals, museums, parks, organizations, as well as many other social and nationalized institutions have been named after her all around the world. In the United States, a predominately non-Catholic country, “the ‘grand old name’ of Mary, or one of its variants, is the most popular of all girls’ names” (Land of our Lady, 281). The love for the Virgin developed Mary her own prayers, rituals, medals, scapulars, and dogmas, as well as the display of her statues in the center of many churches. She has been the theme of much music, and a frequent subject of much of the art produced during the medieval epoch and ages follow.

Along with the presence of the Blessed Mother, as the Great Mother of the church, other Catholic concepts such as the emphasis of oral tradition and rituals as equally important as the written word of God, confession and absolution of sins, the celebration of feast days to pray for the dead, and the veneration of saints and martyrs moreover reflect the values of a matricentric culture. All this stands in contrast to Protestantism, a more patricentric social model, in which most teachings come strictly from the Bible's text rather than any ritual or traditional practice. Moreover, in many Protestant denominations the individual is "saved" by faith alone, or as it is in other cases this solution proves to be insufficient as the individuals are "chosen" to be saved by the grace of God even before their creation (Weber [1905] 2003). For many Protestant there exists few theological notions in relation to the world of the dead, and the Protestant church accomplished vastly the expurgation of praise towards angels, saints, and martyrs.

Matriarchies in general "are more keenly aware of the pain of death and the fragility of tellurian existence, lamented by women and particularly the mother" much as it is in the Catholic tradition (Bachofen 1861:91). While Catholicism produces emotions of guilt, in no small measure, it as well provides "the means for freeing oneself from these feelings. The price one must pay is affective attachment to the Church," which can be easily interpreted as achieving reconciliation with the mother image of the church, embracing mercy and forgiveness, and re-implementing the mother ties (Fromm 1994:43).

Conclusions

The importance of Bachofen and *Mother Right* have been widely acknowledged by some of sociology's most influential theorists, and Bachofen's works have been one of great contribution and influence to social sciences: "The study of Hinduism, Mexican and Chinese religions, of the development of Judaism, Catholicism, and Protestantism, will result in new and revealing insights when Bachofen's basic ideas are applied" (Fromm 1970:16). These words retain their value not only to the study of religions, but as I have illustrated in this chapter, Bachofen's anthropological theory has also served as the ground for much fruit in fields of psychology, sociology, and the marriage of the two.

The concepts of matriarchy preceding patriarchy, the notions of motherly and fatherly love, and the cultural understanding of the Great Mother, are essential contributions to many academic disciplines. The concepts discussed in *Mother Right* aid to the comprehension of Jung's psychological as well as sociological mother archetype and collective consciousness of the group. This concept of collective consciousness precisely, is manifested as unconditional love, mercy, and natural equality in Riesman's tradition-directed character type and Fromm's conception of mother-centered societies as the collective consciousness of matriarchies reflect the cultural practices of ideal type mother love. These same features, once again, are found in the Catholic Church, in their embrace of the Blessed Mother and her unconditional love for her son and "children of the light," the representation of the church, the feelings of guilt and repentance, the respect for the dead, and the emphasis on tradition to simply name a few. Finally,

collective representations of the Great Mother can be found in all religious systems, as shown by Durkheim (1912) emphasis on social integration, cooperation, and sympathy as the fundamental building blocks of all societies as well as religions.

CHAPTER III

THE OVERLOOKED CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The overthrow of Mother Right was the world-historic defeat of the female sex. The man seized the reins in the house also, the woman was degraded, enthralled, the slave of man's lust, a mere instrument for breeding children (Engels 1884:736).

Alternatively to most conventional history lessons, the concepts discussed in this work credit Bachofen with the eminent discovery of Mother Right. In the previous chapter, the characteristics of Bachofen's Dionysian cultural stage were juxtaposed with the traditional societies analyzed in Riesman and Fromm's theories, and similarly were illustrated relative to the Catholic traditions. In this chapter, I will compare those same concepts of the tradition-directed and mother-centered societies, with Riesman's inner-directed character type and Fromm's understanding of a father-centered culture; both of which fall under the shadow of Bachofen's Apollonian development. That is, a patriarchy; a stage ruled by rationality, justice and hierarchical structure.

From Left to Right

The anthropological works of Bachofen also influenced French sociologist Robert Hertz, a disciple of Emile Durkheim from whom Hertz adopted much ideology, terminology, and scientific findings. Hertz's interests specifically involved the field of sociology of religion; and his writings greatly contributed to the studies of collective representations of traditional forms of religious rituals, the duality of social behavior that

allegedly derives from religious polarity, and additionally special focus on collective representations of sin and death. However, Durkheim's (1912) sociology of religion, as it has been interpreted by contemporary analysts, rarely takes notice of this dualism pertaining to emotion versus cognition. His disciple Robert Hertz is almost completely forgotten.

In one of his most renowned sociological pieces, *Death and the Right Hand* which still frequently appears in a lot of anthropological literature today, Hertz takes notice of the polarity between the right and left sides of the human body which often reflects the division illustrated between the sacred and the profane of religious practices. In comparison to Bachofen, Hertz similarly claims a common linkage that relates the "left side" to the feminine principle, as these two representations correspond to passivity, emotion, and meekness. On the contrary, Hertz points out that in observing traditional tribes and their religious rituals one finds elements that are feminine and masculine, and these pertain to the world of the profane and the sacred respectively. That similarly to the duality of religion, which is kept balanced by components that are divine and others that are blasphemous, social life and practices of traditional living also entail masculine and feminine principles (Durkheim 1912). In other words, whereas Bachofen describes social evolution transitioning from societies in which Mother Right ruled, societies where the notion of the *left* was considered sacred, *major honos laevarum partium*, to societies where the father principle overtook the collective habitus and the concept of the *right* was consequently elevated to such sanctified position, Hertz is more interested in the functions of the dualism and less interested than Bachofen in the evolutionary

process. Instead, Hertz, following the teachings of Durkheim, supposes that the expression of the feminine and the masculine principles emerge simultaneously as do the manifestations of the sacred and the profane in religious life. Hertz makes little assertion in regards of the order and evolution of the religious practices, and mainly chooses to focus on the functionality of collective representation of the feminine principle and its association with the left, as Bachofen had previously noted, and masculine principle and its association the right. Hertz deviates from Bachofen in that Bachofen stresses the feminine notion and the left as primordial illustrations of the sacred that precede patriarchal principle and the right. Hertz instead brings focus to the religious polarity of the sacred and the profane and how these have been collectively represented by the male and female principles correspondingly.

Therefore, Hertz in agreement with Bachofen relates the left side to the feminine principle, but communicates little in regards of how these representations pertaining to the sacred later switched to the be considered profane. Bachofen would have supposed this change happened with an increase in civilization and the overtaking of the father principle, which, if one follows such logic gives great insight to the interpretation of understanding the religious roles of the left and the right. “The old era dies, and another, the Apollonian age, rises on its ruins” (Bachofen 1861:110). With the emergence of this new culture therefore “the divinity of the mother gives way to that of the father, the night cedes its primacy to the day, the *left* side to the *right*” and similarly their consecrated characteristics turn over the primordial definitions of what constitutes sacred and what constitutes profane (Bachofen 1861:110). Consequently, giving the word right the

ability to express the “ideas of physical strength and ‘dexterity’, of intellectual ‘rectitude’ and good judgment, of ‘uprightness’ and moral integrity, of good fortune and beauty, of juridical norm; while the word ‘left’ evokes most of the ideas contrary to these” (Hertz 1960:99).

That is to say, with the transition from Mother Right having the power to rule and govern ancient societies to the expansion of patriarchies, the alteration of cultural definitions of what entails sacred and profane, also transitioned; and the change from the maternal to the paternal conception of man gave form to “the most important turning point in the history of the relations between the sexes” (Bachofen 1861:109).

Analogously speaking, the male principle, the right hand, began to be associated with “the honors, flattering designations, prerogatives: it acts, orders, and *takes*. The left hand, on the contrary, is despised and reduced to the role of a humble auxiliary: by itself it can do nothing; it helps, it supports, it *holds*” and similarly gender roles during this point in time begin to be conceptualized in such manner (Hertz 1960:89).

The side that once was understood as divine according to the studies of myths, symbols, ancient art, religion and other collective representations studied by Bachofen specifically, was cast under a shadow and a new interpretation for the right side as representative of the divine appeared. In the new cultural stage, in patriarchies, the right side became the symbol for “the ideas of sacred power, regular and beneficent, the principle of all effective activity, the source of everything that is good, favorable and legitimate” and the left was understood as a sign of weakness, ambiguity, impurity, the feeble and the incapable (Hertz 1960:100). That is why this side is “strengthened by

protective amulets; the ring that we wear on the third finger of the left hand is primarily intended to keep temptation and other bad things from us” (Hertz 1960:101). That is also the reason why many enter sacred temples with their right foot, as the left signifies profane; why women and female saints sit on the left and not the right side of churches; why brides walk down the left side of the aisle. That is why the Son sits at the right hand of the Father; why in “the pictures of the Last Judgment it is the Lord’s raised right hand that indicates their sublime adobe to the elect, while his lowered left hand shows the damned the gaping jaws of Hell” (Hertz 1960:103); it is also why the motion of the right hand signals *me*, and the left hand for *not-me, others*; why the word left itself translates to *sinistra, sinistro* in Italian and the word right as *derecho, derecha* in Spanish to mean to be straight or to have a right; similar rationale is used for joining the right hands in marriage and using the right hand to take an oath (Hertz 1960). The examples are numerous.

The Inner-Directed Character

The second stage of social character in Riesman’s paradigm is the inner-directed phase; a cultural period that resembles a world without “virgins,” the kind of society that Adams attempted to describe in his writings as he analogously absorbed his moral force from the “dynamo” (Adams 1970). The inner-directed social character is the cultural period that follows the tradition-directed stage, this latter only known to America through its native Indians and almost completely extinguished after Puritan colonization. The inner-directed concept refers to the kind of social character embedded in the United

States up until the Second World War. One that entails more civilized and rational economical principles, one that involves competitive “manufacturing,” producing, inventing, exploring, expanding, generating (Riesman 1965:9). Unlike the matriarchal communities from the tradition-directed stage, the inner-directed character demands growth, greater complexity in social roles, and, in Durkheim’s terms, more of an organic division of labor.

The inner-directed type Riesman describes a giant gyroscope. Thinking back to Bachofen’s conceptualization of individuals, societies and cultures becoming the divinity they worship, it makes much sense that a culture that “worships” the analogous dynamo would consequently reflect characteristics that are instrumental, pragmatic, driven by “intensive expansion in the production of goods and people, and extensive expansion in exploration, colonization, and imperialism” (Riesman 1965:14). It is in this cultural stage that people begin to understand and focus on the hardness of the material (Riesman 1965). The inner-directed type therefore, already entailing higher complexity of social living, civil governing, and collective patterns, begins to quickly move away from the tradition-directed “natural” way of living to “transitional growth,” in which “the birth rate soon becomes to follow the death rate in its decline” due to changes in ideology, and technological and social advances (Riesman 1965:7). “The source of immortality is no longer the childbearing woman but the male-creative principle, which he endows with the divinity that the earlier world imputed only to the mother” (Bachofen 1861:111).

The children of these societies, rapidly noticing the strict patriarchal basis of the social world in which they live, often do not realize that “they have rights to friendships, understanding, or agreeable play” and as a consequence they frequently “suffer in silence and submit to the intolerable” (Riesman 1965:70). The inner-directed individuals find their source of direction from their inner self, the internal gyroscope, which has long been implemented early on in childhood and “directed toward generalized but nonetheless inescapably destined goals” which often times involve hard and competitive work (Riesman. 1961:15). The role of the parent in the inner-directed societies is that of an authoritative kind, who instead of offering unconditional love, acceptance, and care, like mothers do in matriarchal societies or in the communal living of the tradition-directed stage, make rules and build parameters to enforce them (Riesman 1965:44). Children of this stage are “brought up” rather than “‘loved up’; and even when they have left home they continue to bring themselves up” (Riesman1961:44).

Father-Centered Societies

“Step by step the matriarchy was restricted. This development took divergent forms. Sometimes it is woman’s political power that was first lost, and sometimes her rule over the family” (Bachofen 1861:107). In any case the increase of civilization, rational thinking, and technological advancement lead to the expansion of patriarchal ruling; “an Apollonian world, with its fictive paternity” (Bachofen 1861:112). “A

society in which many people are internally driven,” not so much by natural processes any longer, but “driven toward values, such as wealth and power” (Riesman 1965:41).

The emphasis on the material starts to move to the mental. And with the end of social matriarchate the world begins to enter father-centered societies, in which the main emotional ties of the children are no longer with the mother, but with the father (Fromm 1994). The worship of muses, goddesses and virgins starts to fade away and the respect for structures, rules, orders, and mechanical development sets in motion. The unconditional mother’s love that pours into the social, political, and religious activities of societies is trumped by the conditional father’s love, which depends on obedience and successful performance.

The fatherly love establishes principles and laws and as a consequence it does not entail the values of equality, on the contrary, it engenders competition and hierarchies. “Fatherly love can be acquired by doing what father wants” (Fromm 1970:113). In other words, the inner-directed parent is “able to ‘love’ only those children who made good in the outer world” (Riesman 1965:48). This is precisely the reason why the inner-directed character type resembles a giant gyroscope, because often times in this cultural stage, the only way of achieving love is by earning it. As a consequence inner-directed individuals, the children of patriarchal societies, become overly concerned with their sense of performance; they overwork and live their lives constrained by the parameters set before them.

In contrast to the motherly love, the father’s love based on rationality, complexity, subjectivity, and preference, developed constitutions, republics, and

empires. As “wealth increased, on the one hand, gave the man a more important status in the family” and with this notion, the ability to diminish the work of the woman at home, and the power to chose the order of inheritance increased for man; a privilege that was granted to women under Mother Right ruling (Engels 1884:736).

Out of this conditional nature of the paternal love, two results usually take place. One, individuals lose the sense of psychic security and safety that is obtained from the unconditional, all giving, and all accepting motherly love. Two, individuals experience an “intensification of the role of conscience,” borrowing Riesman’s terminology, the individuals who are socialized in patriarchal societies experience a gyroscopic effect (Fromm 1994:40). That is, “the person develops an outlook in which the fulfillment of duty becomes the central concern of life, because only that can provide some minimum guarantee of being loved. But even maximal fulfillment of the demands of conscience will not prevent guilt feelings from arising, because the person’s performance will always fall short of the ideals set before him” (Fromm 1994:40).

The consequences of the fatherly love just described above also tend to distort the motherly love, as this kind of love does not ever disappear; it is simply given less importance by the individuals of patriarchal societies. The distortion of the motherly love, similarly to Hertz’s analysis of the left hand, undergo a transformation of definition, which seem to switch connotation as the new implemented patriarchal ideologies of law, science, and conditions take over. That is, to patriarchal stands, the motherly love becomes a sign of weakness and neediness. To use the phrase “mama’s boy” is to mean ridicule and mockery to the individual, in contrast, to say one is

“daddy’s little girl” or “daddy’s little princess,” which is often used to regard praise and a place of privilege. “This reaction (distorting the original relationship to one’s mother) is also extended to other mother symbols, such as country, nation, and soil,” which at one point symbolized protecting figures, but now represent figures in need of protection (Fromm 1994:41).

The ideal type of the fatherly love can be harsh, unsympathetic, unexpressive, and critical, these characteristics do not necessarily evoke negative feelings of hate, disgust or violence to those who are socialized in patricentric society. On the other hand, this complex breeds feelings of narcissism, “a strict superego, guilt feelings, docile love for paternal authority, desire and pleasure at dominating weaker people, acceptance of suffering as punishment for one’s own guilt, and a damaged capacity for happiness” (Fromm 1994:41). Contrasted by an attitude of optimism, feelings of trust, a weaker superego, tolerance, and the ability to love and be loved without measurements and insecurities, which all derive from the motherly unconditional love and compassion (Fromm 1994).

Conclusions

With the rise of the Apollonian stage on the ruins of matricentric societies numerous social behaviors, practices, sacred symbols, rituals, and even conceptualizations disappeared, if not traded places between the feminine and the masculine principle. As Bachofen, and many of his followers, conceived it, societies evolved from a less to more complex nature. With this kind of social complexity

therefore, also arrived greater division of labor, expansion and colonization, superior population density, lines that divided territories, constitutions and laws to control them, the advancement of science and with it greater technology. From traditional to civilized; from matriarchies to patriarchies; from tradition-directed to inner-directed; from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity--there are more than a few models that describe the same thesis (Durkheim [1893] 1933). In many ways the Christian church dividing itself during the Protestant Reformation can be interpreted as a manifestation of patriarchal evolution; that is, a religious movement that derived from a matricentric culture, Catholicism, and transcended into a patricentric culture, Protestantism (Weber [1905] 2003).

In summary, once modernity, man-made laws, justice, science, and rationality began to regulate societies, the culture of Mother Right began to fade as the ruling ideology. With the transition from the mother principle to the father principle there was also a conversion of the left-hand collective representations and female symbols, previously conceived sacred, to becoming profane. The cultural switch therefore resulted in right-hand collective representations and the male status, acquiring the entitlement of new universal sanctity.

In the same way, the modern world dethroned feelings of universal equality, unconditional love and care, complete understanding and compassion, and in its place created hierarchical stands, begot conditional love, partialities and justice. The ideal type of motherly love was replaced with ideal type of fatherly love and this change opened cultures to militancy, destruction, and competition. These structures and constitutions

allowed for a mechanical and overly ridged collective consciousness, which in turn birthed individuals with strict superegos, authority complexes, and gyroscopic minds.

Moreover in contrast to Catholicism, the Protestant church, which similarly to patriarchies deriving from matriarchies originates itself from the Universal faith, expelled from its discipline veneration to the Virgin Mother, saints and martyrs, oral tradition, many practiced rituals, daily communion, confession of sins, and solely began to rely on God the Father, and the *written* law “word of God”. In short, one can align the Catholic Church with elements that are common to matriarchies, and in the same way parallel the Protestant Church to patriarchal stands.

CHAPTER IV
FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY:

MERE SIMULACRA?

Nothing but the signs of its resemblance (Baudrillard 1994:23).

“The theory of the *Gesellschaft* deals with the artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the *Gemeinschaft* in so far as the individuals live and dwell together peacefully. However, in the *Gemeinschaft* they remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in the *Gesellschaft* they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors” (Tonnies 1957:65). My objective in this chapter is to illustrate how the postmodern culture, in rebelling against the grand narratives of the Enlightenment, attempts to re-embrace many Dionysian characteristics. However as Tonnies and other thinkers note, this attempt is a superficial resemblance, simulacra, fake sincerity. The question remains whether or not, as Bachofen alleged, we have fallen back to Dionysian materiality.

In the previous stages discussed, namely, the tradition-directed mother-centered and inner-directed father-centered cultures, the system of values, beliefs, and rationality were unique and original to that particular stage. In the postmodern phase, as I will bring to attention shortly, culture becomes a pastiche of previously adopted principles, that are neither original nor consistent. Postmodernity is neither the Virgin nor the dynamo, but rather their friendship in struggle.

I will first introduce the some of Baudrillard's concepts that are key in the understanding of postmodernity and parallel these with Riesman's third stage of character types. I will conclude with a brief discussion of what perhaps depicts postmodernity as a (distorted) Dionysian culture.

"We see paternity falling back from Apollonian purity to Dionysian materiality, so preparing the way for a new victory of the feminine principle, for a new flowering of the mother cults" (Bachofen 1967:116). Bachofen, unlike other evolution-directed theorists, such as Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and Ferdinand Tonnies to name a few, believed that once societies reached a certain degree of patriarchal sovereignty they would go back to the previous stage, a cultural stage characterized more closely with the feminine principle. Only Pitirim Sorokin stands out as a social theorist who followed Bachofen's lead in this regard, by positing that patriarchal/sensate cultures would self-destruct, and be followed by a resurrection of completely new matriarchal/idealistic cultures. However, the ideologies of Bachofen much like countless others thinkers of his time were far from conceiving the world of postmodernity.

Bachofen's ideas of socially retrograding to an earlier cultural stage suggest that patriarchal standards can be abandoned and societies can readapt to a world of less advancement and fall back to more traditional living. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* analogously describes the difficulties of returning to life without the monstrous machine. Instead, the monster, Frankenstein, romantically winds up destroying his master and creator. Collaterally stands the myth of Pandora and her box. Once Pandora opened the box that contained all the world's evils, she was unable to chase them to put them back

fettered with the unknown. In the same way, to return to communal living, and discard modern law and reason seems unimaginable. Complex division of labor, law, science and rationality, the masculine principle and father right, seem to already rule our civilization, and be far too embedded in our language, religious practices, civil systems, institutions; far too embedded in our culture and ideology. Paraphrasing Jean Baudrillard, it does not seem like in the current age and time we become modern, it appears as if in the current age and time, we are already born so.

According to many contemporary social theorists, we have entered a new cultural stage; one which derives from the patriarchal principle of modernity. It is the world of *postmodernity*. Its prefix *post* means both, after and against modernity (Rosenau 1990). That is, the concept of postmodernism can be understood as a rebellious child of the ultimate patriarchy. Modernity, Adams's analogous dynamo, the father, the gyroscope, gave birth to an heir; and this successor is defiantly against that which is prior. Postmodernism is commonly defined as "rebellion against the grand narratives of the Enlightenment" (Lyotard 1964). "We are in a logic of simulation, which no longer has anything to do with a logic of facts and order of reason" (Baudrillard 1994:16). Facts no longer have a specific trajectory, at least not when each individual is entitled to their own personal truth of discourse. From the material to the spiritual, we have landed in the dimension of the hyperral and "all of society is *irremediably* contaminated by this mirror of madness that is held up to itself" (Baudrillard 1994:13).

The Other-Directed Character

Riesman foreshadowed the postmodern individual with his concept of other-directedness. (Mestrovic 1992). Unlike the tradition-directed or inner-directed character types, who are guided by traditions and the inner psychological gyroscope correspondingly, the other-directed type is directed, precisely by others; including but not limited to, mass media and peer groups. “What is common to all the other-directed people is that their contemporaries are the source of direction for the individual- either those known to him or those with whom he is indirectly acquainted, through friends and through the mass media. This source is of course ‘internalized’ in the sense that dependence on it for guidance in his life is implanted early. The goals toward which the other-directed person strives shift with that guidance: it is only the process of striving itself and the process of paying close attention to the signals from others that remain unaltered throughout life” (Riesman 1965:21). At this cultural stage, people are not only creating and manufacturing commodities, but also marketing products, globalizing ideas, and harvesting social needs that breed consumerism. Therefore the characteristics of producing, inventing and exploring from the inner-directed stage slowly begin to be replaced by “trade, communications, and services” (Riesman 1965:9). As a result, the role of mass media starts to accumulate colossal importance, and with it “there is more and more information, and less and less meaning” (Baudrillard 1994:79). The other-directed, therefore, Riesman describes as an “inside-dopester”, who derives from a realm of consumption rather than production, and is taught to be competent “in the way the school system and the mass media of

communication² have taught him to be competent” (Riesman 1965:181).

The other-directed tends to be “shallower, freer with his money, friendlier, more uncertain of himself and his values, more demanding of approval” especially from surrounding peers (Riesman 1965:19). The other-directed type typically smiles, illustrating the simulated face of happiness. Giving “an autoprophetic smile, like all signs in advertising. Smile and others will smile back. Smile to show how transparent, how candid you are. Smile if you have nothing to say. Most of all, do not hide the fact you have nothing to say nor your total indifference to others. Let this emptiness, this profound indifference shine out spontaneously in your smile. *Give* your emptiness and indifference to others, light up your face with the zero degree of joy and pleasure, smile, smile, smile;” the other directed-smiles (Baudrillard 1988:34). Similarly, “laughter on American television has taken the place of the chorus in Greek tragedy (...) their laughter is put on the screen, integrated into the show. It is the screen that is laughing and having a good time,” to both, alert the audience of when is the right time to show emotion, and to give the individual watching TV alone a group of peers to share their laughter (Baudrillard 1988:49).

The other-directed character type does not conceptualize life as a ritual or a duty, as the tradition-directed or inner-directed did in previous ages. Instead, the other-directed exhibits life as a fun, enjoyable, fantastic and pleasurable experience. Almost

² “For the other-directed types political events are likewise experienced through a screen of words” which is another link to Baudrillard and his description of the postmodern individuals and their relationship to mass communication and information (Riesman 1965:21).

any thing to the other-directed is a unique type of leisure. Working out, going grocery shopping, cooking, sex, watching television, attending a Boys Scout Parent meeting, weekly visits to private therapists and even schoolwork is made an entertaining occurrence; life is a fun place in the other-directed stage.

The relationships held with one's peers are also conceptualized as a fun experience for the other-directed, and as a consequence working well with others is understood as a great accomplishment in this cultural stage. Additionally, to work well with one's peers is a critical characteristic of the development and division of labor for the other-directed character type. That is, in this cultural stage schoolwork and later, professional occupation tasks are often performed in teams in which the individual's ability to work in a friendly and coherent manner is frequently tested. In the tradition-directed cultural period, the matriarchal phase described by Bachofen's studies, the basis of universal freedom and equality gave authentic and spontaneous rise to community living; people worked and lived together because they longed for the fraternity of the group. In contrast, working well with others and 'getting along' are concepts that for the other-directed character type are but simulacra of the clan, and exercises in what Riesman calls "fake sincerity"³ - "not unreal, but a simulacrum, that is to say never exchanged for the real, but exchanged for itself, in an uninterrupted circuit without reference or circumference" of the genuine understanding of friendship, fidelity and kinship (Baurillard 1994:6).

³ "Since all relations in the *Gesellschaft* are based upon comparison of possible and offered services, it is evident that the relations with visible, material matter have preference, and that mere activities and words form the foundation for such relationships only in an unreal way" (Tonnie 1957:78)

“People and friendships are viewed as the greatest of all consumables; the peer-group is itself a main object of consumption, its own main competition in taste” (Riesman 1965:81). For example pets dressed in thematic outfits become friends that one carries everywhere, and rag baby dolls are replaced with plastic Barbie who neither has a mother nor is a mother; she *is* just a peer, and she, as well, has many friends.

To recapitulate, Riesman’s other-directed differs from the tradition-directed and inner-directed in that the major agents of socialization of this character type are neither well-established traditions nor the inner values and integrity embedded by the surrounding adults, correspondingly. Instead, the other-directed allows his or herself to be guided by the paths fashioned primarily by peer groups and more importantly, the mass media which functions as Baudrillard describes, “referendum, perpetual test, circular response, verification of the code” (Baudrillard 1994:75). Consequently trapping the individual’s creativity, allowing just enough room for the production of copies of copies and marginal differentiation.

The other-directed character type desires to be liked, to fit in, and to be approved by their peer group. The other-directed would rather conform and be accepted, than exhibit authenticity and as a consequence become the freak of the group. In an interview conducted by Riesman, a child responded to the question, “Would you like to be able to fly like Superman” with the answer, “I would like to be able to fly *if* everybody else did, but otherwise it would be kind of conspicuous” (Riesman 1965:83). The continuous longing for approval and acceptance from others causes the postmodern individual great anxiety. The other-directed character type lives in terror and constant fear of rejection

from the peer group; therefore the postmodern individual engages in continuous conformity and consumption, resembling radars that carry on in alert, reading the signals of approval or disapproval given by others (Riesman 1965). But these signs “are no longer even signs whose meaning and message one could decipher and appropriate for oneself, they are *tests*, they are the ones that interrogate us” (Baurillard 1994:75). So diffused in anxiety and in hopes to be accepted, the other-directed replicates what is depicted in mass media and the actions portrayed by their peers; and authenticity disappears, only models of other copies are real, and the other-directed world sinks in layers of fake sincerity.

The relationship between media culture and the other-directed character type also gives rise to a “tremendous outpouring of energy (that) is channeled into the ever expanding frontiers of consumption” (Riesman 1965:78). Conspicuous consumption, a term that Riesman borrows from Veblen, is yet another key characteristic of the other-directed identity. The other-directed type is characterized as a consumer who thrives on the reactions of others. It’s not just consumption in the way that Marx would have described it, but the conspicuous part, to be seen consuming. To live is to consume in the eyes of others and as a reflection of the peer group and media pressures: consume commodities and fashion, consume land, consume energy, consume morality, consume politics, consume attention and self-centeredness, consume sex, consume other nations, consume copies of copies, consume ideology. Other-directed children are also consumers; they consume “taste” in the “right” toys and “right” clothes (Riesman 1965:97). They consume opinions from the media and peers as to what are the

acceptable images of family life and “parents no longer feel themselves superior to the children” (Riesman 1965:49).

In tradition-directed societies one sees the children developing stronger relationships and emotional ties mainly with the mother, as society and motherhood synchronically symbolize the earth, passivity, unconditional love, equality and security. In the inner-directed stage, the patriarchal principle demands higher degrees of reason and conditional understanding; therefore children develop characteristics that entail greater level of efficiency, work ethic, and even a threatening view of the father and civilization, both. “Home, school and way stations between may be places for hazing, persecutions, misunderstanding” (Riesman 1965:69). Riesman adds, “no adult intervenes on behalf of the lonely or hazed child to proffer sympathy” in the inner-directed culture (Riesman 1965:70). As a result, inner-directed father-fixated individuals mutually love and fear the machine. The individuals of cultures which are firmly attached to fatherly consciousness social character embrace rationality, law, science and advancement, but simultaneously struggle with feelings of guilt and great insecurities of never being good enough. In line with both Bachofen and Freud, Riesman notes that the typical inner-directed childhood involves Oedipal struggles, and that this is reflected in literature from that era that centers on father-son conflicts. By contrast, the other-directed children, as they are raised by the figures of a TV screen, “manipulate” and control their parents (Riesman 1965:52). As one manipulates a control remote to change the channels, mute, or pause, the functions of an ordinary television.

According to Riesman “as well as from their own peers, children can easily learn what the norm of parental behavior is” even if such conduct is merely a simulation created by radio, television and films (Riesman 1965:50). Thus, the other-directed parent is anxious to behave according to “the norm” and perform as the parental characters crafted by the media, that of course manipulate children and parents, both, to regenerate this cycle. The other-directed society develops classes that teach how to give birth, and books that instruct parents on parenting; notions that in times prior were considered “natural” human functions that did not require formal training.

Another reason to understand the ability for other-directed children to manipulate their parents is that the postmodern child usually grows up in a very small family. The nuclear family of the other-directed culture often entails the child and the parents alone, sometimes a sibling, but many times this is not the case. Additionally, a large portion of other-directed families frequently constitute a combination of caregivers or a single parent, as divorce rates are so high for this specific cultural phase. The role of extended family therefore, is basically less important than in the tradition-directed and inner-directed eras. Because the child is the “baby” and the center of the family nucleus, other-directed children are often habituated to being the center of attention. Children soon realize the vast amount of power they entail, and understand that the other-directed parent “has to win not only his child’s good behavior, but also his child’s good will” (Riesman 1965:53).

Thus, more simulacra enter the game. Other-directed parents and children continue to simulate the role of a good parent, the role of a good child, to see who

deserves what and when. Furthermore parents and children, simulate the role of good parents and that of good children, in order to make one another believe that bad parents and awful children are elsewhere; out in the “real” (Baudrillard 1994). Parents and children duplicate, imitate, and recreate the fictitious parents and children portrayed by the mass media, and they try to recondition and enhance their roles as parents and children; but “it is always a false problem to wish to restore the truth beneath the simulacrum,” so parents and children of the other-directed character type stay trapped in a scary house of mirrors; or so Baudrillard would argue (Baudrillard 1994:27).

That is to say, differentiation between black and white, left and right, sacred and profane, the role of the parent and the role of the child were present in the two previous cultural stages of tradition-directed and inner-directed. However, in the other-directed phase an implosion of meaning occurs; and because “the distinction between these two poles can no longer be maintained, one enters into simulation, and thus into absolute manipulation- not into passivity, but into *the indifferenciation of the active and the passive*” (Baudrillard 1994:31). And as a consequence, the child *manipulates*, and the parent also, *manipulates*. And similarly we fall into the “*indifferenciation of the active and the passive,*” which translates furthermore into the indifferenciation of the masculine and feminine principles (Baudrillard 1994).

It is important to clarify that Baudrillard and Riesman both, believed much like Bachofen, Durkheim and their followers, that individuals, societies, and cultures are the divinities they worship (Bachofen 1967); that society and God are mirrors of each other (Durkheim 1912). The divinities of today, the “god” of postmodernity, seem to be mass

media and the metamorphous “others”. As a result people lose their uniqueness becoming more and more like one another, only marginally different from their peer groups. Baudrillard and Riesman, both, also believed that society at this cultural stage begins to lose meaning and is therefore trapped in a cycle of simulation, or fake sincerity. This cycle in turn, makes the individual vulnerable to manipulation, and similarly, a master of it.

Both of these theorists differ from Bachofen in that neither one of them understood the Hegelian dialectic and synthesis as a component, to social evolution. Baudrillard alleges a total implosion of meaning to which there is no escape. “No more divergence of meaning, no more dialectical polarity, no more negative electricity, implosion of antagonistic poles” will be what is left (Baudrillard 1994:17). Riesman on the contrary, supposes a hopeful liberation that the anxious and depressed other-directed character type can reach through the fake sincerity and achieve autonomy. If the other-directed were to “discover that their own thoughts and their own lives are quite as interesting as other people’s, that, indeed they no more assuage their loneliness in a crowd of peers than one can assuage one’s thirst by drinking sea water, then we might expect them to become more attentive to their own feelings and aspirations” (Riesman 1965:307).

To Baudrillard, “all of society is *irremediably* contaminated” (Baudrillard 1994:13). To Riesman, all of society is redeemable. There is “enormous potentialities for diversity in nature’s bounty and men’s capacity to differentiate their experience can

become valued by the individual himself, so that he will not be tempted and coerced into adjustment or failing adjustment, into anomie” (Riesman 1965:307).

The Consciousness of Postmodernity

The world of postmodernity “is the end of patriarchal domination, but it is not yet a system in which the two sexes meet each other as equals” (Fromm 1994:119).

Although much advancement has been made to generate equality among the sexes, our culture is still very right-handed. The father principle continues to rule many social and cultural customs, and often, gender “equality” translates into the female assimilating and adopting characteristics that are masculine, rather than having the freedom to express femininity without masculine restrictions. It appears as if “the ‘human’ emancipation of woman really meant her emancipation to become a bourgeoisie male” (Fromm 1994:26).

Moreover as civilization reaches postmodernity the matriarchal definition of equality “which knows no barriers or dividing lines and embraces all members of a nation alike” is replaced with a characterization of equality that rather than communicating universality despite all difference, is decoded as sameness (Bachofen 1961:80). That is, being equal is transformed into being the same; only allowing space for the emergence of marginal differentiation. The postmodern society replaces the definition of equality from ancient cultures described by Bachofen’s *Mother Right* with a definition that depicts sameness and simulation. Instead of conceptualizing equality as love, understanding, and acceptance despite of all differences, the other-directed character understands equality as becoming the mirror image of others. Instead of

comprehending equality as “each person is free to develop his or her peculiarity as an individual, as a member of a given sex, as a member of a given nationality” and still receiving the same treatment and same rights, postmodernity appears to understand equality as writing in the same format, purchasing the same products, and choosing the same things; when in reality, “equality does not mean the negation of difference but the possibility for its fullest realization” (Fromm 1994:122).

While in the tradition-directed period Mother Right led cultural development, and during the inner-directed social phase father right conservatism was mainly the ruling ideology; the postmodern culture is not strictly attached to either the motherly or the fatherly consciousness. Instead, the other-directed, postmodern period entails a pastiche of definitions, characterizations, and almost anomic depiction of gender roles, and feminine and masculine principles. These roles are mainly created through mass media, and a fictitious simulation of social character that similarly derives from the media culture. “In this vision, technique assumes the characteristics of the Great Mother, a technical instead of natural one, who nurses her children and pacifies them with a never ceasing lullaby (in the form of radio and television)” (Fromm 1994:87).

Postmodernity, in contrast to ancient and modern times, has a *mass media consciousness*; one that is created by amorphous others. One that is distant to the individual, and understands little of unconditional love or rationality; it does not worship the virgin or the dynamo, but rejoices in the recreation of ideas, sameness, and mass produced objects. As a result, individuals do not grow to feel confident, safe, and accepted as they did in matricentric societies; or develop to be the overachiever

producers, focus goal driven, and moralizers of the patricentric cultures. The lack of ties between the individual and society as a parental role, or rather, the ties between the individual and society as an uncertain parental figure, makes individuals grow uncertain of themselves. Their self-esteem also grows uncertain. They do not feel themselves worthy because they are either unconditionally accepted or because of “their own convictions: ‘This is me, this is my capacity to love, this is my capacity to think and to feel,’ but because they are approved by others, because they can sell themselves, because others say: ‘This is a wonderful man’ or ‘a wonderful woman’” (Fromm 1994:123).

Furthermore, the individuals simulate the behavior that is placed before them in hopes to be liked and accepted by others; liked and accepted by the peer group. The peer group itself seems to assume the function of a mother, albeit, a neurotic, other-directed, and insecure mother. “The need for immediate satisfaction of desires, the passive-receptive attitude which is most clearly indicated in the drug obsession, the need to huddle together and touch each other physically-all seem to indicate a regression to the infant’s tie to mother” (Fromm 1994:88).

Conclusions

Beyond Bachofen’s theory of social evolution, one finds the rise of postmodernity; a culture that rebels against the patriarchal rigidity of the age prior, the inner-directed character type, and attempts to reconcile Dionysian characteristics. The conflict of such approach however, lies in the inability to fully abandon modernity, the comfort and energy found in all the mechanical dynamos from which society gains its

strengths. This co-dependent relationship between society and technological advancements keeps cultures and individuals trapped in cycles of resemblance, simulation, and fake sincerity. As a result, attempts to genuine attachment, love, solidarity, and the achievement of equality beyond differences are greatly hindered. Unlike Tonnie's nostalgia, Bachofen's theory of regression, which is noticeably challenging as it would require cultures to abandon all current social structures, and Baudrillard's hopeless perspectives, Riesman's suggests autonomy as a form of social emancipation and mitigation against anomie.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS: TRYING TO BALANCE THE EXPRESSIVE AND
INSTRUMENTAL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIETY

God created the world with both justice and mercy (Schoenfeld and Mestrovic 1991:367).

In the previous chapters, the influence of Bachofen's work on other social scientists was taken into analysis. Bachofen's *Mother Right* had a great effect on the writings of Carl Jung and his psychological conceptualizations of feminine archetypes, and the notion of the Great Mother, which Jung specifically borrows from Bachofen's terminology. Similarly, Erich Fromm's admiration for Bachofen's discovery and evaluation of the motherly and the fatherly love, along with the works of Sigmund Freud, inspire Fromm's analysis of social character and how this one is developed in relation to emotional ties to either the mother or the father; which gives rise to the understanding of mother-centered and father-centered cultures. Finally, the preceding chapters also show how through Fromm's intimate friendship with David Riesman, the works of Bachofen had a direct effect on Riesman's research, namely, in *The Lonely Crowd*. Riesman's theory of social character of the tradition-directed, inner-directed and other-directed closely resembles the theories of Bachofen's *Mother Right*. That is, Riesman's tradition-directed and inner-directed character type parallel Bachofen's descriptions of the Dionysian and Apollonian cultural stages, correspondingly. And similarly to Bachofen's theoretical prediction of seeing cultures "falling back from Apollonian purity to Dionysian materiality," Riesman's analysis of the other-directed

character type entails a portrayal of the other-directed culture that embraces many of the Dionysian cultural features described by Bachofen (Bachofen 1967:116).

The Dionysian cult “with its sensuality and emphasis on sexual love, it presented a marked affinity to the feminine nature, and its appeal was primarily to women; it was among women that it found its most loyal supporters, its most assiduous servants, and their enthusiasm was the foundations of its power” (Bachofen 1967:101). A culture that clinches to a “religion which based even its higher hopes on the fulfillment of the sexual commandment, which established the closest bond between the beatitude of supersensory existence and the satisfaction of the senses, could not fail, through the erotic tendency it introduced into the life of women” (Bachofen 1967:101-102). A cultural stage that “loosed all fetters, removed all distinctions, and by orienting people’s spirit towards matter and the embellishment of physical existence carried life itself back to the laws of matter” (Bachofen 1967:102). “This sensualization of existence coincides everywhere with the dissolution of political organization and the decline of political life” (Bachofen 1967:102). Similarly, Riesman’s other-directed social character type’s sexuality differs from the inner-directed type in that it “provides a kind of defense against the threat of total apathy. This is one of the reasons why so much excitement is channeled into sex by the other-directed person. He looks to it for reassurance that he is alive” (Riesman 1965:146). “Sexual glamour, to a degree: without the mass production of good-looking, well-groomed youth, the American pattern of sexual competition could not exist” (Riesman 1965:147). So “the other-directed person looks to sex not for

display but for a test of his or her ability to attract, his or her place in the ‘rating-dating’ scale-and beyond that, in other to experience life and love” (Riesman 1965:147).

To summarize, Riesman uses Bachofen’s complete theory by presenting the other-directed type, which follows the inner-directed Apollonian cultural stage, parallel to the Dionysian character, which Bachofen alleged would return after the fall of Apollonian cult. Riesman also adds on a hopeful possible liberation for the other-directed type that can be obtained through achieving autonomy from one’s peers. Riesman defines autonomy, as not only the freedom to choose, but also as the *ability* to choose. “The ‘autonomous’ are those who on the whole are capable of conforming to the behavioral norms of their society-a capacity the anomics⁴ usually lack-but are free to choose whether to conform or not” (Riesman 1965:242). That is, to achieve autonomy, according to Riesman, would entail for the other-directed individual to attain the capacity to decide for himself whether or not he wants to become like others; whether or not he wants to choose the mainstream fashions, trends and ideology, instead of unthinkingly follow the rest of the crowd.

For Bachofen, the Dionysian cult is characterized by: “marked affinity to the feminine nature... enthusiasm was the foundations of its power... loosed all fetters and removed all distinctions.... orienting people’s spirit towards matter and the embellishment of physical existence... this sensualization of existence coincides everywhere with the dissolution of political organization and the decline of political life” (Bachofen 1967:101-102, *passim*). For Riesman, symmetrically, the other-directed is:

⁴ “Anomic is English coinage from Durkheim’s *anomique* (adjective of anomie) meaning rules, ungoverned” (Riesman 1965:242).

friendlier, likes to have fun and be surrounded by peers, depends on marginal differentiation, appreciates good looks and glamorous self-appearance, and in relation to politics, the other-directed individual is an inside-dopester. However, Riesman holds out the possibility that even the other-directed type can achieve balance:

If the other-directed people should discover how much needless work they do, discover that their own thoughts and their own lives are as interesting as other people's, that, indeed, they no more assuage their loneliness in a crowd of peers than one can assuage one's thirst by drinking sea water, then we might expect them to become more attentive to their own feelings and aspirations. This possibility may sound remote, and perhaps it is. But, undoubtedly many currents of change in America escape the notice of the reporters of this best-reported nation on earth (Riesman 1965:307).

The influence of Bachofen on Robert Hertz, disciple of Emile Durkheim, who observed the masculine and feminine principles of collective representations pertaining to right and left, and the sacred and the profane, correspondingly, was also previously introduced. In agreement with Bachofen, Hertz similarly alleged that much ancient evidence shows the feminine aspects of passivity and emotion and the 'left' side to be related; and in the same way the masculine characteristics of activity and reason to have the equivalent relation with the 'right' side. Contrary to Bachofen, Hertz does not focus on the evolution of such dynamics and how the sanctity of the left side from ancient matriarchal cultures later became to be conceptualized as profane; but rather, Hertz concentrates on the duality of such polar- masculine, feminine, right, left, sacred, profane, and the functions these entail on social behavior and collective thought.

Hertz's work was directly influenced by the eminence of Durkheim's ideology, who specifically mentions the works and discovery of Bachofen and his followers in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Durkheim notes, "before the middle of the

nineteenth century, for example, it was generally believed that the father was the essential element of the family; it was not even imaginable that there could be a family organization of which paternal power was not the keystone. Bachofen's discovery toppled that old notion" (Durkheim 1912:6). And while Durkheim takes notice of the importance of Bachofen's anthropological findings, much like other social scientists, Durkheim does not contemplate the progress and development of the feminine and masculine roles under evolutionary rubrics. Instead, Durkheim centers his theory on the functional concordance of the feminine and masculine roles of collective activity. That is, Durkheim's interests focus on the importance of the feminine and masculine aspects of collective representations and how both notions work together to bring balance to society as a whole.

Similarly Talcott Parsons, widely regarded as the greatest sociologist of the twentieth century, and Durkheim's most important interpreter, has little interest in the evolutionary social processes⁵. Instead, Parsons places great emphasis on the preservation of morality and social order of society. With respect to gender roles as well as other components of culture and society, Parsons claims it is vital to maintain a balance between the instrumental as well as the expressive dimensions of society.

⁵ There exist competing interpretations on the extent to which Parsons was open to the ideas of social evolution and social change. Most sociologists interpret his theory as static. For differing interpretations, see Parsons (1966, 1976).

Balance and Social Integration

Durkheim, Hertz and Parsons as a result, deviate from the other thinkers influenced by Bachofen in that their social studies are not linear, but rather focused upon the stability of a particular era. In other words, instead of looking at the past and examining events that may have had causal effects to make cultures evolve into what they currently are, and similarly thinking of the possibilities and social factors which may have an impact on future development; Durkheim, and his followers focus on the social solidarity that results from specific events, collective representations, social action, and institutions.

In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim devotes a complete chapter to the study of *The Individual Totem and The Sexual Totem* in which he examines the relationship of the individual with a particular object or totem, and similarly the relationship between a totem and each “sexual society,” that is, the female and the male groups (Durkheim 1912:167). By examining a number of Australian tribes and their rituals it was found that “among these different peoples, all the men of the tribe, on the one hand, and, on the other, all the women form what amounts to two distinct and even antagonistic societies” (Durkheim 1912:167). Different totems represent each group, one for the males and one for the females. “Without distinction to all individuals of the same sex” the specific totem corresponds to all men or to all women of the clan equally (Durkheim 1912:167). “Among the Kurnai, all the men consider themselves as brothers of the emu-wren (Yeerung), all the women as sisters of the linnet (Djeetgun)” (Durkheim 1912:167). “Each sex sees the animal to which it is

kin as a protector that must be treated with great respect” (Durkheim 1912:167). These totems are consequently symbols of honor and branded representation for both of the sexes. The mere representation of totemism to represent each sex, the females and the males, also communicates that amongst these elementary clans both sexes, despite their difference, strengths and weaknesses, are equally represented.

Whereas the works of Bachofen, and other scholars, have the tendency to focus on the single importance women or men, as an individual sexual group, have to a specific cultural period, Durkheim brings to attention that in a number of primitive Australian tribes, both sexes although poles apart, are uniformly represented. These collective representations go on to show that despite their differences, both sexes are equally effectual to the cohesion of the group. Both sexes have a totem. Both sexes are important. Both sexes have a history. Both sexes equally matter to the ritual inaction, and the culture, the society, and clan.

Because Durkheim assumed that elementary forms of religions “are crude and rudimentary; so there can be no questions of making them out of models of some sort, which the later religions would only have had to reproduced,” he also believed that the religious rituals that functioned effectively in these elementary forms would have survived ancient tradition and as a result be carried over and become common practice of modern times (Durkheim 1912:7). In other words, Durkheim’s objective was to “find a means of discerning the ever-present causes on which the most basic forms of religious thought and practice depend” (Durkheim 1912:7). For this reason, to find sexual totems in primitive Australian tribes that represented and differentiated each sex, the males and

the females, would have endured through time and in practice, and similar performance should still be part of most cultural make-ups.

For instance, as soon as babies are born baby boys are wrapped into blue blankets and baby girls in pink blankets. All babies despite their differences in sex get *a* blanket, which means that all babies receive equal treatment or equal representation, as in the case of the Australian sexual totems. However, each color of blanket has a different significance, blue blankets indicate male babies and pink blankets indicate female babies; once again similar to the concept of tribal totemism, in which the males were represented by Yeerung or bats, and females by Djeetgun or small birds. Equality and distinction between the sexes is also represented in groups such as Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts, fraternities and sororities, school uniforms, many private schools systems, pro sport teams, and for many cultures the places of worship in temples also differs for the men and women, to simply name a few examples.

“In sum, what is truly unique about these totems is that, in a sense, they amount to tribal totems. Indeed, they arise from the fact that people conceive of the whole tribe as being the offspring of a legendary couple” (Durkheim 1912:168). These Australian clans thought of themselves as neither mother-fixated nor father-fixated, not particularly the children of the Virgin nor the dynamo, neither the fruit of Mother Earth nor fictitious postmodernity; but rather as *the offspring of a legendary couple*. The representation of sexual totemism resembles the balanced combination of the two sexes, the embodiment in unity of the male and the female; the solidarity of the sexes.

Parsons in his essay *Sex Roles in the American Kinship System*, similarly to Durkheim, expresses the importance of the different sex roles within the institution of the family, which once emancipated from the immediate kin carry on to affect other aspects of social living and as a consequence have an effect on society as a whole. That is, because the individual's most direct and influential agents of socialization is the family "the psychological significance of his security within the family is heightened," and in order for the individual to be psychologically balanced and feel secure, which will allow him with the opportunities of becoming a more productive and functional member of society, his immediate family foremost, must reflect similar characteristics of psychological *balance* and safety (Parsons 1943:300 emphasis added).

In comparison to Durkheim's sexual totemism, which illustrates the presence of female and male totems, Parsons's theory entails the presence of the "expressive" and "instrumental" dimensions in society (Lackey 1987). The expressive and instrumental dimensions can, and are often understood as social functions that Parsons argues are essential among the sexes to achieve effective family solidarity, which would later induce effective social order and solidarity for society as a whole (Parsons 1943). The expressive function "is that of 'good taste,' in personal appearance, house furnishings, cultural things, like literature and music" (Parsons 1943:303). The expressive aspect is soft, kind and passive, it is emotion. On the other hand, the instrumental function is the means to an end, the thriving goals, the reason, and dominance.

Traditionally, in many cultures the instrumental function of most families is analogous to the 'breadwinner'; and conventionally this familial aspect has been

regarded in greater esteems than the expressive function because it is “ the primary source of family income, but also because it is the most important single basis of the status of the family in the community at large” (Parsons 1943:301). The expressive function is that which feels. The instrumental function is that which works. In essence, one can parallel the Parsonian conceptualizations of the expressive and instrumental dimensions, with the characteristics of matriarchies and patriarchies, correspondingly; or similar to the understanding of motherly and fatherly love, ideal types. The expressive refers to integration and latency (Schoenfeld and Mestrovic 1991) as do Hertz’s left hand, and Riesman’s tradition-directed character type. The instrumental, on the contrary, refers to adaptation and goal attainment (Schoenfeld and Mestrovic 1991), as do Hertz’s right hand, and Riesman’s inner-directed character type.

To reemphasize, the instrumental function or dimension of society refers to adequacy, approval, achievement, conformity, esteem, and accomplishment (Lackey 1987:145). In comparison to the expressive function or dimension of society which pertains to nurturance, appreciation, security, acceptance and satisfaction (Lackey 1987:145).

The most important part of Parsons’ theory was not to identify the expressive and instrumental social functions as such; but rather, the importance of Parsons’s emphasis on these two elements working together. That is, the balance of the expressive and instrumental characteristics as a vital combination for the achievement of psychological health for both men and women, for social solidarity and for the maintenance of social order. Parsons emphasized that the psychological, biological, social, and cultural

dimensions of human life must be integrated. To illustrate with an example, when a child scrapes her knee and she comes crying to the arms of her parents, according to Parsons two things must take place for the parent to achieve a complete success of the parental role and as a result provide psychological security for the child. On the one hand, the parent must take care of the child's injury, clean the scrape, provide the child's knee with a band-aid, and so forth. This is the instrumental function of the parent's behavior. Similarly, Parsons would argue, that the parent must *also* provide the child with words, or actions, of comfort and love. 'Do not worry, this will be just fine' or 'it's okay mom (or dad) is here for you to take care of this scrape,' would be some manifestations of the expressive function. Both, the instrumental and the expressive aspects of the parent's response to the child must be present in the parent's actions to create an environment of peace and safety for the child. In other words, the child needs security and adequacy. "Security is manifested in a child's receiving and giving love and support in social relationships. Adequacy denotes a need to perform" (Lackey 1987:137). Both of these characteristics are equally important.

"It cannot be doubted that a solidary kinship unit has functional significance of the highest order, especially in relation to the socialization of individuals and to the deeper aspects of their psychological security" (Parsons 1943:301). This would imply therefore, that similar to the child-parent relationship, the individual and society share a comparable connection. Much like the child needs a response from the parent that is both instrumental and expressive, so does the individual require from his culture to entail instrumental and expressive qualities. The balance of the feminine and the masculine

aspects, are equally important to the development of a healthy and ordered culture. Houses need doors and windows, but they *also* need curtains and gardens to communicate a sense of completion. In the same way, armies needs soldiers that fight, but armies *also* needs soldiers that establish peace and that win the “hearts and minds” of the vanquished. Schools need to educate the minds, but they *also* need to educate the hearts.

This same notion, of gender dualism, the aspects of the feminine and masculine, expressive and instrumental, are more than well emphasized in both religion and morality. Judeo-Christians believe that God created the world with *both* justice and mercy. “Pure justice is too harsh a requirement and hence must be soften with the equality of mercy, which reflects the quality of care. God as a representation of society and its unity possesses both attributes, and the unity of God consists of the attributes that constitute the unity of mankind, which is the unity of both genders” (Schoenfeld and Mestrovic 1991:367).

The Catholic Church, specifically, not only teaches these same concepts of balance and dualism, but also illustrates these characteristics in a visualized manner. Statues of Mary, and other female saints, embody the concepts of mercy, femininity, and passivity, and illustrates the expressive dimension of the Catholic culture as the saint mother Mary holds a baby near her bosom, holds her hands together in prayer, or extends her arms wide open to her weeping children who beg to her for graces. The statues of dead Jesus similarly communicate an equivalent concept. Jesus hanging from

the cross, and Jesus in the famous Pietas, which literally translates into mercy, express passivity, suffering, and devotion to the ultimate will.

In contrast, the statues of live Jesus usually articulate concepts of direct action. In the statues that Jesus is represented alive he has open arms raising up motioning 'Come and follow,' 'believe,' 'awake,' 'listen,' 'forgive,' all which are direct commands that are concerned with a response and action; all which are instrumental and often times indicate means to justice, conversion, and change. Paintings, sculptures and representations of St. Michael the Archangel, and other saints and martyrs of the Church, also depict the instrumental characteristics of justice as the male saints, and some times women, are depicted holding swords to slay wickedness to create righteousness, defeat sin, and establish a new order.

REFERENCES

- Adams, Henry. 1918. "The Dynamo and The Virgin." in *The Education of Henry Adams*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Bachofen, J.J. [1861] 2006. *Mother Right: An Investigation of the Religious and Juridical Character of Matriarchy in the Ancient World*. Translated by David Partenheimer. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press
- _____. [1967] 1992. *Myth, Religion and Mother Right*. Preface by George Boas, introduction by Joseph Campbell, translated by Ralph Manheim. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press
- Baudrillard, Jean. [1981] 1994. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Translated by Sheila Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press
- _____. [1986] 1988. *America*. Translated by Chris Turner. London: Verso
- Durkheim, Emile. [1893] 1933. *Division of Labor in Society*. Translated by George Simpson. New York: Free Press.
- _____. [1912] 1995. *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Translated by Karen E. Fields. New York: The Free Press
- Engels, Friedrich. [1884] 1978. "The Patriarchal Family." Pp.755-736, 757-758 in *The Origin of Family, Private Property, and State*, edited by Robert C. Tucker. New York: W.W. Norton
- Fromm, Erich. 1970. *Social Character in a Mexican Village*. Eaglewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.
- _____. 1994. *Love, Sexuality and Matriarchy: About Gender*, edited by Rainer Funk. New York: Fromm International Publishing Corporation
- Goodrich, Norma. L. [1989] 1990 *Priestesses*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers
- Hertz, Robert. [1909] 1960. *Death and the Right Hand*. Translated by Rodney and Claudia Needham. Aberdeen Scotland: Cohen and West
- Jung, Carl.G. [1959] 1973. *Four Archetypes*. Translated by R.F.C Hull. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press
- _____. 1982. *Aspects of the Feminine*. Translated by R.F.C Hull. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press
- Lackey, Pat N. 1987. *Invitation to Talcott Parsons' Theory*. Houston: Cap and Gown Press

- Marx, Karl. 1983. *Proletarians and Communists*, edited by Eugene Kamenka. New York: Penguin Group
- Mestrovic, Stjepan.G. 1992. *Durkheim and Postmodern Culture*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter
- _____. 2007. *The Trial of Abu Ghraib*. Boulder Colorado: Paradigm Publishers
- Parsons, Talcott. 1943. "Sex Roles in the American Kinship System". Pp 189-194 in *The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States*. New York: The Free Press
- _____. 1966. *Societal Evolution and Comparative Perspectives*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall
- _____. 1976. *The System of Modern Societies*, Englewood Cliffs. NJ: Prentice-Hall
- _____. 1978. *Action Theory And The Human Condition*. New York: The Free Press
- Riesman, David. [1965] 2001. *The Lonely Crowd*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Schoenfeld, Eugene and Mestrovic, Stjepan G. 1991. "With Justice and Mercy: Instrumental-Masculine and Expressive-Feminine Elements in Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 4:363-380
- Tonnies, F. 1957. *Community and Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*. NJ: Transaction Books
- Weber, Max. [1905] 2003. *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons. New York: Dover Publications, INC.

Supplementary Sources

- Baudrillard, Jean. [1979] 1990. *Seduction*. Translated by Brian Singer. New York: St. Martin's Press
- Condren, Mary. 1989. *The Serpent and The Goddess*. San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers
- Demos, John. P. 1982. *Entertaining Satan*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Freud, Sigmund. [1913] 2005. *Totem and Taboo*. Translated by A.A Brill. New York: Barnes & Noble Books
- _____. 1989. *Future of an Illusion*. Translated by James Strachey. New York: W. W. Norton & Company
- Fromm, Erich. 1955 *The Sane Society*. New York: Rinehart and Co.

- James, William. [1997] 2004. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. New York: Touchstone
- Jung, Carl.G. 1964. *Man and his Symbols*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press
- Mestrovic, Stjepan.G. 1993. *Habits of the Balkan Heart*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press
- Nietzsche, F. 1887. *On the Genealogy of Morality*, edited by Keith Ansell-Pearson. Translated by Carol Diethe. New York: Cambridge University Press
- O'Keefe, D. L. 1982. *Stolen Lighting: The Social Theory of Magic*. New York: Vintage Books
- Tocqueville, Alexis. [1863] 1969. *Democracy in America*, edited by J.P Mayer, translated by George Lawrence. New York: Penguin Books

VITA

Name: Rachel Romero

Address: 311 Academic Building
College Station, TX 77840-4351

Email Address: rachelrome@gmail.com

Education: B.A., Foreign Language, University of North Texas, 2006
B.A., Sociology, University of North Texas, 2006
M.S., Sociology, Texas A&M University, 2008