SHAMANISM

An Encyclopedia of World Beliefs, Practices, and Culture

Mariko Namba Walter and Eva Jane Neumann Fridman, Editors

SHAMANISM

SHAMANISM

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD BELIEFS, PRACTICES, AND CULTURE

Edited by
Mariko Namba Walter
and Eva Jane Neumann Fridman

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, England

COPYRIGHT © 2004 BY
MARIKO NAMBA WALTER AND EVA JANE NEUMANN FRIDMAN

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except for the inclusion of brief quotations in a review, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Shamanism: an encyclopedia of world beliefs, practices, and culture /
edited by Mariko Namba Walter and Eva Jane Neumann Fridman.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1-57607-645-8 (alk. paper) — ISBN 1-57607-646-6 (e-book) 1. Shamanism—
Encyclopedias. I. Walter, Mariko Namba. II. Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann.
GN475.8.S445 2004
201'.44'03—dc22
2004020416

07 06 05 04 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an eBook.
Visit http://www.abc-clio.com for details.
ABC-CLIO, Inc.
130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911
Santa Barbara, California 93116–1911
This book is printed on acid-free paper.
Manufactured in the United States of America

CONTENTS

Foreword, ix

Introduction, xv

Alphabetical List of Entries, xxix

VOLUME 1

GENERAL THEMES IN WORLD SHAMANISM, 1

A

Animal Symbolism (Africa), 3
Animal Symbolism (Americas), 7
Animal Symbolism (Asia), 11
Archaeology of Shamanism, 16
Art and Shamanism, 21

B

Bioenergetic Healing, 29
Buddhism and Shamanism, 30

C

Christianity and Shamanism, 35
Colonialism and Shamanism, 41
Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism, 49
Costume, Shaman, 57
Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans, 61

D

Daoism and Shamanism, 71
Demonic Possession and Exorcism, 74
Divination, 78
Dramatic Performance in Shamanism, 82
Dreams and Visions, 89
Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals, 95
Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure, 101

E

Ecology and Shamanism, 107
Entheogens (Psychedelic Drugs) and Shamanism, 111
Entoptic Images, 117
Ethnocentrism and Shamanism, 119
Extraction, 124

F

Fire and Hearth, 127

G

Gender in Shamanism, 131

H

Healing and Shamanism, 137
History of the Study of Shamanism, 142
Horses, 147
Hypnosis and Shamanism, 149

I

Initiation, 153

M

"Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism, 161
Messianism and Shamanism, 169
Museum Collections, 174
Music in World Shamanism, 179

N
Neuropsychology of Shamanism, 187

O
Offerings and Sacrifice in Shamanism, 197

P
Pilgrimage and Shamanism, 201
Psychology of Shamanism, 204
Psychopathology and Shamanism, 211
Psychopomp, 217

R
Rock Art and Shamanism, 219

S
Soul Retrieval, 225
Spirit Possession, 228
Spirits and Souls, 235
Sufism and Shamanism, 238

T
Tantrism and Shamanism, 243
Trance Dance, 247
Trance, Shamanic, 250
Transformation, 255
Transvestism in Shamanism, 259
Trees, 263

U
Urban Shamanism, 265

V
Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives, 267

W
Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism, 271

NORTH AMERICA, 275
American Indian Medicine Societies, 281
Choctaw Shamanism, 285
Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance, 287
Great Basin Hunters and Gatherers, 292
Greenland Shamanism, 297
Hopi Shamanism, 303
Inuit Shamanism (Central Arctic), 307
Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Shamanism and Secret Societies, 312
Lakota Shamanism, 315
Navajo Shamanism, 318
New Orleans Voudou (North America), 323
North American Oral Traditions and Shamanism, 331
Ojibwa Shamanism, 334
Peyote Ritual Use (Central America and North America), 336
Piman Oral Literature and Shamanism, 339
Pueblo Religion and Spirit Worlds, 346
Yokuts Shamanism (California), 350
Yuman Shamanism (Northern Baja California), 354
Yupik and Inupiaq Masks (Alaska), 358
Yupik Shamanism (Alaska), 362

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, 365
Afro-Brazilian Shamanism, 371
Amazon Funeral Rites and Shamanism (Brazil), 375
Ayahuasca Ritual Use, 378
Central and South American Shamanism, 382
Curanderismo (the Americas), 393
Dark Shamanism (Amazonia), 396
Huichol (Wixárika) Shamanism (Mexico), 399
Kanaimà Shamanism (Amazonia), 406
Latin American Christianity and Shamanism, 409
Latin American Literature and Shamanism, 414
Mapuche Shamanism, 417
Maya Bone Divination, 425
Maya Cosmology, 426
Mayan Shamanism, 431
Otomí (Ñähñu) Indian Shamanism (Mexico), 435
Peruvian Shamans, 439
Quiche and Zuni Divination (Guatemala and New Mexico), 446
Santería (Afro-Cuban Tradition), 449
Tarahumara Shamanism (Mexico), 453
Toba Shamanism (Argentina), 461

EUROPE, 465
"Celtic Shamanism": Pagan Celtic Spirituality, 469
Classical World Shamanism (Ancient Greece and Rome), 478
Fairies and Shamanism, 484
Finno-Ugric Shamanism, 486
Neo-Shamanism in Germany, 496
Nordic Shamanism, 500
Paganism in Europe, 504
Russian Folklore and Shamanism, 509
Russian Shamanism Today, 513
Witchcraft in Russia, 516
Witchcraft in the Modern West, 519

VOLUME 2

EURASIA, 523
Ancient Iranian Religions and Shamanism, 529
Ancient North Asian Shamanism, 532
"Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans, 536
Buryat Shamanism (Mongolia), 539
Darkhad Shamanism (Mongolia), 545
Deer Imagery and Shamanism (Siberia), 547
Evenki Shamanism (Siberia and Manchuria), 551
Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism, 557
Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices, 564
Kazak Shamanism, 569
Khakass Shamanism, 573
Kirghiz Shamanism (West Central Asia), 579
Manchu Shamanism, 582
Mongolian Shamanic Texts, 586
Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature, 593
Oroqen Shamanism (Northeast China), 597
Priestesses of Eurasia, 601
Sakha (Yakut) Shamanism (Northeast Asia), 608
Sibe Shamanism (Manchuria), 615
Siberian Shamanism, 618
Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia, 627
Tajik Shamanism (Central Asia), 629
Teleutian Shamanism (Siberia), 632
Tuvan Shamanism, 637
Uyghur Healers (China), 642
Uzbek Shamanism, 646
Yellow Shamans (Mongolia), 649

KOREA AND JAPAN, 653
Ainu Shamanism (Japan), 657
Cheju-do Island Shamanism (Korea), 666
Japanese Shamanic Music, 670
Japanese Shamanism, 674
Korean Shamanism, 681
Mountain Priests—Shugendō (Japan), 689
Okinawan Shamans and Priestesses, 693
Tsugaru Shamanism (Japan), 700

CHINA AND SINO-ASIA, 705
Chinese Shamanism, Classical, 709
Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary, 713
Nong Shamanism (South China), 722
Qiang Ritual Practices, 725
Spirit Writing in Hong Kong, 729
Spirit Mediumship (Singapore), 732
Taiwanese Shamanic Performance and Dance, 736

SOUTH ASIA, THE HIMALAYAS, AND TIBET, 741
Ancient South Indian Shamanism, 745
Chepang Shamanism (Nepal), 747
Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions, 750
Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles (Himalayas), 756
Manipur Meitei Shamanism (Northeast India), 763
Nepalese Shamans, 766
Priestesses (Mediums) of Sri Lanka, 773
Rai Shamanism (Nepal), 775
South Asian Shamanism, 778
Spirit Possession in Rajasthan (India), 784
Tibetan Shamanism, 790

SOUTHEAST ASIA, 799
Burmese Spirit Lords and Their Mediums, 803
Hmong Shamanism (Thailand, Laos), 806
Indonesian Shamanism, 810
Javanese Shamanism (Indonesia), 815
Malay Shamans and Healers, 818

Murut Shamanism (Borneo), 824
Semai Shamanism (Borneo), 827
Shadow Puppetry and Shamanism (Java), 832
Southeast Asian Shamanism, 834
Taman Shamanism (Borneo), 842
Thai Spirit World and Spirit Mediums, 847

AUSTRALASIA AND OCEANIA, 851
Atayal Shamanism (Taiwan), 857
Australian Aboriginal Shamanism, 860
Dreams and Shamanism (Papua New Guinea), 865
Maori Religion, 869
Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners, 874
Puyuma Shamanism (Taiwan), 880

AFRICA, 885
!Kung Healing, Ritual, and Possession, 891
African Traditional Medicine, 895
Ancestor Worship in Africa, 899
Ancient Egyptian Shamanism, 906
Asante Shamanism (Ghana), 910
Cape Nguni Shamanism (South Africa), 914
Hausa Shamanistic Practices (Nigeria and Niger), 920
Igbo Shamanism (Nigeria), 925
Mami Wata Religion (West Africa), 928
Marabouts and Magic (West Africa), 930
Ndembu Shamanism (Zambia), 934
Swahili Healers and Spirit Cult (East Africa), 938
Twin Cult of the Akan (Ghana), 942
Witchcraft in Africa, 946
Yaka Shamanistic Divination (Southwestern Congo), 951
Zarma Spirit Mediums (Niger), 954
Zulu Shamanism (South Africa), 957

Bibliography, 963
Advisory Board, 1027
Contributors, 1029
Index, 1035
About the Editors, 1061

FOREWORD

When Mircea Eliade wrote his major work on shamanism in 1951, he set himself the goal of reading every existing publication on the subject. He compiled a list of some six hundred items, the largest part consisting of articles in Russian. By the time Eliade recounted this memory in 1985, he reckoned that more than 2,000 book-length studies of shamanism had appeared in the intervening thirty-four years as well as countless scholarly articles in many languages—more than an individual can cover. Eliade's *Shamanism,* still in print today, intensified enthusiasm for the subject by challenging the prevalent view that shamanism was a mental illness. Instead, he interpreted the dramatic trances, ecstatic visions, and extravagant behaviors as signs of a life-transforming spiritual experience with a wide range of profound consequences beneficial to self and society.

Far from sating the appetite for shamanism, the amazing surge of interest in shamanism among pundits and in pop culture over the past two decades has generated greater interest still—a curious fate for a religious expression once deemed archaic, pathological, and approaching oblivion. No longer can one person fully absorb the explosion of ideas about shamanism coming from such distinct fields as, for example, neurobiology, pharmacology, and gender studies.

Shamanism serves, in this respect, as a parable for religious life more broadly in our day. Even as the death knell of religions sounded in the halls of the academy and in other strongholds of secular policy throughout the twentieth century—based on psychological, economic, or sociological theories—religious fervor continued in circles disvalued by scholars or, more remarkably, renewed itself in the face of prevailing efforts at secularization. As with so many aspects of religious life, a mix of intellectual curiosity and spiritual seeking has churned up a sea of information about shamanism and produced a flood of interpretations regarding its practices, experiences, and overall meaning. The study of religion and shamanism has grown apace with the awareness of the vitality of religious life. The subject of shamanism has long called for an encyclopedic treatment, but the subject has proven increasingly daunting due as much to the breadth of its manifestations as to the difficulty of specifying its precise nature.

The great accomplishment of Mariko Walter and Eva Fridman is twofold. They first of all embrace the rich and fascinating complexity of shamanism, assembling in one place the evidence from cultures throughout the world and presenting this rich diversity in arrangements accessible to scholars and general readers alike. In the second place, they include the full range of important perspectives on the topic, inviting the best ethnographic specialists to describe what they know about shamanism from firsthand field studies, as well as asking philosophical writers and religious thinkers to reflect more broadly on the meaning of such behaviors and beliefs. Ingeniously, they have also commissioned creative commentaries on the relationship of shamanic experience to such distinct domains as dreams and drama, art and music, clothing and governance. In this landmark new work, Walter and Fridman take care to address the broad cultural interest in shamanism and,

especially, its connection to healing and the extraordinary spiritual adventures that enlarge the sense of oneself and the world.

Both Walter and Fridman specialize in the study of Central Asia, which holds a special place for the understanding of shamanism. And yet their collaboration for this project began on the other side of the globe, at Harvard University, where both scholars served as fellows at the Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions. As director of the Harvard Center from 1990 to 2003, I saw their first outline for the project and have followed their developing plans. I remain impressed by their open-architecture approach to the subject, an openness that allows them to begin with broad working definitions so as to include within the encyclopedia the full press of conflicting opinions about the nature and significance of shamanism. And I remain impressed as well with their thorough knowledge of the subject, beginning with their linguistic abilities, which lets them work not only in Western European and Central Asian languages but in Russian, Chinese, and Japanese as well. Their complete familiarity with shamanism extends from their own field work to their control of the historical and anthropological literature on the subject. Their unusual capacities and dedication have produced a wonderful work well suited to the new realizations about shamanism. No doubt this encyclopedia will benefit all interested readers and serve as a spark for further exploration of one of humankind's richest spiritual heritages.

Lawrence E. Sullivan
Professor of the History of Religions
The University of Notre Dame
14 September 2004

PREFACE

Shamanism is a living, vital phenomenon, one that interests a wide range of people. Today it is clear that shamanism, as an area of academic study, is a rich and rapidly evolving field. This encyclopedia represents a wide range of perspectives and approaches of over 180 contributors according to their academic specialties. Thus it is not the intent of this encyclopedia to present a homogenized picture, either of the phenomenon of shamanism or of the present state of shamanism as a field of study. The reader will find the story of the development of the field and some of the most pertinent theoretical and historical issues addressed in the Introduction, as well as in related entries.

Shamans are globally distributed and shamanism is an ancient spiritual practice. Thus this encyclopedia covers this most human spiritual endeavor in its worldwide manifestations, with the goal of developing an inclusive and multidimensional picture of shamanism as currently and historically encountered throughout the world. The scope of the entries in these two volumes is broad: the reader will find considerations of the earliest indications of shamanism in rock art, of early historical writings that portray various aspects of shamanistic worship and practice, of later manifestations attested to by European and Russian ethnographers, and of current research in the field all over the world. The reader will be able to see how shamanism has developed and changed over the centuries, allowing shamanic practices to remain significant in present-day cultures. Some of the entries focus on universal aspects of shamanism, but of course shamanism is not one uniform phenomenon over a wide range of time and space; each culture lays its own imprint on the belief system, practices, and outward appearances of its shamanic practitioners. For this reason, in the majority of the entries the focus is on the way shamanism is practiced within a particular culture, and to provide an understanding of the cultural specifics of this phenomenon.

Most basically, shamanism can be defined as a religious belief system in which the shaman is the specialist in knowledge. The shaman knows the spirit world and human soul through "ecstasy," the power of an altered state of consciousness, or trance, which is used to make a connection to the world of the spirits in order to bring about benefits to the community. Mircea Eliade, in his book *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy,* saw the essence of shamanism in the techniques by which the shaman is able to travel into the supernatural world in a state of ecstasy induced by drumming or other means. The broader definition of shamanism adopted for the purposes of this encyclopedia includes not only the kind of ecstatic relationship to the spiritual world involved in such journeys—the kind in which the shaman deliberately goes to meet the spirits and is in control of them or "masters" them—but also the phenomenon of possession, in which the spirits take the initiative, and the shaman is "possessed" by the spirits who then speak through the shaman as a vessel.

The hallmarks of shamanism as a religious phenomenon are most clearly seen, historically and currently, in Siberia, Mongolia, and the Inner Asian geographical area, an area often referred to as Eurasia. As noted by a number of scholars in the field, shamanism as a phenomenon or system of

religious belief is most closely allied with hunting and gathering societies. The human need to exert some control or influence over the natural world on which subsistence depended provided the impulse for the development of the concepts and practices of shamanism. The cosmology of hunters and gatherers included deities who could influence weather and the harvesting of flora and particularly fauna; the shaman was a member of the community who had special abilities to influence the deities responsible for the well-being of the group. Only the shaman, in a state of trance, was able to offer the appropriate prayers and entreaties to the deities, so that the deity, as master of the animals, would feel honored and let more animals be caught, or, in later pastoral societies, so that the deities in control of the weather would make it auspicious for the growth of grain or grass in order to feed the flocks. In other words, in a society in which human beings were dependent on natural forces for their sustenance, it was important to continually interact with the natural world, a world seen as driven by spiritual forces, so that these forces would act in a benevolent manner toward human beings.

Thus shamanism in what is generally considered its most classical form was based on a particular cosmology and belief system, one in which the community depended on the shaman, a person with exceptional powers and abilities, to communicate while in trance with spirits and deities for the benefit of the community. Even in Siberia and Inner Asia, this classical form did not last; hunters and gatherers became pastoral nomads or, due to political pressures, settled in villages and towns. In Russia, for example, the emphasis in the previous century and currently is on the shaman as healer of the soul and body of individuals, as well as healer of the community at large in the performance of rituals for the general well-being.

Although many scholars believe that shamanism is an ancient and universal belief system held by hunting and gathering peoples, there is only limited evidence of its most ancient aspects. This encyclopedia includes several entries on those ancient practices of shamanism based on evidence from archaeology and historical documentation. Most of the historical information on shamanism dates back to practices and practitioners who were observed and studied in the nineteenth century as missionaries, explorers, and finally anthropologists began to take note of religious practices of indigenous peoples, practices that up to that time had received scant Western attention. Therefore, many of the entries reflect shamanism as it was practiced at the beginning of the twentieth century; contributors often also describe the current state of shamanism in these cultural groups. A number of essays (included under "General Themes in World Shamanism") deal with new constructions of shamanism.

The organizational principles of the encyclopedia are covered in more detail in the last section of the Introduction, but some preliminary account may be given here. Because one important purpose of this work is to provide a cross-cultural view of shamanism in its universal as well as its particular and local aspects, the encyclopedia has two parts. The general entries, found under the title "General Themes in World Shamanism" in volume 1, offer information on broader aspects of shamanism; the rest of the encyclopedia consists of regional entries, which examine shamanism within a particular cultural group or region, providing an in-depth understanding of the particular and local manifestations of shamanism. The criteria for selection of topics were developed in consultation with scholars of shamanism from all over the world.

The regional entries are grouped into ten sections on a geographical basis: North America; Central and South America; Europe; Eurasia; Korea and Japan; China and Sino-Asia; South Asia, the Himalayas, and Tibet; Southeast Asia; Australasia and Oceania; and Africa. Within each of these regions, there are certain cultural commonalities in the concepts and practices of shamanism. Consequently, this geographical approach provides a broader and more comprehensive view of these particular shamanic complexes, reflected in the regional overview with which each section begins. The relation of shamanic belief systems and practices to their particular geographic and cultural locales can be seen in the specific rituals and prayers used, and in the way shamans interact with their communities. Since shamanism is community-based, shamans receive their sanction, and any temporal powers they may possess, from their communities. Shamans are therefore closely interwoven in community life, even though they also stand outside it as spiritual specialists. In the

entries in the regional section, the specific beliefs and practices of the shamans treated have accordingly been discussed within their geographical, historical, and cultural context.

The reader will notice that there has been no attempt to provide the same number of entries in each region. Thus, for example, the region of Eurasia has the largest number of entries; as the area generally considered the core of shamanism, it has received the most attention from scholars in the field. These entries offer a detailed view of classical aspects of shamanism, as well as current adaptations in the post-Soviet world. Even in Eurasia, however, there are many cultural groups that are not represented. Considerations of inclusion were based not only on size constraints and the need for some degree of balance with all other regions, but also on the principle of selecting the most representative and important shamanic complexes. Some were excluded simply because they were so similar to others that were included, and hence it was thought that the material would be too repetitive. At the same time, in some cultures such interesting work has been done on specific aspects of shamanism, such as masks or music, that separate entries have been included on those aspects. In the other regions, such as Europe, shamanic complexes are far more limited and scarce, and hence fewer entries are included.

The largest number of entries fall under the title "General Themes in World Shamanism." This large grouping includes many important aspects of shamanism that can usefully be studied across cultures, not only as part of a specific cultural complex. For instance, there are entries such as "Bioenergetic Healing," "Divination," "Healing and Shamanism," "Soul Retrieval," and "Transformation," to name a few examples. Thus "General Themes in World Shamanism" provides a more inclusive, less regional view of shamanism, not only to allow the reader to look at the phenomena cross-culturally, but also to make possible an understanding of the more universal nature of certain practices and beliefs. The general entries may also fill in gaps with respect to particular cultural aspects that may not have been discussed in some of the culture-specific entries. Where subtopics such as costume, music, literature, dance, or specific types of healers have not been treated for some cultures, some of these absences may be compensated for, when scholarly research is available, in the "General Themes in World Shamanism" section.

We have made every effort to be as inclusive, complete, and up-to-date as possible within the confines of a two-volume encyclopedia. Shamanism is, however, an evolving and rapidly changing phenomenon, most obviously in areas where religion was repressed in recent historical memory, though not only there. At the same time that new forms of shamanism have emerged, new research on historical complexes has become possible, as documentation becomes accessible in less repressive times, and so understanding of earlier and contemporary forms of shamanism has increased. There are many new scholars working in all areas. This encyclopedia provides an introduction to a dynamic field, in which relevant new material allows constant revision of our present knowledge.

This encyclopedia is intended for the general reader as well as for the scholarly community. It is intended to be useful for a range of readers, from the high school student who has an interest in exploring these questions, to college and graduate school students and scholars in other fields who want to understand and explore this topic. Bibliographic references at the end of each entry are designed to lead the reader into further research, and cross references to other relevant subjects accompany each entry. An alphabetical list of entries, found on page xxix, will assist the reader in locating cross-referenced topics.

Eva Jane Neumann Fridman

INTRODUCTION

The richness of the field of study called *shamanism* is obvious in many ways. Researchers in the field come from areas as diverse as history, anthropology, psychology, religious studies, sociology, medicine, and art. The phenomena studied are equally diverse. The use of the term *shamanism* might give the false impression that the phenomenon so labeled is a single fixed religious system, which exists in various societies in the world. In reality the term *shamanism* covers a number of beliefs and rituals, which are continuously changing and evolving as new historical and religious situations arise in different societies. It can be argued that it would be more appropriate to speak of *shamanisms,* related dynamic religious processes, but at least the term is usually written with a small initial *s,* rather than a capital *S,* as would be the case if it were the name of a specific religion.

In the Preface, a broad working definition of shamanism is given; it is defined as a religious belief system in which the shaman is a specialist in the knowledge required to make a connection to the world of the spirits in order to bring about benefits for the other members of the community. Later in this Introduction, the controversies associated with the definition of shamanism will be handled in more detail, but those controversies will be more meaningful in the context of a historical perspective on the way the West has come to know shamanism.

A Historical Perspective

Ancient Societies and Shamanism

Many scholars have seen evidences of shamanistic elements in prehistoric and ancient societies; among the societies covered in this encyclopedia are ancient Egypt, Iran, North Asia, and South India, as well as the Celtic world and pagan Europe as a whole. Any discussion of shamanism in prehistoric and ancient societies must rely to a great extent on archaeology, and here as in so many areas of study related to shamanism there is great controversy. David Whitley's entry on "Archaeology and Shamanism" introduces the work that has been done in this controversial area, stimulated by the idea that shamanism may well be the oldest religion of hunter-gatherers. He discusses the three types of evidence used by those who work in the field, namely data on hallucinogenic plants in the archaeological record, evidence derived from a study of the iconography and symbolism of ancient rock art, and evidence based on other types of ritual or ceremonial remains.

The work done on the symbolism associated with rock art in Eurasia, the Americas, and southern Africa has certainly created heated debate between the archeologists who promote the idea that Paleolithic rock art provides the first evidence of shamanism in art and those who oppose such a notion. J. David Lewis-Williams and Tomas Dowson (1988), as well as others, see in this ancient art what they call "entoptic images" (on which Lewis-Williams has written an entry for this encyclopedia), which are derived from the human nervous system, as it functions during certain altered

states of consciousness. This neuropsychological model has been applied to various imagery, ranging from northwest European tomb art to Australian rock art.

On the other side, scholars such as Alice Kehoe (2000), Roberte Hamayon (2001), and Paul Bahn (2001) have criticized such approaches as unsatisfactory for understanding prehistoric rock art. As for the field as a whole, Whitley admits that archaeological studies of religion in general are relatively new and that this is still a somewhat underdeveloped field. Esther Jacobson's entry, "Ancient North Asian Shamanism," is also written from a critical point of view; she objects to any free subjective interpretation of rock art images such as great moose, elk, or so-called "bird-women" as shamanistic. She believes those images refer to cults of fertility and rebirth earlier than and unrelated to shamanism.

Other attempts to show shamanistic features of early religions extend to pagan Europe. Michael Strmiska's entry, "Paganism in Europe," discusses the efforts scholars have made to reconstruct the pagan religions of pre-Christian Europe, which display shamanistic elements of great interest. One specific area that has gotten a good bit of scholarly attention has been the Celtic world, discussed by Tina Fields in the entry "'Celtic Shamanism': Pagan Celtic Spirituality." Fields finds in Greco-Roman sources and early Celtic literature (folk songs, fairy tales, and the like) ample evidence of shamanistic elements in Celtic religion; there are descriptions of practitioners and patterns of magical initiation, as well as of experiences of deep mystical inspiration and understanding.

Thus, archaeologists and religious historians as well as folklorists have used the available data to reconstruct early religions and to find shamanistic elements in ancient societies. Such reconstructions inevitably depend to a great extent on each scholar's interpretations, an approach apt to trigger the criticism of some anthropologists and others who would like to stick to a "scientific" approach to the study of shamanism, or to adhere only to culture-specific evidence that can be supported by ethnographic research.

The First Encounter: Reports of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century

In looking at shamanism from a historical perspective, we have first considered the evidence that can be gleaned of shamanistic elements in ancient and prehistoric cultures. Yet the more direct accounts of contact with shamans in "primitive" cultures can be found in the reports of Europeans who actually traveled to the remote regions for their own personal reasons. Jeremy Narby and Francis Huxley (2001) have compiled these Western accounts, the earliest of which date from the sixteenth century, in their recent book, *Shamans through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge.* According to them, the first such reports is given in the accounts of the Spanish navigator-historian, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, published in 1535. He observed that some old men among the inhabitants of Hispaniola (the island currently comprising Haiti and the Dominican Republic) used tobacco in order to communicate with spirits and worship the Devil (Narby and Huxley 2001, 11–12). The French priest André Thévet similarly reported in 1557 that the natives in Brazil invoked the evil spirit in certain ceremonies. Yet Thévet's report was not completely negative; according to him, these shamans also provided answers to community problems and learned "the most secrete things of nature" (15).

In the seventeenth century, when Russians started colonizing Siberia, the Russian priest Avvakum Petrovich became one of the first observers to use the word *shaman* in print, in his autobiography published in 1672. He told of finding Siberian shamans who claimed to communicate with spirits and who put on trickster performances such as pretending to stab themselves with knives. He called the shaman "villain of a magician" (18). Denis Diderot (1765), a French writer-philosopher who was one of the editors of that great work of the Enlightenment, the *Encyclopédie,* defined Siberian shamans as "imposters," who function as priests, jugglers, sorcerers, and doctors who claim to have an influence on the devil. According to Diderot, shamans "perform tricks that seem supernatural to an ignorant and superstitious people" (32). He described them in their role as jugglers as making "a pact with the genies" while drumming, screaming, yelling, singing, and smoking. These shaman figures "persuade the majority of people that they have ecstatic transports," but these transports are really trickery (34).

A French Jesuit missionary, Joseph Lafitau (1724), reported two types of shamans among the Iroquois and Hurons in Canada: Evil shamans who consorted with the devil to harm people, and "jugglers," or "diviners," who communicated with the spirits for the good of the community. He acknowledged that shamans were not just preoccupied with magic and trickery, but also explained dreams and exposed "the secret desire of the soul" (24). Thus he can be seen, as Narby and Huxley noted, as an authentically enlightened precursor of modern anthropology because he admitted that there was something more to shamans' practices than just trickery.

According to Gloria Flaherty, in her *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century,* the shaman during this early period was being described with the word *giocolare* in Italian, *jongleur* in French, *Gaukler* in German, and *wizard* in English (Flaherty 1992, 6). Before the end of the eighteenth century, however, the Siberian Tungus word *shaman* became the common term in the West (7).

The intellectuals of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment held to a scientific methodology based on objectivity and rationality, yet, as Flaherty noted, an interest in irrationalism, supernaturalism, and romanticism coexisted with the prevalent humanism and scientific determinism. The second half of the eighteenth century was marked by academic expeditions, undertaken in the attempt to understand shamanism through scientific observation in the field and the collection of native drugs for the analysis of data (67).

Among the scholars and explorers who led expeditions to Siberia were several notable European scholars. One of these scholars was Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685–1735), commissioned by Peter the Great, who learned about indigenous illnesses, especially epidemics. Like many other Western observers, he regarded shamanism as "nothing but lies and trickery and saw no scientific value in it whatsoever," and his report clearly indicated his position as a Eurocentric European scientist (Flaherty 1992, 48). Similarly the Russian botanist Stepan Krasheninnikov, who obtained and analyzed the substances various shamans used to induce ecstasy in Kamchatka, in a report published in 1755 called shamans "absurd" and "ridiculous" (Narby and Huxley 2001, 36).

Some later Enlightenment scholars showed more understanding of shamanism. The German critic, theologian, and philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder, in a work published in 1785, made clear that he regarded shamans as imposters, but he also stressed that imaginary representations among tribal people, who were misunderstood in the past, should be considered valuable. He explained that an understanding of the nature of imagination is important for understanding shamanism, since this phenomenon involves myriad relationships between mind and body, which depend on the workings of the brain and nerves, as human illnesses demonstrate (Narby and Huxley 2001, 37).

Scholars of many different disciplines in the eighteenth century were fascinated by shamanism. Whether they were philosophers, missionaries, writers, archaeologists, physicians, botanists or ethnographers, these observers from different backgrounds in the West reported their perceptions of shamanism, despite their limited understandings of the religion and culture of the peoples they observed. This trend toward broad interest in shamanism continued into the nineteenth and twentieth century, and the framework for discussion about shamanism widened as shifts in methodology occurred. One of the major shifts was that both anthropologists and psychologists in Europe and America entered with full force into the study of shamanism.

Pioneers of Cultural Ethnography

In the early twentieth century, Franz Boas (1858–1942), often described as the father of American anthropology, created the foundation for a holistic approach to the studies of different cultures based on ethnographic documentation. In his approach to anthropology, he stressed the need for understanding a particular culture through many disciplines, such as archaeology, psychology, geography, biology, linguistics, and mythology. He believed that an ethnography that made use of all these perspectives would provide a more objective and comprehensive understanding of shamanism, since shamanism, like any cultural phenomenon, is the product of a cultural system as an integrated whole.

Boas studied the indigenous peoples of the Canadian and American northwest coast, such as the Alaskan Inuit and Siberian ethnic groups. In his expedition to the North Pacific (1897–1902), Waldemar Bogoras and Waldemar Jochelson accompanied Boas and reported on the shamanic practices of Arctic peoples. Their findings indicated that these shamans were of the "psychopathic" type, who performed a specialized function in tribal society (Grim 1983, 17). They also observed that this Arctic shamanism was based on archaic religious experience, the practice of which had indeed originated in North Asia. In other words, Boas and his students took a diffusionist view of cultural phenomena: Shamanism passes from one culture to another and changes its forms, functions, and meanings. In other research on Native American societies in the first half of the twentieth century, Robert Lowie in his study of the Crow Indians advanced the theory that shamanism is one of the significant facets of "primordial" religion, and Paul Radin described the "psychopathic" condition of the shamans of the eastern Woodland tribes, especially Siouan Winnebago (Grim 1983, 18).

Whatever the limitations of their approach, the significant point is that these early twentieth-century researchers were the first anthropologists who seriously studied the religious phenomena of tribal societies in North America, despite the inappropriateness of the terminology they used (such as "primordial," "primitive," or "psychopathic"). Following Boas's example, Knud Rasmussen also studied shamans and shamanic rituals among the Inuit of Greenland and Alaska in the 1920s and 1940s, and his work provides useful historical data for Inuit shamans at that time. Following the American anthropological tradition initiated by Boas, most of the entries in this encyclopedia are written based on ethnographic studies from the authors' own fieldwork and other relevant empirical materials, which have been analyzed and interpreted from the perspectives of the respective cultural traditions.

Russian Studies of Shamanism

The development of Russian studies of shamanism followed quite different paths from the work in America, although both considered ethnographic and empirical data as centrally important. As Siberia started to be intensively colonized by the Russians, starting in the seventeenth century, shamanism in the region was suppressed by the Christian missionaries as part of the process of colonial Russification. During the Soviet era (at least from the 1920s to the 1970s), shamans were severely persecuted directly by the government, through social isolation, purges, and extermination policies. This persecution was based on the cultural evolutionary theories of Marx and Engels, who viewed shamanism, like any forms of religion, as superstition and destined to end in alienation from the common good. Being treated as class enemies, thousands of shamans were arrested and deported from their homes, often dying in gulags, with a subsequent loss in the rich oral tradition of Siberian shamanism (Glavatskaya 2001, 245).

In such a political climate, Soviet scholars of shamanism described shamans in rather negative terms, as hypnotizers of susceptible believers, for example, or malicious deceivers, or rich exploiters of their people (Balzer 1997, xiv). In Soviet museums, Marjorie Balzer, an American scholar, noted that shaman figures with insane and frightening appearances had been made and displayed in public as evil religious figures. Another limitation of Soviet scholarship, noted by Åke Hultkrantz, was that their studies contained very few references to sources published outside the former Soviet Union (probably due to lack of access to this research); hence much Russian scholarly work gives the impression that shamanism only existed in the Soviet area, with some extension to Lapland and northern Alaska and Canada (Hultkrantz 1993, 4). Nevertheless, Soviet researchers did record and gather ethnographic materials as historical data or for the purpose of comparative cultural studies. These numerous data were catalogued and kept in the Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) Museum and other museums, though without much analysis. Yet Vilmos Diószegi, a notable Hungarian scholar on Siberian Tungus shamanism, realized the urgency of keeping the records of disappearing religions and used the vital data for his interpretive studies for shamanism in North Asia (Grim 1983, 22).

In this encyclopedia, many entries have benefited from extensive Russian ethnographic records for their analysis of shamanistic practices in North Asia. Elena Boikova's entry, for example, "Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism," is largely based on Russian archives of the nineteenth century.

By the end of the twentieth century, Russian scholars were taking shamanic practice seriously, and many indigenous scholars had also started to study their own traditions in order to seek their own shamanic heritage. This drastic change in attitudes toward shamans and shamanism in Siberia and Central Asia was, as Balzer has explained, the result of wider societal changes that made all religious faith valid again after many years of repression (Balzer 1997, xiv). Especially in the past couple of decades, as in the West, multiple approaches to shamanism have been welcomed; linguists, ethnographers, folklorists, and historians have all contributed to the study of shamanism in Russia and the independent nations of the former Soviet Union. This trend is evident in the many entries under Eurasia in this encyclopedia. These entries make clear that Eurasian shamans in the past provided healing, psychotherapy, and socioreligious leadership for their communities, as well as entertaining ritual performances.

Eliade and Phenomenological Approaches to Shamanism

Mircea Eliade is one of the most influential figures in academic studies of shamanism. The extent of his influence can be seen simply in the number of contributors to this encyclopedia who have included his prominent work, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy,* in the references for their entries. Yet Eliade was not an anthropologist and did not base his research on his own fieldwork; rather, as a historian of religion, he was concerned with comprehending the religious meaning of shamanism. Using his language skills, he was able to utilize a variety of sources from many different European languages regarding shamanism that were available as of 1951 (the year of the first publication of his classic work in French). Eliade's contribution was to provide insight into shamanism as an ecstatic technique used to contact the world of spirits.

His methodology is a hermeneutical study of religious phenomena based on an interpretation of the data in a larger cultural context. Following Rudolf Otto, the renowned scholar of phenomenology of religion, Eliade related the religious experience to the divine, or the sacred, which has a profound effect on life. For Eliade, ethnography is the interpretation of cultures, but not a system of scientific laws to be discovered. The sacred is accessible only through an interpretative, or hermeneutical, technique, which involves the discernment of meanings.

This hermeneutic approach to shamanism or any religion is something that Alice Kehoe, to take one example of an anthropologist committed to fieldwork, considers too romantic and confusing. Kehoe has criticized Eliade for "collecting second-hand data to picture and project ancient religion" and for undermining "the dirty fieldwork of more menial producers of data" (Kehoe 2000, 1). Contesting such criticism, Hultkrantz has argued that anthropology might not provide an appropriate tool for theorizing shamanism, since the goals of anthropology are to understand historically situated and culturally mediated social practice (Hultkrantz 1993, 309). Hultkrantz argued that a phenomenological approach is more appropriate to shamanism, given its articulation of the human experience of the supernatural world and its power.

The academic debate between the anthropologists who emphasize empirical data and the religious scholars of phenomenology still goes on. In practice, most of the entries here are based on interpretative analysis of available empirical data or ethnographies and do not present any serious theoretical dilemma explicitly, but an awareness of the variety of theoretical assumptions in the field should help the reader see each entry in context. Whatever shortcomings Eliade's book on shamanism has in terms of the use of particular data, grouping criteria, and the evaluation of sources, Eliade has inspired numerous anthropologists and religious writers, including many of the editors who worked on the various regions and the writers of the entries, and it remains as one of the most pivotal books on shamanism from a hermeneutical perspective.

Other Theoretical Issues

Perhaps the main issue shared by almost all the authors of entries in this encyclopedia focuses on the definition of the term *shamanism,* although many of the entries do not explicitly mention this issue. How to define shamanism has been one of the main problems for researchers in the field from the very beginning of the study of shamanism in association with the study of magic, animism, and "primitive" religion. The first and arguably most basic question was whether shamanism was simply a form of magic or whether it could be considered a religion. This theoretical question is addressed here as a background for the complex definition issues regarding shamanism.

Is Shamanism a Religion? The Magic vs. Religion Debate

Already in the nineteenth century, scholars of shamanism were concerned with the question of whether shamanism is magic or a religion. As discussed earlier, some researchers consider ancient shamanism as the original form of human religion, or at least an early form of religion. Anthropologists and sociologists looked at small-scale societies to understand the evolutionary development of religious phenomena. For example, Edward Tylor (1871) regarded shamanism (which he called animism) as the earliest form of religion, since it involves a belief that inanimate objects have souls (Langdon 1989, 54). For some, shamanism is the substratum beneath all the world's religions, and "shamanism is understood not only in its culture-specific manifestations but also cross-culturally, comparatively, as a near-universal phenomenon" (Furst 1994, 4). Peter Furst also made the point that shamanism and shamans coexist with other forms of religious belief, rituals, and professional priests.

The German anthropologist Wilhelm Schmidt (1931), holding an evolutionary view of religion, considered that shamanism was a primitive religion that (at least in "advanced" civilizations) eventually evolved to a higher monotheistic religion. Similarly James Frazer (1854–1941) believed that shamanistic magic was an early and false form of science and had to be replaced by a "higher" science. Social functionalists Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) and Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) saw magic as immoral and antisocial, in contrast with religion, which creates social cohesiveness and solidarity within a community. These functionalists considered the magic practiced in shamanism a private act for mainly evil individual goals, and ignored the significant positive role of the shamans in contributing good will and spiritual strength to their communities.

Such views on magic and religion are generally considered as biased, reflecting a narrow Judeo-Christian perspective. Other scholars writing in the early twentieth century, such as Bronislaw Malinowski, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, and Evans Pritchard, presented a more positive side of magic. For example, Radcliffe-Brown observed that African witchcraft actually enforced socially accepted behavior and concluded that magic aimed at social control and maintenance of social values. Pritchard stressed that magic is a part of religion, as magic is involved with highly cognitive aspects of human consideration. In early studies shamanism was often equated with magic in a pejorative sense, but these twentieth-century anthropologists preferred to see almost no gap between magic and religion in social as well as cognitive (psychological) functions. R. R. Marett summarized this position and concluded that any distinction between religion and magic is an illusion due to ethnocentric projection and historical distortion (Versnel 1990, 180).

Hultkrantz saw the issue slightly differently, calling shamanism a religio-magical cultural complex: that is, magic with an ingredient of established religion, though without a priesthood. He considered shamanism as a "religious configuration (a mythico-ritual)" instead of a genuine religion (Bäckman and Hultkrantz 1978, 10–11). He stressed that the key word is "supernatural," which defines any religious phenomenon, including shamanism, referring as it does to "extraordinary," "other transcendental reality" or as Durkheim put it, "the world of the mysteries" (Hultkrantz 1983, 237). Thus Hultkrantz investigated the more religious components of shamanism, stressing the shaman's ability to perform magic and to communicate with the supernatural world of spirits while in a state of trance or altered consciousness.

The Problem of the Definition of Shamanism

After several centuries of debate, Western anthropologists, sociologists, and religious scholars have generally agreed that shamanism is in some sense a religious phenomenon. Yet it is not at all clear exactly what kind of religious phenomenon shamanism is. Some claim that the term *shamanism* has been used so indiscriminately that it has lost its meaning. Certainly the use of the term raises questions. Are all magicians, or all medicine men, for example, shamans? What quality makes some religious practitioners shamans? Surely some kind of precise definition is needed as a basis in order to treat shamanism in academic discourse. On the other hand, a strong case has been made by contemporary thinkers that there is no such thing as a perfect or complete definition of the term. In fact, Versnel claims that any definition is provisional or experiential and it needs continuous readjustment and reworking (Versnel 1990, 186). From this point of view, a good definition is an open definition, without absolute or exclusive implications. The term *shamanism* is only a convenient label, which helps us, as Evans-Pritchard said, to "sort out facts which are different or in some respect different. If the labels do not prove helpful we can discard them" (Evans-Pritchard 1937, 11).

Nevertheless, it is natural to ask whether the origin of this particular label can shed any light on its meaning. The term *shaman* was used by Dutch diplomats E. Ysbrant Ides and Adam Brand, who accompanied a Russian embassy sent by Peter the Great to China during 1692–1695, as explained in the entry "History of the Study of Shamanism" in this encyclopedia. Ysbrant Ide's published accounts of the Tungus shamans, followed by several European writers, used the word *shaman.* In 1875, the word *shaman* was included in an article for the Encyclopedia Britannica by A. H. Sayce (Grim 1983, 15). The origin of the word has been debated by philologists and ethnolinguists; the current scholarly consensus seems to be that the word is of Tungus origin, though its root meaning in that language is still debated. Some have argued that the ultimate derivation is from the Sanskrit or Pali word for a Buddhist monk, and since Buddhist monks were often considered to have magical powers, this Indian origin of the word is a possibility. Whatever the origin of the word *shaman*, however, it seems clear that there is no single indigenous term that covers all the various magico-religious activities that Westerners have called *shamanism.* A reasonable conclusion is that *shamanism* has been created and developed as a heuristic term in the West, which helps researchers to identify phenomena that are linked by a complicated network of similarities and common qualities.

Not all researchers accept this perspective, of course. There are at least two major trends among the researchers on shamanism. Those who define the term *shamanism* very broadly, as referring to many different phenomena related to ecstatic behavior, are the first category. These researchers are likely to accept shamanism as both an ancient and a universal phenomenon. For example, Ioan Lewis belongs to the first category, since he includes spirit possession, witchcraft, and cannibalism under shamanism. According to Lewis, "a shaman is an inspired prophet and healer, a charismatic religious figure, with the power to control the spirits, usually by incarnating them. If spirits speak through him, he is also likely to have the capacity to engage in mystical flight and other 'out-of-body experiences'" (Lewis 1984, 9). Lawrence Krader saw shamanistic elements in all religions, such as the role of ecstatic charismatic leaders in Buddhism and Judaism, and in various cults and sects (Krader 1956, 282–292). Joan Halifax narrowed the definition somewhat by including in her definition of shamanism various features such as an initiatory crisis; a vision quest, an ordeal, or an experience of dismemberment and regeneration; the sacred tree or *axis mundi* and the spirit flight associated with it; and the role of the shaman as a healer, in addition to the ability to enter shamanic trance (Halifax 1991; Bowie 2000, 193). Geographically, Halifax included under shamanism practices in the Arctic regions, as well as Australia, Africa, Borneo, and South America and Mesoamerica.

Piers Vitebsky also belongs to the above category of the broad definer; he stressed that "shamanic motifs, themes and character appear throughout human history, religion and psychology" (Vitebsky 1995, 6). According to him, though shamanism is not a single, unified religion, it is "a cross-cultural form of religious sensibility and practice." He has argued that shamanism is not

limited to northern Eurasia and the Americas, but can be found in Africa, New Guinea, and pre-Christian Europe (Vitebsky 1995, 50–51).

Other researchers prefer a more narrow and restricted definition of shamanism, and they are critical of the broad approach. They tend to confine the term to the specific cultural features and worldview characteristic of the Siberian-Arctic complex (Bowie 2000, 194). Alice Kehoe in her recent book, *Shamans and Religion,* took on the holders of the broad view, stating that "The time is ripe for a sensible, serious overview of anthropological uses of the term and concept 'shaman'." She claimed that Eliade, in initiating such a loose use of the term *shaman,* placed shamanism within the broad range of "initiatory rites and mystical experiences of certain primitive and oriental peoples" (Eliade 1981, 116–117; Kehoe 2000, 1). She also rejected the idea of ancient contact between Siberia and Northwestern America, and argued that similarities between American Indian religious practices and Siberian practices were due to the mixing of peoples in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century brought about by the Russian fur trade (Kehoe 2000, 48). She also rejected the notion that shamans' rituals and beliefs are remnants of a primordial Paleolithic religion. Accordingly, she warned that applying the generic word *shaman* is an oversimplification, arguing that "It is confusing and misleading to use a simple blanket word, lifted from an unfamiliar Asian language, for a variety of culturally recognized distinct practices and practitioners" (Kehoe 2000, 53). Thus Kehoe criticized Eliade's approach from the perspective of the anthropological tradition created by Boas and others who stress the necessity of specific ethnographical data as empirical evidence for academic analysis and interpretation.

Many writers have not accepted Eliade's definition of shamanism as "an archaic technique of ecstasy" uncritically. Some have seen it as too simplistic and restrictive; for one thing, his "ecstasy" does not include broader possessive trance and mastery of spirits, as Lewis and others pointed out. Even in an early work on Tungus shamanism, Sergei Shirokogoroff (1935) stressed that the shaman is a master of spirits and has a group of spirits varied in their interests and powers, whom the shaman controls, using a complex of special methods. According to Hultkrantz, the two most important components of shamanism are the ability of shamans to be in contact with the supernatural world and their ability to act on behalf of their communities in a way based on their extraordinary ecstatic experience, achieved with the aid of their helping spirits (Bäckman and Hultkrantz 1978, 11). Thus Hultkrantz treats ecstasy as just one element of the complex behavior of the shaman, extending Eliade's definition with his emphasis on the spiritual worlds with which the shaman is deeply involved.

Joan Townsend has provided a working definition that summarizes the work of Hultkrantz and others:

> A shaman is one who has direct communication with spirits, is in control of spirits and altered states of consciousness, undertakes some (magical) flights to the spirit world, and has a this-material-world focus rather than a goal of personal enlightenment. Spirits may be allowed to enter the shaman's body and speak through him. And he can call spirits to be present at a ceremony. He/she usually remembers at least some part of a soul journey and normally is a healer. (Townsend 1997a; 2001, 1)

The definition of shamanism that guided the making of this encyclopedia, as a religious belief system in which the shaman is a specialist in the knowledge required to make a connection to the world of the spirits in order to bring about benefits for the other members of the community, is obviously a broad definition, designed to allow this work to be as inclusive as possible. Nevertheless, most of the entries were written based on ethnographical data, as Kehoe and others emphatically stress. As this encyclopedia includes not only entries based on anthropological materials but also those on historical, religious, and psychological aspects of shamanism in many different cultural contexts, it is important to have a broad definition of shamanism, as noted in the preface, to cover the wide range of cultural phenomena related to shamanism.

Psychological Perspectives and Altered States of Consciousness

Another theoretical issue in the field centers on the psychological state of shamans. It is a crucial issue, as shamans in North Asia and the Americas were often characterized as mentally deranged, neurotic, schizoid, or psychotic, largely due to their behavior during trance. This kind of stigmatizing of a shaman as a mentally sick person was created by Western researchers based on Western cultural standards of madness and sanity. The shamans in their own cultures, however, carried out their positive roles as religious specialists and healers without such negative stigma. Obviously the abnormality or normality of a shaman or indeed any person should be defined according to the standard of that person's culture. Nevertheless, as recently as 1967 Julian Silverman, the American psychiatrist, wrote that the psychological state of the shaman is a form of acute schizophrenia characterized by "grossly non-reality oriented ideation, abnormal perceptual experiences, profound emotional upheavals and bizarre mannerisms" (Silverman 1967, 22; Krippner 2002, 965).

In order to test the alleged abnormality of shamans, Western psychologists have carried out various studies. Stanley Krippner, in his article on "Conflicting Perspectives on Shamans and Shamanism," published in 2002, as well as in his entry in this encyclopedia, "Psychology and Shamanism," has provided several examples of such tests. For example, the Rorschach ink-blot test was given to twelve male Apache shamans, fifty-two non-shamans, and seven self-nominated shamans (Boyer et al., 1964, 179). The results indicated that the shamans were less hysterical and healthier than the ordinary people, and no trace of neurotic or psychotic personality was found. Similarly an epidemiological survey of psychiatric disorder among Bhutanese refugees, including forty-two shamans, in Nepal, which was conducted through structured diagnostic interviews, showed that fewer general anxiety disorders were detected among the shamans (Van Ommeren et al. 2002; Krippner 2002, 966). These psychological studies showed that shamans were not mentally deficient or psychotic, but highly imaginative and talented individuals with higher than average awareness of the environment, concentration, and control of mental imagery. Along the same lines, Morris Berman has described the shaman's ability to go into trance as an ability to achieve "heightened awareness," a state of consciousness used in a healing modality somewhat similar to psychotherapy (Berman 2000, 30). Krippner concluded that the psychological study of shamanism could offer something to cognitive neuroscientists, social psychologists, psychological therapists, and ecological psychologists (Krippner 2002, 970).

Hamayon, Kehoe, and other anthropologists are rather critical about these psychological studies and the whole tendency to focus on altered states of consciousness as a characteristic of shamanism. The reader will find in Hamayon's entry, "History of the Study of Shamanism," a warning that the definition of shamanism in terms of states of consciousness is misleading, since it assumes that shamanism is a universal phenomenon that can be found everywhere and at all times, from prehistorical times to the present. Nevertheless, it can be argued that multidisciplinary approaches that include psychology can enrich the study of shamanism; in any case, as with other debates, both sides of the argument are presented in this encyclopedia.

One interesting result of the focus on altered states of consciousness has been the creation of modern mystical movements, discussed by Joan Townsend in her entry "Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism." Inspired by traditional shamanism, Michael Harner and Carlos Castaneda have been two major figures in these newer Western spiritual movements. Their movements encourage individuals to have direct contact with the spiritual world, or to "journey" into alternate reality, through drumming (emphasized in Harner's Core Shamanism) or in some cases through the use of hallucinogens (in some forms of Neo-Shamanism) in order to discover their own paths. The entries "Neo-Shamanism in Germany" and "Russian Shamanism Today" also focus on the continuing evolution of shamanic practices in a modern, urban setting.

The Organization of the Encyclopedia

A basic account of the organization of this encyclopedia is given in the Preface; more details are added here to help the reader understand the encyclopedia's framework. According to Hultkranz,

for example, ecstatic healers and diviners of the Arctic and circumpolar regions, northern Asia, North and South America, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands are all shamans according to the criteria used by many writers (Hultkrantz 1993, 7). East Asia and Africa are relatively latecomers to studies of shamanism, but from the point of view of those, like Ioan Lewis (1971, 1984), who see possession as the core of shamanic ecstasy, it makes sense to include these areas. Australasia and Oceania are based on Andreas Lommel's observation of shaman-like figures in Australia (1989), which seems to agree with that of the various authors of the entries in that region.

The encyclopedia is divided into two major categories, the general entries at the beginning of volume 1 and the regional entries in the rest of volume 1 and in volume 2. The general entries contain much that will have particular interest for the general reader, as well as for the specialist who is interested in a broader viewpoint of shamanism in general. For example, there are entries that explore the relationship of shamanism to the world religions Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam (in the entry "Sufism and Shamanism" and related entries), as well as entries that focus on such areas as art, costume, ecology, gender, healing, psychology, and witchcraft. Initially we hoped to include many other general topics, but in the end the actual volume of the regional entries exceeded by far that of the general entries. This is due to the fact that some general entries require a degree of generalization of religious phenomena of many different cultures, a generalization that is regarded as problematic for anthropologists, who have usually specialized in a particular culture and who, moreover, avoid broad generalizations that can lead to innacurate and misleading interpretations.

Some of the topics, such as Animal Symbolism, Dramatic Performance, Buddhism, and Tantrism, can be classified in either general or regional entries, since many of the general entries can be geographically bound and include evidence derived from at least one or two particular cultures according to the author's expertise. Thus general and regional classifications overlap each other to some extent. These classifications were created for the convenience of users of the encyclopedia and are not to be considered as absolute categories.

The ten sections of regional entries take their names from the ten major regions of the world covered: North America; Central and South America; Europe; Eurasia; Korea and Japan; China and Sino-Asia; South Asia, the Himalayas, and Tibet; Southeast Asia; Australasia and Oceania; and Africa. The overview that introduces each regional section was written by the regional editor in charge of that section or by a representative, and it plays a crucial role in providing the reader with a larger context for the individual entries. The overview introduces the region, starting with a brief account of its geography, history, and general cultural characteristics, followed by the general characteristics of shamanism in the region. A very brief introduction to each entry is also included. Here again, no attempt has been made to impose one approach to the study of shamanism on the scholars who have written the overviews; rather the overviews reflect the rich diversity of the field, embodying the distinctive points of view and disciplinary approaches of their authors.

The reason for choosing to place some of the entries in the sections in which they are found needs some explanation. For example, the Atayul people in Taiwan are geographically in the area covered under the title "China and Sino-Asia," but the entry has been placed in the "Australasia and Oceania" section, since the Atayul are an Australasian people. The guiding principle is that peoples of the same ethnic group are, as much as possible, placed in the same section, in order to highlight the common features these peoples share, even when they have become widely separated, due to migration and other reasons. Thus readers are advised to use both the index and the cross-references, as well as the table of contents, to locate the various indigenous peoples who are covered. A few words on each section here may also be helpful in orienting the reader.

The entries in the regional section "North America" represent only a small selection from the thousands of cultures that existed before the arrival of Europeans, but these entries provide in-depth accounts of major North American and Circumpolar Arctic groups. Michael Winkelman, in his overview, has presented the story of the migration of these peoples from North Asia and the changes in their shamanistic practices over the centuries, both before and after contact with Western Europeans. As he notes, North American shamanistic practitioners interact with the spirit

world and induce trance through the use of drumming or chanting. Another scholar in the field, Jordan Paper, has made the point that shamanism in North America (south of the Inuit) tended to be more "democratized" than that of North Eurasian shamanism. He noted that the Siberian shaman in North Asia was a specialist with specific societal roles, whereas the spirit world and the trance experience were available to all members of the community in the Americas before Euro-American cultural domination. Through trance and visionary experience, a personal relationship with these spirits was vital for the benefit of individuals and the community (Paper 1990, 90).

The entries in the "Central and South America" section also cover vast cultural regions, where "the most ancient, enduring and spectacular examples of shamanistic practices [are] documented," as Glenn Shepard explains in the overview. He believes Central and South American shamanism developed independently from the Arctic practices in response to heterogeneous ecological, sociocultural, and historical conditions.

The section on European shamanism highlights shamanistic interpretation of the ancient, medieval, and modern religious phenomena called variously paganism, witchcraft, mysticism, magic, and Neo-Shamanism. The sources used include myths, folklore, and fairy tales. These entries present the shamanistic practices of Celtic, English, Roman, Germanic, Finno-Ugric, Russian, and other European peoples. Carl Ruck's overview makes the case that European pagan practices have never completely died out, and the entries themselves contain suggestions of an interesting continuity between the ancient practices among such peoples as the Celts and Romans and the practices of the modern spiritual movements of Neo-Shamanism.

Still, the number of entries in the European section is relatively small, whereas "Eurasia" includes the largest number of entries: Eurasia, as the center of Siberian and Arctic shamanism, seen by many as the most authentic form of shamanism, has been historically the most well-studied region. In most Eurasian societies, traditional forms of shamanism have disappeared, but shamanistic beliefs and rituals survived in many cultural systems, specifically in the idea of spirits, certain rituals, and the worldviews of the people. The entries, some contributed by indigenous scholars, are based on firsthand field experience of their own cultures.

East Asian entries are divided into two sections: Chinese cultural domains ("China and Sino-Asia") and the Altaic speakers' region ("Korea and Japan"). China has many different minority groups. The Turko-Mongol peoples and Manchus in the north are included in "Eurasia," due to their ethnic and cultural affinity with the Eurasian peoples; the Yi and Miao, in the south; the Tibetans in the southwest are discussed in an entry in the "South Asia, the Himalayas, and Tibet" section. The shamanistic practices of Hong Kong, Singapore, and the Chinese population of Taiwan are also included.

Korea has perhaps its own pivotal tradition of shamanism in East Asia, one which is very different from Chinese shamanistic practices. For one thing, Chinese shamanism includes a much broader range of practices, due to ethnic and cultural variations in China. Japanese shamanism is seen as closer to Korean than to Chinese shamanism, due to possible ancient linguistic and cultural ties with the Altaic peoples originating in Eurasia, although present forms of Korean shamanism seem to be more performance-oriented than Japanese forms.

The region covered in the section "South Asia, the Himalayas, and Tibet" includes both Hindu and Buddhist countries, all considered more or less under the Indian cultural domain. The Tibetans and related peoples in Nepal have clearer forms of shamanism than the forms found in India, where the practice of spirit possession, divination, healing, and exorcism are the main features of shamanistic practice. In India, spirit possession can be practiced by any individual inclined to such capacity, not just religious specialists.

Southeast Asia, which also provides a variety of shamanistic beliefs and practices, is one of the core areas of Old World shamanism, according to Robert Winzeler's entry, "Southeast Asian Shamanism" (which supplements the overview with which he introduces the section). A belief in spirits seems to be the common denominator of shamanism in Southeast Asia, but the various forms of shamanism in this region are not necessarily related. Migrations of Southeast Asian peoples by land and sea further complicate the religious map of the region.

Possibly originating from Southeast Asia, the shamanistic practices of Australasian and Oceanic peoples in Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia are also included in this encyclopedia. Shamans in this region are called various names such as healers, priests, and diviners, like shamans of many other regions. There are strong shamanistic elements in the practices of these peoples, such as the importance of trance and dream, although some writers in this field are reluctant to call them "shamans."

Africa has a rich variety of indigenous religious traditions, many stemming from ancient times. Edith Turner's overview points out that the narrowness of Eliade's definition of shamanism has done a disservice to the study of African religious practices. She adopts broader definitions of shamanism, which include African spirit possession in healing and divination. The study of shamanism in Africa has grown enormously, and the opportunities for fieldwork among peoples whose practices still have many shamanistic elements have made valuable work possible. The entries of the Africa section reflect such new perspectives on shamanism in Africa.

The inclusion of the perspectives of almost two hundred contributors writing about such a wide range of cultures will allow the reader to consider the controversial issues already discussed, as well as other fascinating questions in the field, questions such as, What kind of society or culture tends to support shamanic or shamanistic beliefs and rituals? Under what circumstances do people tend to turn to shamans as their helpers and healers? Scholars such as Jane Atkinson have pointed out that shamanism never occurs in isolation, but is always embedded in wider systems of thought and practice (Atkinson 1992, 315). Our hope is that this encyclopedia will provide the foundations of a study not only of shamanism itself but also of the wider societal and cultural basis of which each form of shamanism is a part.

Mariko Namba Walter

Bibliography

Atkinson, Jane Monning. 1992. "Shamanism Today." Pp. 307–330 in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21. Edited by Bernard J. Siegel, Alan R. Beals, and Stephen A. Tyler. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews Inc.

Bahn, Paul. 2001. "Save the Last Trance for Me: An Assessment of the Misuse of Shamanism in Rock Art Studies." Pp. 51–94 in *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuse.* Edited by Henri-Paul Frankfort and Roberte N. Hamayon. Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 10. Budapest: Akedémiai Kiadó.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam, ed. 1997. *Shamanic World: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia.* Armonk, NY: North Castle Books.

Berman, Morris. 2000. *Wandering God: A Study in Nomadic Spirituality.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bowie, Fiona. 2000. *The Anthropology of Religion.* Oxford, UK, and Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Boyer, L. B., B. Klopfer, F. B. Brawer, and H. Kawai. 1964. "Comparisons of the Shamans and Pseudoshamans of the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation: A Rorschach Study." *Journal of Projective Techniques* 28: 173–180.

Böckman, Louise, and Åke Hultkrantz. 1978. *Studies in Lapp Shamanism.* Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 16. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

———. 1981. *Autobiography.* Vol. 2: 1937–1960. Translated by MacLinscott Ricketts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evan. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Flaherty, Gloria. 1992. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Frankfort, Henri-Paul, and Roberte N. Hamayon. 2001. *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuse.* Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 10. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Furst, Peter T. 1994. "Introduction: An Overview of Shamanism." Pp. 1–27 in *Ancient Traditions: Shamanism in Central Asia and the Americas.* Edited by Gary Seaman. Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado.
Glavatskaya, Elena. 2001. "The Russian State and Shamanhood: The Brief History of Confrontation." Pp. 237–247 in *Shamanhood: Symbolism and Epic.* Edited by Juha Pentikäinen. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
Grim, John A. 1983. *The Shaman: Patterns of Religious Healing among the Ojibway Indians.* Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.
Halifax, Joan. 1991. *Shamanic Voices: A Survey of Visionary Narratives.* New York: Penguin Books.
Hamayon, Roberte. 2001. "Shamanism: Symbolic System, Human Capability and Western Ideology." Pp. 1–27 in *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuse.* Edited by Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte N. Hamayon. Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 10. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
———. 1993. "Are Trance, Ecstasy, and Similar Concepts Appropriate in the Study of Shamanism?" *Shaman* 1, no. 2: 3–25.
Hultkrantz, Åke. 1993. "Introductory Remarks on the Study of Shamanism" *Shaman* 1, no. 1: 3–14.
———. 1983. "The Concept of the Supernatural in Primal Religion." *History of Religions* 22, no. 3: 231–253.
———. 1988. "Shamanism: A Religious Phenomenon?" Pp. 33–42 in *Shaman's Path: Healing, Personal Growth and Empowerment.* Edited by Gary Doore. Boston: Shambhala.
———. 1978. "Ethnological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism." Pp. 27–58 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
Kehoe, Alice. 2000. *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
———. 1996. "Eliade and Hultkrantz: The European Primitivism Tradition." *American Indian Quarterly* 20, nos. 3–4: 377–392.
Krader, Lawrence. 1956. "A Nativistic Movement in Western Siberia." *American Anthropology* 58.
Krippner, Stanley C. 2002. "Conflicting Perspectives on Shamans and Shamanism: Points and Counterpoints." *American Psychologist* (November 2002): 962–977.
Langdon, E. Jean. 1989. *Shamanism as the History of Anthropology.* Pp. 53–64 in *Shamanism: Past and Present.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál et al. Budapest, Los Angeles: Fullerton.
Lewis, Ioan M. 1984. "What is a Shaman?" Pp. 3–11 in *Shamanism in Eurasia.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Göttingen: Edition Herodot.
———. 1971. *Ecstatic Religion.* London and New York: Routledge.
Lewis-Williams, J. David, and Tomas Dowson. 1988. "The Signs of All Times: Entoptic Phenomena in Upper Palaeolithic Art." *Current Anthropology* 29: 201–245.
Lommel, Andreas. 1989. *Die kunst des alten Australien.* München: Prestel-Verlag.
Lowie, Robert H. 1940. *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology.* New York: Rinehart.
Malinowski, Bronislow. 1948. *Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays.* Boston: Beacon.
Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley. 2001. *Shamans Through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge.* New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam.
Paper, Jordan. 1990. "'Sweat Lodge': A Northern Native American Ritual for Communal Shamanic Trance." *Tremenos* 26: 85–94.
Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred Reginald. 1922. *The Andaman Islanders: A Study in Social Anthropology.* Cambridge: The University Press.
Rohde, Erwin S. 1893. *Psyche.* 2 vols. Heidelberg.
Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhai'lovich. 1935. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner.
Silverman, Julian. 1987. "Shamans and Acute Schizophrenia." *American Anthropologist* 69: 21–31.
Stutley, Margaret. 2003. *Shamanism: A Concise Introduction.* London and New York: Routledge.
Townsend, Joan B. 2001. "Modern Non-Traditional and Invented Shamanism." Pp. 257–264 in *Shamanhood: Symbolism and Epic.* Edited by Juha Pentikainen. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
Van Ommeren, M., et al. 2002. "Psychological Profile of Bhutanese Shamans." Paper presented at the annual conference of the Society for the Anthropology of Consciousness, Tucson, AZ.

Versnel, H. S. 1990. “Magic-Religion: Some Reflections on the Relationship.” *Numen* 38, no. 2: 177–197.
Vitebsky, Piers. 1995. *The Shaman.* London: Macmillan.
Walsh R. 1990. *The Spirit of Shamanism.* New York: Tarcher/Putnam.
Whitney, William Dwight, ed. 1827–1894. *The Century Dictionary: An Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language.* Six vols. New York: Century Co.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENTRIES

!Kung Healing, Ritual, and Possession, 891

African Traditional Medicine, 895
Afro-Brazilian Shamanism, 371
Ainu Shamanism (Japan), 657
Amazon Funeral Rites and Shamanism (Brazil), 375
American Indian Medicine Societies, 281
Ancestor Worship in Africa, 899
Ancient Egyptian Shamanism, 906
Ancient Iranian Religions and Shamanism, 529
Ancient North Asian Shamanism, 532
Ancient South Indian Shamanism, 745
Animal Symbolism (Africa), 3
Animal Symbolism (Americas), 7
Animal Symbolism (Asia), 11
Archaeology of Shamanism, 16
Art and Shamanism, 21
Asante Shamanism (Ghana), 910
Atayal Shamanism (Taiwan), 857
Australian Aboriginal Shamanism, 860
Ayahuasca Ritual Use, 378

Bioenergetic Healing, 29
"Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans, 536
Buddhism and Shamanism, 30
Burmese Spirit Lords and Their Mediums, 803
Buryat Shamanism (Mongolia), 539

Cape Nguni Shamanism (South Africa), 914
"Celtic Shamanism": Pagan Celtic Spirituality, 469
Central and South American Shamanism, 382
Cheju-do Island Shamanism (Korea), 666
Chepang Shamanism (Nepal), 747
Chinese Shamanism, Classical, 709
Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary, 713
Choctaw Shamanism, 285
Christianity and Shamanism, 35
Classical World Shamanism (Ancient Greece and Rome), 478
Colonialism and Shamanism, 41
Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism, 49
Costume, Shaman, 57
Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans, 61
Curanderismo (the Americas), 393

Daoism and Shamanism, 71
Dark Shamanism (Amazonia), 396
Darkhad Shamanism (Mongolia), 545
Deer Imagery and Shamanism (Siberia), 547
Demonic Possession and Exorcism, 74
Divination, 78
Dramatic Performance in Shamanism, 82
Dreams and Shamanism (Papua New Guinea), 865
Dreams and Visions, 89
Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals, 95
Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure, 101

Ecology and Shamanism, 107
Entheogens (Psychedelic Drugs) and Shamanism, 111
Entoptic Images, 117
Ethnocentrism and Shamanism, 119
Evenki Shamanism (Siberia and Manchuria), 551
Extraction, 124

Fairies and Shamanism, 484
Finno-Ugric Shamanism, 486

Fire and Hearth, 127
Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism, 557

Gender in Shamanism, 131
Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance, 287
Great Basin Hunters and Gatherers, 292
Greenland Shamanism, 297

Hausa Shamanistic Practices (Nigeria and Niger), 920
Healing and Shamanism, 137
Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions, 750
History of the Study of Shamanism, 142
Hmong Shamanism (Thailand, Laos), 806
Hopi Shamanism, 303
Horses, 147
Huichol (Wixárika) Shamanism (Mexico), 399
Hypnosis and Shamanism, 149

Igbo Shamanism (Nigeria), 925
Indonesian Shamanism, 810
Initiation, 153
Inuit Shamanism (Central Arctic), 307
Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Shamanism and Secret Societies, 312

Japanese Shamanic Music, 670
Japanese Shamanism, 674
Javanese Shamanism (Indonesia), 815

Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices, 564
Kanaimà Shamanism (Amazonia), 406
Kazak Shamanism, 569
Khakass Shamanism, 573
Kirghiz Shamanism (West Central Asia), 579
Korean Shamanism, 681

Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles (Himalayas), 756
Lakota Shamanism, 315
Latin American Christianity and Shamanism, 409
Latin American Literature and Shamanism, 414

"Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism, 161
Malay Shamans and Healers, 818
Mami Wata Religion (West Africa), 928
Manchu Shamanism, 582
Manipur Meitei Shamanism (Northeast India), 763
Maori Religion, 869
Mapuche Shamanism, 417
Marabouts and Magic (West Africa), 930
Maya Bone Divination, 425
Maya Cosmology, 426
Mayan Shamanism, 431
Messianism and Shamanism, 169
Mongolian Shamanic Texts, 586
Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature, 593
Mountain Priests—Shugendō (Japan), 689
Murut Shamanism (Borneo), 824
Museum Collections, 174
Music in World Shamanism, 179

Navajo Shamanism, 318
Ndembu Shamanism (Zambia), 934
Neo-Shamanism in Germany, 496
Nepalese Shamans, 766
Neuropsychology of Shamanism, 187
New Orleans Voudou (North America), 323
Nong Shamanism (South China), 722
Nordic Shamanism, 500
North American Oral Traditions and Shamanism, 331

Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners, 874
Offerings and Sacrifice in Shamanism, 197
Ojibwa Shamanism, 334
Okinawan Shamans and Priestesses, 693
Oroqen Shamanism (Northeast China), 597
Otomí (Ñähñu) Indian Shamanism (Mexico), 435

Paganism in Europe, 504
Peruvian Shamans, 439
Peyote Ritual Use (Central America and North America), 336
Pilgrimage and Shamanism, 201
Piman Oral Literature and Shamanism, 339
Priestesses (Mediums) of Sri Lanka, 773
Priestesses of Eurasia, 601
Psychology of Shamanism, 204
Psychopathology and Shamanism, 211
Psychopomp, 217
Pueblo Religion and Spirit Worlds, 346
Puyuma Shamanism (Taiwan), 880

Qiang Ritual Practices, 725
Quiche and Zuni Divination (Guatemala and New Mexico), 446

Rai Shamanism (Nepal), 775
Rock Art and Shamanism, 219
Russian Folklore and Shamanism, 509
Russian Shamanism Today, 513

Sakha (Yakut) Shamanism (Northeast Asia), 608
Santería (Afro-Cuban Tradition), 449
Semai Shamanism (Borneo), 827
Shadow Puppetry and Shamanism (Java), 832
Sibe Shamanism (Manchuria), 615
Siberian Shamanism, 618
Soul Retrieval, 225
South Asian Shamanism, 778
Southeast Asian Shamanism, 834
Spirit Mediumship (Singapore), 732
Spirit Possession, 228
Spirit Possession in Rajasthan (India), 784
Spirit Writing in Hong Kong, 729
Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia, 627
Spirits and Souls, 235
Sufism and Shamanism, 238
Swahili Healers and Spirit Cult (East Africa), 938

Taiwanese Shamanic Performance and Dance, 736
Tajik Shamanism (Central Asia), 629
Taman Shamanism (Borneo), 842
Tantrism and Shamanism, 243
Tarahumara Shamanism (Mexico), 453
Teleutian Shamanism (Siberia), 632
Thai Spirit World and Spirit Mediums, 847
Tibetan Shamanism, 790
Toba Shamanism (Argentina), 461
Trance Dance, 247
Trance, Shamanic, 250
Transformation, 255
Transvestism in Shamanism, 259
Trees, 263
Tsugaru Shamanism (Japan), 700
Tuvan Shamanism, 637
Twin Cult of the Akan (Ghana), 942

Urban Shamanism, 265
Uyghur Healers (China), 642
Uzbek Shamanism, 646

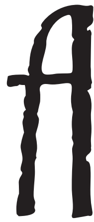
Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives, 267

Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism, 271
Witchcraft in Africa, 946
Witchcraft in Russia, 516
Witchcraft in the Modern West, 519

Yaka Shamanistic Divination (Southwestern Congo), 951
Yellow Shamans (Mongolia), 649
Yokuts Shamanism (California), 350
Yuman Shamanism (Northern Baja California), 354
Yupik and Inupiaq Masks (Alaska), 358
Yupik Shamanism (Alaska), 362

Zarma Spirit Mediums (Niger), 954
Zulu Shamanism (South Africa), 957

GENERAL THEMES IN WORLD SHAMANISM



ANIMAL SYMBOLISM (AFRICA)

Across Africa, one of the primary duties of traditional healers is the manipulation of symbolic paraphernalia, especially in ritual contexts. Many of the important symbols in ritual life relate to animals, yet any attempt to systematize animal symbolism as it relates to indigenous beliefs in the whole of Africa cannot but be general. Indeed, Africa embodies greatly diverse cultural traditions on both the regional and the local level. What follows focuses on the various means ritual specialists use to manipulate animal symbols. It draws on a number of African cultures, in the expectation that such particular remarks will elicit more general themes prevalent in shamanistic practice throughout Africa.

Animal Symbolism and Cultural Values

Animal symbolism plays a huge role in social life in Africa: Animals and their behaviors frequently represent the unwritten rules of a society. It is ritual specialists and mediums who bring these rules to light and reiterate their importance to the community. Thus, animal symbolism, through the mediation of ritual specialists, serves as a means to instill values within the varied cultural contexts in which it is used. This can be seen in several ways: most notably perhaps in terms of aspects of social organization, cosmology, and personal power.

Social Organization

Many African societies view the animal kingdom as a reflection of their own human society. Indeed, such considerations are made particularly explicit in ritual life when symbols are manipulated and used to facilitate entering into various states of ecstatic trance or spirit mediumship. The organization of the animal kingdom is often considered as mirroring the hierarchical structure of many African societies. Thus, in most of West Africa, at the acme of the hierarchy is the lion. One of the greatest compliments is to be compared to a lion; indeed, in a great number of rituals the lion is an especially popular symbol of strength and power. In many senses, lions are seen to have taught human beings how to live, hunt, and behave nobly. Thus animals and their actions bespeak values inherent in humans, so that symbols fuse perceptions of the animal kingdom and actual social life. In relationship to human society, mediums' interactions with animals suggest a didactic relationship: Animals teach and instill knowledge that, often transmitted through the religious specialist, is related back to the community and elucidates appropriate modes of conduct.

Cosmology

Animals relate to spirits or supernatural worlds as well. Sometimes animals are held to have direct recourse to the spiritual pantheon, especially when they symbolize lineage or represent ancestral sprits. In a great variety of cases, animals are thought to embody human spirits; this holds for actual living animals, as well as for the spirits of animals. In either case, whether through interpreting their movements or acting as a spirit medium, the medium interacts with human spirits in animal form. Alternatively, various responsibilities are attributed to animal spirits, and it is the job of the medium to know, if not to manipulate, these influences. Animals, then, consistently symbolize recurrent themes inherent in social and psychological life. Accordingly, the use of animal symbols, both in shamanistic ritual and ordinary life, is a conspicuous element of social life in Africa.

Personal Power

Most importantly, the religious specialists are charged with placating the malevolent forces that are often believed to be harming the community. In so doing, they engage with various sorts of animal symbols, the meanings of which are culturally specific and sometimes far from obvious. Indeed, notable differences between animal symbolism and human qualities can be drawn. For example, small and weak creatures commonly symbolize positive qualities such as survival and determination rather than negative ones such as vulnerability and feebleness. Despite the fact that animals such as hares are prey in the wild, easily and commonly slain by larger more powerful animals, in the social world they represent decidedly favorable characteristics. So, inasmuch as symbols of power speak to recurrent themes in African social life, symbols of resilience and persistence suggest that the sometimes difficult quest for survival is held to be valuable.

Healing

The most widespread occurrences of animal symbolism in shamanistic practice in Africa have to do with healing. Indeed, myriad cultures incorporate animals into healing rituals. The Lebu healers, known especially for their expertise in the Ndeup ceremony, are called *ndeupkaat* in the Lebu version of the Wolof language. In rituals among the Lebu of Senegal, shaman-healers dress as hyenas and are confronted and scared off by the more powerful and noble lion. The hyena represents immorality and human weakness. The hyena is thus seen as symbolizing all that is negative about humans, which perhaps explains why it is so frequently referred to in modern West African culture (see Mambéty 1992). Lebu shaman-healers generally contribute to strengthening community morality by demanding that women take part in the Ndeup ceremony, which serves to ward off evil spirits from the community, as well as satisfying the needs of other spirits who demand sacrifices.

In order to identify the evil spirits who may have contaminated a human body, causing depression, Lebu ritual specialists tie up the sick person next to a tied goat or bull (such animals are common in ritual sacrifice throughout Africa and are used similarly by the Bamiléké in Cameroon). The shaman-healer then anoints the ill person with the blood of chickens and the horns of a bull, seeking the name of the contaminating spirit. Women are then ordered to chant as the shaman-healer consults these spirits. Their rhythmic chants, in fact, enable the shaman-healer to enter into the ecstatic state necessary to communicate with the spirits causing the illness. Eventually the ill person feels reborn and is ordered to jump over the animal seven times. Then he sits on the animal's side and whispers all his desires into the creature's ear before it is sacrificed. From here, many people accompany the ill person to a specific location, where many of them fall into trances induced and supervised by the shaman-healer. Afterwards, the ill person is declared healed, his troubles having been transferred to the animal before it was sacrificed. Thus through ritual, the shaman-healer instills morality back into a member of the community and reasserts his authority as guide.

The importance of lion symbols in Lebu ritual practices reflects the recurrence of this creature as a symbol of power throughout West Africa. Another example from Ghana underscores the importance of the lion to voodoo healers. Lions, in addition to hyenas and hares, serve as central symbols in rituals of curing. In order to reach spirit worlds in the relatively recent Dhani voodoo form, these healers use actual parts of a lion's body as ingredients in concoctions present during these rituals. The lion is equally important in East Africa as well. Amongst the East African Nuer peoples, a healer is seen to be an expert in the "science" of the lion, which underlines the importance of the creature as a link between seer and spirits in shamanistic ceremony. By contrast, in other parts of East Africa, the lion symbolizes laziness, and hence is a negative, if not insulting, symbol. As such, it is either not used in ritual, or used in a negative way.

Trance, Dream-States, and Spirit Mediumship

Many African tribal traditions show that humans are mistaken in believing they are separate and different from the animals. For example, animals gave the gift of enlightenment to humankind, and this gift is given again through shamanistic dreams and altered states

of consciousness. Normally, shamanic ecstatic trance or dream-states, in which animals often appear to the seer as humans, make it clear that humankind's acquisition of hunting knowledge represents an endowment of gifts and wisdom from predators to humankind. The relationships and sets of interaction between healers and animals can be broken down into four distinct types: tutelage, personification, communication, and protection.

Tutelage

The idea of an intimate relationship of tutelage between humans and animals has continued over time. Such motifs have sometimes, for example, been grafted onto the story of Njajaan Njaay, the hero of the Wolof people and founder of the thirteenth-century Waalo kingdom. Njaay was reputed to be a diplomat and fair dispenser of justice, who could unite peoples behind him as if by magic. Although stories of his miraculous return after many lost years abound, some stories (see Diouf 2001) now portray him as having been brought up by lions and then returning part-man/part-lion to unite the people of the Waalo kingdom, due to the wisdom and powers acquired from his experience with lions.

Moreover, healers often state that it is thanks to the various sorts of tutelage that animal spirits offer them that they are able to ply their trade. In some instances, this tutelage comes to nonreligious specialists, and it is in this way that they are started on the path to becoming healers endowed with special abilities and powers. This is one way among many others that such healers are selected in varied cultures across Africa.

Personification

Spirit mediums commonly assume animal personae in rituals. In so doing, they reaffirm the importance of animals in daily life and, by extension, the efficacy of animal symbolism in ritual. For instance, in shamanistic practices among Senufo societies in Côte d'Ivoire and Mali, the practitioners use bull, ram, or antelope horns to symbolize masculinity in the masks they create for their rituals. Using such paraphernalia, the healer strives to be able to relate to such animal spirits and in so doing to placate the malevolent forces inherent in them and stress their benevolent qualities.

Communication

In southern Africa, one of the central functions of !Kung shamanic trance is to communicate with or act as a spirit medium for animal spirits, because animals are seen as messengers between worlds. In order to communicate with them and coax them into certain locations so that they may be more easily hunted, mediums are reputed to leave their own bodies and enter those of the animals, at which point they can communicate with and persuade them. Alternatively, when animal spirits represent malevolent forces, !Kung shaman-healers may serve as spirit mediums for the animals' spirits in order to allow the animals to communicate to the community as a whole.

Among the !Kung, music is a central means of bringing about trance. Songs tend to be of two sorts. They either tell about animals and their relation to social or spiritual life, or they mimic the sounds of animals, using either voice or instrument (or both). In either case, the relationship between animals and trance should be clear: Songs, an essential means for entering an ecstatic state, focus on animals, and the trance itself allows communication with animal spirits. The !Kung, as a historical hunter-gather nomadic group, place an extreme emphasis on community relations with animals, and this is indeed made manifest through ritual and in particular through the conduct of the !Kung shaman-healer.

Protection

On the other hand, and unlike !Kung society, in which trance permits animals' spirits to enter humans and vice versa, in parts of West Africa some animals are seen as containing the spirits of angry humans. Such animals often come to haunt people who have unjustly preyed upon fellow humans or creatures. Shaman-healers are believed to have the abilities needed to cure individuals of the illnesses brought about by unwanted spirit possession, and even more importantly, to protect the whole community. The shaman-healer's role as protector is made clear in a Lebu myth that tells how a man, wronged and killed by his friend after the friend had

murdered the man's powerful father, returned in the form of a shark, which also carried the spirit of his father, and haunted the murderer, eventually killing him (see Ngom 1982; Wade 2002). Although the murderer had mended his ways and assumed the power of the lion in a shamanistic ritual, such a transformation did not kill his guilty conscience, which the shark may be taken to symbolize. This myth and the shamanistic uses of animal symbolism depicted in it give evidence of perception of the sometimes negative influence of animal spirits in daily life. The shaman-healer is responsible for preventing these negative influences from coming to fruition.

Some Changes

Ritual ceremonies and animal symbolism in Africa is changing. Whereas lion symbolism once formed the basis of many forms of African culture, and ritual sacrifices of bulls and goats lay solely within the domain of shamanistic practice, the lion has more recently emerged as a symbol for specific nations rather than for the whole of mankind, and the sacrifice of bulls and goats has been incorporated into Islamic rituals.

Although the types of rituals supervised by mediums and the types of animal symbols they use are shifting, the need for religious specialists to interact with the spirit world and their ability to do so remain omnipresent. Among the !Kung, for instance, new trance dances have appeared within the last decade, and with them come new roles for animal spirits and new ways in which to ritually engage them. Yet shamanistic practice is controversial, especially due to the ubiquitous influence of scriptural religions in so many parts of Africa. Moreover, in many parts of the continent shamanistic practices are hotly contested as outdated and out of step with the modern world.

In turn, the manipulation of animal symbols is no longer exclusively the property of shaman-healers and ritual specialists. On the contrary, new generations of Africans are attentive to means whereby they can combine old symbols with new representations. Indeed, the increase in outlets of expression such as films and texts has meant new ways of showing the importance of animal symbolism in most of social life. In addition, the meaning of symbols is changing significantly. Even though most of these animals have maintained their symbolic roles over centuries, it is to be expected that some creatures may change their roles and that new animal symbols will continue to emerge.

Chris Hogarth
Noah Butler

See also: !Kung Healing, African Traditional Medicine; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Cape Nguni Shamanism; Entoptic Images; Initiation; Ritual, and Possession; Rock Art and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Angrand, Armand-Pierre. 1943. *Manuel Français-Oulof.* Dakar: F. Nathan.

Ba, Saidou Moussa. 1990. *La promessa di Hamadi* [The promise of Hamadi]. Novara: De Agostini.

Blakely, Thomas, Walter Van Beek, and Dennis Thomson, eds. 1994. *Religion in Africa.* London: Heinemann.

Boilat, Abbé P.-D. 1853. *Esquisses Sénégalaises.* Paris: P. Bertrand.

Diop, Birago. 1953. *Les contes d'Amadou Koumba.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

———. 1958. *Les nouveaux contes d'Amadou Koumba.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

———. 1963. *Contes et lavanes.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

Diouf, Mamadou. 2001. *Histoire du Senegal.* Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

Gamble, David. 1980. *Wolof Stories from Senegambia.* San Francisco: San Francisco State University.

Hadithi, Mwenye. 1990. *Lazy Lion.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Heale, Jaye. 1995. *True African Animal Tales.* Cape Town: Struik.

Hermine, Mafieuh Meido. 1992. *Entre l'angoisse et l'arbre de paix* [Between agony and the tree of peace]. Geneva: Editions Hélios.

King, Bridget. 1995. *The Magic Drum: Stories from Africa's Savannah, Sea, and Skies.* Nairobi: Jacaranda Designs.

Labat, Jean-Baptiste. 1728. *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique Occidentale* [New narrative of Western Africa]. Paris: Chez G. Cavelier.

Mambéty, Djibril Diop. 1973. *Tuuki Buki.* Gennevilliers: Laboratoires CTM.

———. 1992. *Hyènes* [Hyenas]. Paris: Médiathèque des trois mondes.

Ndao, Cheikh Aliou. 1994. *Mbaam Dictateur.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

Ngom, Mbissane. 1982. *Le Prix du pardon.* Paris: EDICEF.
Philippart de Foy, Guy. 1976. *Waki, le petit pygmée et les animaux de la forêt.* Paris: F. Nathan.
Roger, Baron. 1829. *Recherches philosophiques sur la langue oulofe.* Paris: Moreau.
Senghor, Léopold Sédar, and Sadji Abdoulaye. 1953. *La belle histoire de Leuk-le-Lièvre.* Paris: Hachette.
Socé Diop, Ousmane. 1962. *Contes et légendes d'Afrique Noire.* Paris: Présence Africaine.
Surgy, Albert de. 1994. *Nature et fonction des fétiches en Afrique Noire* [Nature and functions of fetishes in Black Africa]. Paris: L'Harmattan.
Wade, Mansour Sora. 1995. *Fary l'ânesse* [Fary the she-ass]. San Francisco: California Newsreel.
———. 2002. *Le prix du pardon* [The price of pardon]. San Francisco: California Newsreel.

Apsaroke shaman Crow wearing eagle headdress. 1908. (Library of Congress)

ANIMAL SYMBOLISM (AMERICAS)

For the indigenous peoples of the Americas, the symbolism associated with animals helps form and configure indispensable links between human, natural, and spiritual realms. Expressive of these vital relationships, animals are often referred to and categorized as Animal People, or some variation on that theme. Although there are of course regional and tribal variations, in general the resulting mediations help communicate the knowledge and teachings, as well as the transformative potency, to successfully orchestrate a rite of passage, a healing ceremony, a hunting ritual, or the renewal of the world itself. Partnership with the Animal People was established in the creation time, and is revealed and celebrated through the telling of the oral traditions. A particular partnership may also be personally acquired through a visionary experience, or perhaps inherited, and expressed in the images used to adorn a costume, heard in the words of a song, and observed in the movements of a dancer as he is transfigured into an eagle, jaguar, or wolf. And it is a partnership that allows a shaman to journey as easily to the creation time as to the bottom of the sea, transcending temporal and spatial dimensions. An appreciation of the relational roles and meanings of the Animal People, richly embedded in narrative and ritual symbolism, is thus an essential component of an understanding of the structures and dynamics of American Indian shamanism. Some of the traditions that nurtured the links between humans and the Animal People are still alive, others are not; but for the sake of simplicity, all will be described in the present tense in what follows, except where clearly linked to a world that no longer exists.

The significance and relationship animals have with humans were set forth during the primordial time of creation, as witnessed in the actions and deeds of such mythic animal beings as Coyote, Salmon, Raven, or Spider, and as discovered and celebrated in the retelling of the oral traditions. The mythic Animal People are beings with volition, thought, and speech, exhibiting human desires and frailties, often with animal names and characteristics, and typically with great transformative powers. In the beginning they confronted and destroyed monsters of all sorts, and prepared the world for the coming of humans.

In one Crow Indian oral tradition (of the North American northern Great Plains), it was

Isáahkawuattee, Old Man Coyote, with the help of four ducks, who brought dry land to a watery world. Then with his younger brother, Little Fox, Old Man Coyote traveled the land, transforming it into mountains and valleys, creating the game animals and fish, and finally humans themselves. Old Man Coyote subsequently established the kinship rules, hunting practices, and religious ceremonies necessary for humans to prosper. Although a culture hero and benefactor for humans, Coyote was also endowed with self-serving, trickster qualities. As Coyote was given his particular disposition, so too were the other animals. In the instance of the Nez Perce (of the North American Plateau area), it was Hanwayáat, the Creator, who named all the animals and gave them their specific abilities. These "assigned" qualities helped determine the unique character of each animal species, whether exhibited in their behavior as game animals or in their potency and prerogatives as guardian spirits.

In preparing the world for humans, the Animal People also brought forth the essential teachings that further patterned the nature of animal-human relations. Continually emphasized in the oral traditions of the Plateau peoples of North America is the importance of not hunting too many animals, of sharing all that is acquired, and of not boasting of one's success in the hunt. In a creation story told by the Desana of the Colombian Amazon, humans arrived on earth in a great Snake-Canoe, the anaconda, who also acts as a watchdog for Vaí-mahsë, the Master of all the Animals. The success of the hunter as well as the *payé* (shaman) depends on their ability to enter into certain symbolic sexual relations with Vaí-mahsë. The intimate association between human and animal was further strengthened by the nature of the first couple, which consisted of a human Desana and an *aracú* fish. All later Desana would trace their ancestral kinship to this union, and a significant part of their diet consists of this important fish.

Shamanic success, be it in healing the sick, hunting an animal, or renewal of the world, can depend on the ability of shamans to travel the landscape of the primordial era and renew their kinship with the Animal People, dissolving temporal and spatial boundaries. It is an act accomplished only after carefully listening to and interpreting the teachings, symbolically represented in the oral traditions and in the shaman's own visionary experiences. As an Iglulik *angákut* (of the Canadian Arctic) applies with great skill the "magic words," utterances once spoken by the animals and handed down from the beginning of time, shamans throughout the Americas learn and use the esoteric languages of the Animal People. Adept at singing their own medicine songs, shamans must be just as much at ease deciphering the rich symbolism of dreams, visions, and oral traditions, all of which have emanated from the voices of the Animal People.

In various rites of passage, especially those associated with vision questing and shamanic initiation, the importance of establishing kinship with the Animal People is particularly paramount. During an initiatory vision, it would likely be an animal spirit, either in animal or human form, that communicates with the seeker. Serving as a guide, the animal spirit would escort the neophyte in a journey of spiritual discovery into the landscape of the primordial time. Such a journey is rich in imagery, and it may only be a shaman, wise in years, who can interpret the significance of the dream gift. Among the Plains and Plateau peoples of North America the eagle or hawk could symbolize flight, while the salmon or buffalo could refer to sustenance, or bounty.

The culmination of the Desana shaman's initiation occurs when the novice takes *vihó* snuff. If the vihó accepts the novice, the novice is turned into an animal shape, perhaps into the *yé'e,* "jaguar," and roams the forest indistinguishable from its other inhabitants. For the Desana another term for payé (shaman) is yé'e. As an intermediary between society and nature, the payé is able to change himself into the jaguar and travel the spiritual terrain of the forests. The jaguar is to nature as the payé is to humans; each must be a great hunter if survival is to be assured. Following initiation, the payé (who is always male) can turn into the jaguar at will. The association is so complete that the payé speaks with the voice and sees with the eyes of the jaguar; he devours raw meat and sleeps on the ground. Created by the Sun Creator to be his main intermediary on earth, the jaguar has great powers of fertility, is associated with fire, and is heard by its roar, the thunder. So powerful, the yé'e is the only animal not under the control of the Vaí-mahsë, the Master of the Animals.

Having demonstrated their tremendous transformative powers in the preparation of the world for humans, the Animal People can be viewed as archetypal of the original shamans. As the shaman is able to identify and establish a personal kinship bond with a particular Animal Being, perhaps replicating its character, the transformative potency of the Animal People is brought to bear for the shaman to affect the lives of others. Among the Crow, an *akbaalía,* "one who doctors," has an adoptive relationship with his "medicine father," perhaps an elk, eagle, or buffalo, acquired during a vision quest. In addition, the personality qualities of the akbaalía himself often parallel the primary transformer in Crow tradition, Coyote. Although typically self-effacing, a benefactor and a healer of the sick, the akbaalía can just as easily assume the role of a trickster, deceptive and self-serving, especially in the face of a rival. Among the Coeur d'Alene (of the North American Plateau), an individual's *suumesh* (spiritual power) is expressed in the song acquired in a vision from a guardian spirit and renewed each winter in the Jump Dance. During the dance, when an individual properly sings his suumesh song, he becomes his animal spirit, speaking its voice and dancing its mannerisms, perhaps that of a wolf or an elk. If the song is not properly sung, ill fortune and spirit sickness will likely ensue. If the song is properly sung by, for example, a salmon shaman, then the spirit of the salmon will provide the insights and power for the salmon shaman to successfully coordinate salmon fishing.

The nature of a shaman's particular spiritual power is often framed in how his animal guardian spirit is categorized within the larger worldview of his society. In many hunting-oriented societies, for example, a hunter will seek out a predatory animal as his spirit guide. For the Iglulik, the fox, owl, bear, and shark, all great hunters themselves, are considered among the most powerful helping spirits for a human hunter. As noted, hunting success for the Desana payé revolves around an intimate relationship with the animal hunter par excellence, the jaguar. Among the Crow, there is a close association between what are considered the natural attributes of an animal and the particular spiritual powers of a *baaxpée* (medicine). As the squirrel spends its time gathering and storing nuts and berries for the coming winter, possessing squirrel medicine helps assure food for one's family. As the eagle's keen sight and physical prowess are unsurpassed, eagle baaxpée is highly sought. This categorical relationship is not unlike that expressed in the use of an "Indian name." Often ritually bestowed on a child by an elder, the name itself would refer to a particular animal and perhaps some special action of that animal—Swift Hawk or Hidden Badger. If cared for properly, the animal name would help protect the child and nurture in the child abilities of the kind expressed in the name.

With newly acquired kinship with the Animal People, the initiated shaman is ready to apply the transformative powers of the primordial realm to the welfare of the human realm. As shamanic societies are often dependent on game animals, birds, and fish for subsistence, one primary focus of ritual effort is in the perpetuation of animal species. These efforts might take the form of individual hunting rituals, specific to a hunter and his game, as well as more communal ceremonials, seeking renewal in the vitality of the entire animal world.

The game animals are themselves often characterized as possessing humanlike qualities and referred to as kinsmen. For the Desana, the deer is the most human animal of the forests, able to laugh and dance, with its own language, and prone to suffer from illnesses. As a principal game animal, the deer represents the female principle and symbolizes cleanliness. Similarly the deer for the Coeur d'Alene is Amotqn's, the Creator's, favorite pet. It knows the thoughts of the hunters, and enjoys playing games of hide and seek with them. As with the buffalo on the Plains and salmon in the Plateau of North America, the deer is often addressed as a "brother." With its intelligence and close physical resemblance to humans, the bear for the Naskapi of the interior Labrador of North America is one of the most powerful of all animals, having influence over the other animals and knowing the inner desires of hunters. Tremendous ritual observances are thus paid to the bear, from communicating with it through dreams, to showing care in how it is consumed and its bones are disposed.

There is a widespread respect shown to the bones of game animals. Often symbolizing the souls of animals, the bones of animals are to be respected and returned to the place of their origins. In so doing, hunters facilitate the rebirth

of the animals. Among the Iglulik, dogs are not allowed to chew on the bones during the butchering of an animal, lest the soul of the animal be offended. Among the Naskapi, the bones of the beaver are ritually deposited back in the river from which the beaver came, to please the "giant beaver," Master of the Beaver, so he might look favorably on the hunter and allow the spirit of the animal to return to life. The bones of other game animals are ritually collected and placed in trees near where the animals were hunted or eaten, to honor the animals. Among the Plateau peoples, the bones of salmon are returned to rivers to be reborn. As a link to the soul, the bones can also be used in divination. Among the Naskapi, a hunter attempts to induce a dream, *pwamu',* to communicate with the animal's spirit. If the soul of the animal, such as a caribou or beaver, comes to the hunter, the dream can be clarified by charring the shoulder blade of the animal. When reading the resulting marks on the burnt bone is accompanied by singing and drumming, the marks reveal the language of the animal's soul, guiding the hunter to where the animal can be located.

As in any kinship-based relationship, reciprocity is needed if the animal-human relationship is to continue. If an animal "brother" is to offer its flesh to a hunter, a gift must be given in exchange. If the salmon spirit is to assist a shaman in the salmon harvest, the shaman must give respect to his suumesh (the spiritual power of the salmon). These exchanges can involve a wide variety of symbolic gifts, such as the souls of an enemy, as among the Desana, or adherence to an elaborate set of respect rules and taboos, as exemplified by the Iglulik. When the balance is maintained, the animal populations are replenished and maintained, and the hunters are offered the flesh of their animal kinsmen. By entering into a relationship with the Animal Peoples, power is then applied back to perpetuating animal, as well as human, kinsmen.

The various exchanges seek not only to maintain the assistance of a guardian animal spirit and garner the favor of the game animal itself, but also to secure the goodwill of a prominent Animal Person or Master of Animals who oversees the game animals. When an imbalance in the gift exchanges occurs, as when a hunter kills too many animals or the dogs chew on the bones, the animal flesh is withheld from the hunter, and the human populations suffer. It would then be the responsibility of the shaman to help restore the balance by traveling to the place of the Master of the Animals and appeasing it.

Among the Desana there are two Vaí-mahsë, Masters of the Animals, one for the animals of the forests, a masculine being, and the other for the fish of the rivers, a feminine being. Their periodic sexual visits with each other assure animal and fish offspring. Vaí-mahsë can appear as a dwarf painted red, or as a small lizard. In a hallucinated state the payé travels to the Milky Way and with the help of Vihó-mahsë, the Master of the *vihó* snuff, negotiates an exchange. For the souls of humans from a neighboring tribe the hunters will receive game animals; by the death of humans the loss of animals is replenished. If a hunter kills the wrong animals, for whom an exchange was not negotiated, Vaí-mahsë may send sickness or dangerous animals, and famine may result.

An Iglulik angákut seeks to keep the right balance between humans and the domain of animals, presided over by Takánakapsâluk, Mother of the Sea Animals. When too many animals are taken, or when taboos are broken, the angákut must restore the imbalance by "fall[ing] down in order to bring to light the animals hunted," that is, by journeying to the dangerous bottom of the sea and the abode of Takánakapsâluk. There he must win her favor.

In the Mandan Okipa ceremony (of the Great Plains of North America), the assistance of the Animal People was called upon to perpetuate the buffalo herds and a good hunt. Dancers became key primordial beings, such as Lone Man (Buffalo Spirit), Hoita (Speckled Eagle), and, dressed in a coyote hide, First Creator. The Buffalo dancers had blackened bodies with white and red strips on their legs and arms, and wore a buffalo head, buffalo hair anklets, breechcloth, and tails on their backs. The ritual drama of the ceremony sought to replicate the creation time, dramatizing a period of struggle and famine, when the buffalo were eventfully released from their captivity in Dog Den Butte. If the dancers were successful, the transformative power of the Mythic Animal People was brought to bear, renewing and perpetuating the world of animals and humans alike.

Rodney Frey

See also: Dreams and Visions; Ecology and Shamanism; Hopi Shamanism; Horses; Initiation; Iroquois Shamanism and Secret Societies; North American Oral Traditions and Shamanism; Trance Dance; Transformation

References and further reading:

Benedict, Ruth. 1923. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America.* Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, no. 29. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association.

Bowers, Alfred. 1950. *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Frey, Rodney. 1987. *The World of the Crow Indians: As Driftwood Lodges.* Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. 2001. *Landscape Traveled by Crane and Coyote: The World of the Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene).* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Harrod, Howard. 2000. *The Animals Came Dancing: Native American Sacred Ecology and Animal Kinship.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Myerhoff, Barbara. *Peyote Hunt: The Sacred Journey of the Huichol Indians.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Nelson, Richard. *Make Prayers to Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Rasmussen, Knud. 1929. *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos.* Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924, vol. 7. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

———. 1931. *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Cultures.* Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924, vol. 8. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1971. *Amazonian Cosmos: The Sexual and Religious Symbolism of the Tukano Indians.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1975. *The Shaman and the Jaguar: A Study of Narcotic Drugs among the Indians of the Columbia.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Speck, Frank. 1935. *Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula.* Norman: University of Oklahoma.

ANIMAL SYMBOLISM (ASIA)

Animals and plants are intimately related to aboriginal religions and to shamanism and its practices in particular. In this respect, European, Central Asian, and North African shamanism probably have the longest history of evidence of this association: many petroglyphs, dating from the Upper Paleolithic to the premodern period, arguably depict shamans, who are always surrounded by animals. The relation between shamans or other practitioners of aboriginal traditions and animals and plants is extremely multifaceted and complex. Animals and plants and animal-anthropomorphic figures, mythic or real, sacred or profane, have played very diverse roles within and across Asian cultures. Unfortunately, Eurasian shamanism, much of the territory of the practice of which falls within China, Mongolia, and the former USSR, has not been studied in all its diversity due to the severe ideological restrictions in the above-mentioned countries (Hutton 2001). One of the most regrettable results of this is that very rich data on the traditional myths and folklore, collected by the folklorists in the twentieth century, was called secular folklore and was almost never linked to the shamanic and other aboriginal religious practices of which it has been a natural part. Fortunately, it is still not too late to make such a connection, using the unpublished archival materials and field research. It is this material that makes it possible to discuss the categorization of the different roles and functions that animals play in the myth and practice of Eurasian shamanism.

Animals in the Creation Myths

Most of the creation myths of the aboriginal nations of Asia do not involve an animal as the Creator. Usually, the Creator is vaguely anthropomorphic or uniconic (shapeless). The exception to this general rule in Eurasia is found among Paleoasian groups (Mongoloid peoples of northeastern Asia—the Chukchee, Itel'men, and others), who consider the Raven (Kutkh) to be the Trickster-Creator (and the shamanic prototype). This fact and the proximity of the above-mentioned groups to North America (Paleoasians live in the far northeast of Siberia, mostly along the northern Pacific coast) sug-

gests the shared roots with a number of the West Coast Native groups of North America (e.g., Tlingit, Haida) whose mythology has striking similarities to the Paleoasians'.

Although the Creator in the myths of most aboriginal cultures of Eurasia cannot be easily connected with any animal figure, however, he (or sometimes she, or it, or they) always has animal helpers, who are created prior to humans and function as demiurges (supernatural beings imagined as creating or fashioning the world in subordination to the Supreme Being). The list of such animals varies from culture to culture (sometimes, animals work as teams during the creation process, performing different functions) and is very extensive: For example, among Finno-Ugrians (Saami, Khanty, et al.) a very important spirit-animal demiurge is a duck, or a loon; among the Ainu of Hokkaidō, Japan, it is a type of magpie, and so on. However, almost all of the animals that a given culture lives among have certain roles in the Creation process and Mythic Time, and thus are marked with specific sacred properties.

In some cultures, myths tell about a first attempt at mankind, or an alternative mankind, or even several alternatives, each a different species. The leading (but not unique) candidate for the role of an alternative mankind throughout boreal and circumpolar Eurasia is the bear. Thus, animals are considered the older siblings of humans, and their treatment in the religious context reflects the family hierarchy of the group in question, where younger and older siblings have their specific roles, rights, and responsibilities. Being the "first ones," animals are considered to have a more immediate connection to the Spirit World, and often function as its emanations and messengers. In these roles they are employed by shamans.

Moreover, many stories of the Mythic Time tell of animals interbreeding with humans. It is very important to notice that in most totemic beliefs that involve the descent of a lineage from an animal, the animal is not the only ancestor of a given lineage, but is one of the proto-parents (the other one is usually either a human, or a mythic being, as illustrated by the myth of the origin of Tibetans, according to which they originated from an ape and an ogress). The totemic ancestors are not necessarily the important animals of the Creation myths. However, as in the case of the Bulagat and Ekhirit clans of Buryats (Lake Baikal area, Russia) whose totems are, respectively, Blue Bull *(Bukha-Noyon)* and a Dogfish, the totems are not the ancestors, but rather the patrons of the clans from among the animals of the creation team. Shamans usually employ as their spirit helpers not the totemic animals, but rather the animals who are/were important in the Creation myths—due to the specific powers they have, which made them so important during the Creation process.

Three Spheres and Varieties of Animal Roles

Shamans, and the practices of traditional religions in general, function as a support of the balance, or homeostasis (Hamayon 1994, 109–125) of three closely connected and interpenetrating, but nonetheless differentiated spheres of the aboriginal universe: the human sphere, the spirit sphere, and the natural sphere. The communication/negotiation may be happening in any direction between any of the two spheres to affect the third one. In the hunting ceremonies, spirits (the Masters of the Animals, who are not the animals themselves) are asked to intercede on behalf of humans to bring the game. In shamanic ceremonies, animal spirits are the helpers or vehicles who carry the shaman (or that being into whom the shaman transforms) to the non-animal spirits and gods. In many cases, a shaman has to contact the non-animal spirits to mend an offense committed against an animal by a human. Finally, in many cultures, animals are treated as the messengers or, sometimes, manifestations of the spirits (a very developed view of this type is found among the Ainu of Hokkaidō [Spevakovsky 1994 and Yamada 1994]). In particular, this view is reflected in the practice of the interpretation of the omens (often, but not exclusively, conducted by shamans) and in the sending off of the spirit of the hunted game (Watanabe 1994, 55–56). More combinations of this type may be mentioned, but they all have the three realities—the human, natural, and spirit worlds—as their variables. And in all, the shaman is a representative of the human sphere on behalf of the community.

The following are the main roles that animals play in traditional religions and shamanic practice:

1. Protector and guide
2. Totem
3. Object of shaman's (or hunter's) partial or complete identification
4. Commodity offered to the spirit(s) in the form of sacrifice
5. Messenger, sometimes a malignant spirit in the disguise of an animal, often sent by another human
6. *Nagual* (spirit-animal, protector)
7. A shaman's vehicle (to the spirit-world), such as a horse or elk

In addition, in some cultures there are a number of entirely mythic animals (e.g., Altai *kerdyutpa,* the fish-like monsters of the Underworld) whom shamans have to confront and appease during their journeys. Also, there are a number of animal-astral characters who do not play an active role in shamanizing but are nonetheless addressed and reflected in myths (e.g., Altai "Three Elk Does"—Orion constellation). There has been an ongoing speculation, that the Asian (Chinese, Tibetan, et al.) animal cycle calendar is intimately connected with early shamanistic beliefs of the inhabitants of Central Asia and China. This list is by no means exhaustive, and also each of the mentioned categories can be divided into subcategories.

Protector-Guide Animals

In some groups of Eurasia, shamanic spirit-protectors are only animals, in others they may be animals, various mythological personae, and ancestors-humans, and in others only the human ancestors play this role. However, even in the latter category (Altai shamans), animals or their spirits, although not part of the core guardian spirit retinue of a shaman, are still employed as protector-sprits and are called during the ceremonies. In Tuvan shamanism, the term *eeren,* or *ongut,* denotes the category of spirits, protectors, and guides, but not necessarily the core protectors. It has extremely complicated semantics. An eeren may be an animal spirit, or an object that is endowed with power (but not quite personified) and is used as a sacred tool. An eeren may be an animal, a mythic monster, or such a thing as a *khomu* (musical instrument), *solongo* (rainbow, or its representation), or *kuzungu* (mirror) (Diakonova 1981, 145–148).

Birds are usually related to the Upper World, deer, wolf, and elk, to the Middle World, and bear, badger, wolverine, and, especially, the snake, to the Lower World. Some animal spirits are especially valued for being representatives of the several worlds; thus, as noted, the duck or loon, representing air, water, and under-water (earth), is a shamanic guide par excellence among Finno-Ugrians (Komi, Saami, Khanty and others), Samoedians (Nentsy), and other groups.

Most (but not all) of the spirit-animals depicted on the shamanic costumes, drums, and other accessories belong to this category.

Totems

As mentioned above, totemism in Asian traditions takes many diverse forms. Usually, shamans are not involved with the totemic animals, but there are exceptions. Thus, the bear among the Khanty may be a totem and, at the same time a spirit helper of a particular shaman. Also, a vague mixture of a totemic animal, a shamanic protector-animal, and even a god, who sometimes takes on a human form, sometimes an animal form (specifically a tiger), is known in Korean Shamanism (Lee 1981, 19). In general, in the cultures that have been exposed for a long time to the great world religious traditions such as Buddhism (Tibet, Ladakh, China) the categories of animals and nonanimal spirits employed by shamans tend to merge and become vague.

Objects of Shaman's Identification

Among the Eurasian aboriginal groups, the term *soul* cannot be used as it is in Western tradition, because they typically believe in multiple "souls," or rather aspects of a human (or animal, or spirit) being. The shaman's identification with an animal is usually an identification with that animal's image, which carries a particular ability, be it sight, stamina, or ability to fly. Thus some aspect of an animal, usually not the animal in totality, but rather disparate parts such as feathers and limbs, is depicted on the shamanic costume and other accessories. Interestingly, Finno-Ugrian groups, as well as the nations of the Caucasus that have some rudiments of shamanic beliefs, believe in the "vere-animal" phenomenon (that is, the physical transforma-

tion of a human into an animal), whereas this belief apparently has not been documented for the trans-Uralic (Asian), or non-Finno-Ugric groups.

Commodities

This category is almost entirely confined to groups in which hunting-gathering patterns were firmly replaced by herding long ago. Examples of such groups are Buryats, Mongolians, Altai-Sayan Turkic groups (Altai, Khakass, Tuvan), Sakha (Yakuts), various ethnic groups of Northern China, and Koreans. The shamanic pattern among such groups is strikingly different from the shamanism of the hunter-gatherers. One of the important differences between the hunter-gatherers and the herders is their respective attitudes to what is commonly called a sacrifice. Whereas for the hunter-gatherers it always has an element of sending off the animal (who is a spiritual sibling), and the carcass of an animal is treated with utmost respect, among herders the sacrifice of a reindeer, a horse, or a sheep is, first and foremost, an *offering of valuable property* to the spirit in question. The offered animal does not have value in itself, but is treated as a commodity that the spirit would enjoy. Missionary-ethnographer Verbitsky, who worked among the Altaians in the late nineteenth century, erroneously saw the sacrifice of damaged horses to Erlik, the god of the Underworld, as the sign of people's dislike of an "evil god" (Verbitsky 1893, 62). Apparently, he did not know that, according to Altai belief, in the Underworld objects behaved in the opposite fashion, compared to the objects of the Middle World: Only things that were broken or damaged in the Middle World were whole and functional in the Underworld.

Messenger

Animals (sometimes all, sometimes just certain species) are often seen as messengers of the spirits (good or bad). Among the peoples of the lower Amur River in Northeast Asia (the Ul'chi, the Nivkh, and the Evenki), such a messenger is the Siberian tiger. His name, *amba,* means "master." His appearance may mean many things, but it is always seen as an awesome omen. Prophetically, the Russian settlers of the area use amba as a slang term for death. Even the game animal, which has been sent to be hunted, is seen as a messenger. Therefore, it is sent off in a ceremony after having been consumed (or killed). The malignant messengers, which are seen as evil spirits disguised as animals, often insects, are usually sent by an enemy shaman or a warlock. Sometimes, such animals are warlocks themselves (or one of their aspects, or "souls," is). Across the Eurasian boreal area, a bear, woken up in winter and wandering, is commonly seen as one of these spirits. For the above-mentioned people of lower Amur as well as for the Manchus, a tiger may sometimes be seen as a malignant messenger.

Nagual

This term, used by the Mazatecan in Oaxaca, Mexico, denotes a spirit-animal that is a protector of a person (whether shaman or not). The difference from other spirit-protectors lies in the fact that this type of protector is embodied in an individual animal whose life is intimately connected with the life of the protected person. The research on nagualism in Asia has been very limited, but it is possible to say confidently that such a phenomenon exists in one or another form in many of the Asian groups. For example, among the Altai, an animal and a plant (both a species and a certain specimen) are called *bayana* (or *payana*) and occupy a position somewhere between a totem and a nagual. According to the author's field data, mending damage done to one's bayana, or healing the harm done by its destruction, is one of the goals of shamanic sessions.

Shamanic Vehicle

A peculiar variation of the idea, close to nagualism, can be found in the Siberian notion, among the Altaians, Tuvans, and Evenki, of the spiritual value of the shamanic drum. Whereas in some cultures the drum is simply a tool and can be replaced by another drum, for the Altaians it is an animal, which is strongly connected to the drum's owner. The skin of the drum is usually taken from an elk, killed in a very particular manner, and the "soul" of the elk, its *pura,* or *bura,* is placed into the drum through a fairly sophisticated ceremony. The drum (or rather, its bura) is an object of suppli-

cation and sacrifice, performed by the shaman at every session. Thus, the drum (or its bura) becomes a vehicle and, simultaneously, an assistant to the shaman. Each shaman can have only a limited amount of drums during his or her lifetime. After a drum is damaged, its skin is broken to release the bura. After the last drum destined for a given shaman cannot serve anymore, the shaman is expected to die, and the skin of the drum is broken at the funeral. Despite the fact that the skin of an Altai drum is always made out of elk hide, it is often called a horse, or even a camel. The bura, in the form of an animal, is usually depicted on the surface of the drum. In both Chinese folk cults and Daoism, the notion of an animal as the vehicle for a mystic is quite prominent: This might indicate that there is a relationship between Daoism and shamanism.

Finally, in many Asian cultures, a number of entirely mythic animal figures are present in traditional religions, especially in shamanism. Although some of these human-animal hybrids, which often serve as shamans' spirits, are apparently indigenous to the culture in question, other beings are evidently imported from elsewhere. This kind of foreign origin is especially characteristic of the Inner Asian Turkic ethnic groups. Thus, for example, the Altai fish-like monster *ker-dyutpa* (depicted on the shamanic costume and confronted by shamans during their journeys to the Underworld) was borrowed from Tibetan mythology (Sagalaev 1984, 72). Most such borrowings can be traced to China, Tibet, India, or Iran. Although tracing the origins of various mythological personae imported into Asian shamanism is a fascinating topic, very little work has been done in this direction.

The theme of animals in Asian shamanism and other traditional beliefs and practices still needs much research. There are two directions for cross-cultural research in this area. The first involves research along the line of cultures' common origin. Many of the cultures of Asia are genetically related and share common mythologies, which are reflected in their practices. The second involves research in areas that share the same ecology (Irimoto and Yamada 1994). Although cultures that occupy the same or similar ecological zones (e.g., groups of the Pacific East and West Coasts) do not show any signs of being genetically related, their beliefs, especially with respect to animals, are strikingly similar. When both kinds of cross-cultural research are done, it may shed light on the often raised question: What is more likely to make the beliefs and practices of two cultures resemble each other, shared habitat or common origin?

Andrei Vinogradov

See also: Ainu Shamanism; Buryat Shamanism; Chinese Shamanism, Classical; Daoism and Shamanism; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Dreams and Visions; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure; Ecology and Shamanism; Finno-Ugric Shamanism; Horses; Korean Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Russian Folklore and Shamanism; Sakha Shamanism; Tibetan Shamanism; Transformation; Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Diakonova, V. P. 1981. "Tuvinskie shamany i ikh sotsial'naia rol' v obshchestve" [Tuvan shamans and their social role]. Pp. 129–165 in *Problemy Obshchestvennogo Soznaniia Aborigenov Sibirii* [Problems of Social Consciousness of Aboriginal Siberians]. Edited by I. S. Vdovin. Leningrad: Nauka.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1994. "Shamanism: A Religion of Nature?" Pp. 109–125 in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Humphrey, Caroline, and U. Onon. 1996. *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Daur Mongols.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hutton, Ronald. 2001. *Shamans: Siberian Spirituality and Western Imagination.* London and New York: Hambledon.

Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako, eds. 1994. *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Lee, Jung Yong. 1981. *Korean Shamanistic Rituals.* New York: Mouton Publishers.

Sagalaev, A. M. 1984. *Mifologiia i Verovaniia Altaitsev: Tsentral'no-aziatskie vliianiia* [Mythology and Beliefs of Altaians: Central Asian Influences] Novosibirsk, Russia: Nauka.

Shirokogoroff, S. M. 1935. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* London: Kegan Paul.

Spevakovsky, A. B. 1994. "Animal Cults and Ecology: Ainu and East Siberian Examples."

Pp. 103–109 in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
Verbitsky, V. I. 1893. *Altaiskie Inorodtsy* [Altai Natives]. Moscow.
Watanabe Hitoshi. 1994. "The Animal Cult of Northern Hunter-Gatherers: Patterns and Their Ecological Implications." Pp. 47–69 in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
Yamada Takako. 1994. "Animals as the Intersection of Religion and Ecology: An Ainu Example." Pp. 69–103 in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
———. 1999. *An Anthropology of Animism and Shamanism.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF SHAMANISM

Shamanism is widely distributed and commonly (even if not universally) associated with hunter-gatherers. These facts have led various researchers to propose that it is not simply an ancient religious system, but also the original system of belief brought into the Americas, if not perhaps even the first religion of humankind (e.g., Furst 1977; LaBarre 1980). Research on the archaeology of shamanism has been stimulated by these hypotheses as well as by interest in prehistoric religion more generally.

Archaeologists typically investigate prehistoric shamanism using three types of evidence: (1) paleoethnobotanical data on hallucinogenic plants in the archaeological record; (2) iconography and symbolism; and (3) less commonly, other types of ritual or ceremonial remains. The first two evidential concerns are predicated on the importance of altered states of consciousness in shamanistic practice; the third is often tied to some type of ethnographic analogy (i.e., comparisons with ethnographically described rituals and beliefs of a later date). The best studies combine different types of evidence and approaches, but all confront the problem of coming up with a definition for shamanism that can be recognized archaeologically. That is, although cross-cultural studies have identified characteristics of "classic" shamanism in order to distinguish it from other magico-religious practices and practitioners (e.g., Winkelman 1992), isolating the evidence upon which such distinctions can be made in the archaeological record is a difficult task.

Paleolithic and Neolithic Eurasia

Archaeological investigations of shamanism have concentrated on Eurasia and the Americas, with an important but smaller body of work in southern Africa. In greater Eurasia they have emphasized three general topics: (a) the time-depth of Siberian and central Asian shamanism; (b) Paleolithic rock art of western Europe; and, recently, (c) western European Neolithic passage tombs. The antiquity of Siberian shamanism is important, inasmuch as Siberia is often described as the cradle of shamanism. In particular, the first inhabitants of the Americas migrated into the hemisphere from eastern Siberia, suggesting that this region may be the source for the New World shamanistic complex and, if so, that shamanism must be Paleolithic in age (over 10,000 years old) in its putative northeastern Asiatic homeland. Debate still surrounds this question, partly because the archaeological record in Siberia is little studied.

With respect to antiquity, Ekaterina Devlet (2001) cited continuities in the form of iconography on historical shamanic costumes and ritual objects (especially drums) with certain unusual burials and the iconography of Siberian rock art. The similarities she identifies suggest that shamanism dates from at least the Bronze Age (approximately 3,000 years ago) in this region. Similarly, Andrzej Rozwadowski (2001), concluded that Bronze Age (and perhaps late Neolithic) rock art in Central Asia is shamanistic. Both cases are supported by evidence for the ritual use of the narcotic cannabis, found in Bronze Age Siberian tombs dating from 500–300 B.C.E. (Rudenko 1970). But in none of these examples, nor in any others, do archaeologists propose the kind of Paleolithic age required to support arguments for a Siberian origin for New World shamanism. Whether this lack of evidence is due to the limited archaeological work in Siberia and Central Asia or, alternatively, is the case because the Asiatic-origin hypothesis is simply wrong, remains unresolved.

Two circumstances make it seem more likely that the Asiatic-origin hypothesis is wrong. For one thing, cross-cultural ethnographic and neuropsychological studies suggest that the widespread distribution of shamanism is not solely due to diffusion but instead is partly a result of independent invention based on innate human capacities (Winkelman 1992); shamanism, in other words, may not have originated only in a single region. The related circumstance involves the second major topic in the archaeology of Eurasian shamanism: the origin and meaning of western European rock art, especially the Paleolithic cave art of France and Spain. This art is exclusively associated with anatomically modern humans (i.e., *Homo sapiens,* not Neanderthal). Recent research at Chauvet Cave in the Ardèche region of southeastern France demonstrates that it was created as early as 33,000 years ago; work at other caves shows that it continued to be made until about 10,000 years ago (Lewis-Williams 2002a). Yet no evidence beyond potential cross-cultural universals suggests any direct linkage between this art and Siberian shamanistic beliefs and practices, and these cross-cultural universals may be neurobiologically rather than culturally based (Winkelman 2002).

Compelling evidence has been presented supporting the interpretation that some if not much European Paleolithic art is shamanistic in origin, and that it depicts visionary imagery (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988; Lewis-Williams 2002a). Foretelling detailed arguments made recently by J. David Lewis-Williams, Weston LaBarre described the art at two important French caves thus: "The dancing-shaman [at Les Trois Frères] is [not a 'god' but] a shamanic trickster-transformer; the cave artist at Lascaux perceives an unevenness in the rock wall and on this he paints the animal into existence deep in the womb of the earth. He literally only creates what he 'conceives'—out of a half-reality he has perceived" (1980, 53–54).

Important here is the context of the sites: Art in the deep recesses of the caves occurs in locations where sensory deprivation is likely, and this can easily result in an altered state of consciousness; humans are then predisposed to enter trance at the sites. More directly, the art itself is supportive of such an interpretation, inasmuch as it includes kinds, mixtures, and characteristics of motifs that, based on clinical neuropsychological studies, are known to be generated as mental images and somatic hallucinations in trance (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988).

Lewis-Williams's (2002a) detailed analysis of the caves suggested that they served as entries into the supernatural; and that shaman-artists engraved and painted the spirits they perceived on the cave wall or ceiling, during their visionary experiences, on that rock surface—which served as a kind of veil between the mundane and the sacred. To Lewis-Williams, the appearance of European Paleolithic rock art signals not only the first evidence of shamanism and art, but also the development of a fully modern human consciousness; one that was neurally capable of achieving trance but, perhaps more importantly, was mentally able to invest that brain-mind state with the greatest emotional and intellectual significance.

Interpretation of the subsequent Neolithic passage tombs of western Europe as shamanistic was first stimulated by the discovery of opium residues and ceramic braziers at sites dating to approximately 6,000 years ago. These finds caused Andrew Sherrat (1991) to hypothesize the existence of a cult that spread from south to north, with the inhalation of narcotics related to "mortuary rituals and communication with the ancestors" (Sherrat 1995, 28). Richard Bradley (1989) noted that the engravings on curbstones at some of these sites, such as Newgrange and Knowth, Ireland, resembled the geometric designs that Lewis-Williams and Thomas Dowson (1988) had identified in rock art as exemplary of the mental imagery of trance. Bradley noted further parallels between the mental images of trance and the designs on Grooved Ware ceramics, dating from about 4400 to 5000 years ago in southern England and found in ritual contexts. Jeremy Dronfield (e.g., 1996) reported the recovery of seeds and pollen of imported psychoactive henbane found in Grooved Ware at a megalithic ceremonial complex at Balfarg, Scotland. Based on neuropsychological analysis, he further concluded that various trance-induction techniques were employed at these sites.

In comparing the evidence for Paleolithic versus Neolithic shamanism in western Europe, Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1993) suggested a shift in the Neolithic to more politically controlled access to altered states of consciousness, toward the use of shamanistic techniques to ac-

cess spirits of ancestors associated with these grave sites. Neolithic passage tombs, then, may not have been shamanistic in the narrower classic meanings of this term, but instead may have been associated with magico-religious practices, including trance induction techniques, more similar to mediumistic and spirit possession cults (cf. Winkelman 1992).

The Americas

The prevalence of shamanism in Native American cultures and their direct ties to the archaeological record have contributed to considerable research on prehistoric shamanism in the New World. This research has emphasized two general concerns: the evidence for and the implications of shamanism among North American hunter-gatherer cultures, and the interpretation of shamanistic elements in the art and iconography of the large-scale cultures of Mesoamerica and South America.

The mescal, or red, bean *(Sophora secundiflora),* for example, was used historically by shamans in various hunter-gatherer cultures for vision questing on the southern Great Plains of North America (Howard 1957). In the Trans-Pecos region of Texas, paleoethnobotanical evidence of this plant has been found in archaeological contexts extending back to Paleo-Indian times, more than 10,000 years ago; the Texas buckeye *(Ugnadia speciosa),* whose seeds are a particularly potent hallucinogen, has been found in association with the mescal bean in a 9,000-year-old deposit; peyote *(Lophophora williamsi)* has been identified archaeologically as early as 7,000 years ago; and jimsonweed (*Datura stramonium*) about 5,000 years ago (Campbell 1958; Boyd 1998). These discoveries suggest a hallucinogenic tradition of great antiquity. This tradition has been linked to the rock paintings of the lower Pecos River region for the period of about 3,000 to 4,000 ago, as these paintings are, for numerous reasons, widely recognized as shamanistic in origin (Boyd 1998).

Further study of the antiquity of North American shamanism has occurred in the Mojave Desert, California. Four lines of evidence provide support for Paleo-Indian origins for a central component of this religious system: the vision quest (Whitley et al. 1999). The evidence includes more than 10,000 years of continuity in the creation of rock engravings (made historically to portray trance imagery experienced during the shamans' vision quests); the continuity is evident in the general rock art motifs created (including imagery linked to altered states of consciousness), as well as in four specific iconographic aspects of the dominant iconic motif; in site use; and in the use of quartz hammerstones to make the engravings.

In the last case, use of quartz hammerstones is linked to the ethnographic practice of breaking quartz during vision quests to release the supernatural power said to be present in this common mineral. This belief is itself tied to physical properties of quartz: When quartz is struck, triboluminescence (a change at the atomic level in the mineral) causes it to glow, thereby providing a physical manifestation of the rock's putative supernatural power. The almost universal association between shamans and quartz is then explained by the natural logic resulting from this physical property of the mineral, a conclusion further supported by the fact that archaeologically recovered quartz specimens commonly display evidence of battering or rubbing.

As the Pecos and Mojave examples imply, archaeological studies of North American shamanism are frequently tied to rock art research, with much if not most hunter-gatherer rock art on the continent now recognized as shamanistic in origin. Although this fact might be taken to suggest a monolithic and timeless interpretation of this art, exactly the opposite is the case. The 3,000- to 4,000-year-old lower Pecos rock art, for example, includes detailed paintings of apparent peyote rituals that are unlike rock art elsewhere and derive from ritual practice otherwise not known archaeologically or ethnographically in the Trans-Pecos region (Boyd 1998). Similarly, although the shamanistic basis for Mojave Desert rock art has been shown to extend back to Paleo-Indian times (Whitley et al. 1999), this by no means suggests that the social place of the art and the shamanism that it implies was in any way static and unchanging. In fact, the ideological role of this art and the sociopolitical position of its shaman-creators apparently changed significantly between 1,000 and 2,000 years ago, during a period of climate change and adaptive shifts, reflecting changing gender relations in societies and the emergence of bands with shaman-head-

men (Whitley 1994a). Among prehistoric North American hunter-gatherer cultures, at least, shamanism served as a unifying but not unitary symbolic and religious system.

The diversity in the expression of shamanism in prehistoric America is best seen by comparison with the large-scale cultures of Mesoamerica and Andean South America. Although the religious systems of these civilizations were not shamanistic in the classic sense, the importance of shamanistic iconography in their art and the centrality of shamanistic techniques in their ritual practices is nonetheless inescapable. With about 130 of the 150 plant hallucinogens identified worldwide found in the Americas, LaBarre (1980) has hypothesized the existence of a "New World narcotic complex." This does not appear to have resulted from unusual botanical circumstances in the Americas but instead from a very intensive and long-lasting interest in psychotropic plants taken by Native Americans, including those living in complex chiefdom- and state-level societies.

Evidence for the ritual use of hallucinogens then is present essentially from the Formative Period beginnings of these New World civilizations, starting about 3,000 years ago, and continues into the historical period, as was well-documented by the Spanish (Furst 1976). This use included a wide range of hallucinogenic plants, such as peyote, jimsonweed, native tobacco (*Nicotiana* spp.), *ayahuasca (Banisteriopsis caapi)* vine, *teonanacatl* mushroom *(Psilocybe mexicana),* morning glory *(Turbina corymbosa),* and the San Juan cactus *(Trichocereus pachanoi),* among others. Evidence also exists of other practices intended to induce altered states of consciousness, including bloodletting and the possible ingestion of psychoactive secretions from the giant toad, *Bufo marinus,* which contains bufotenine and buftalin. The various substances were smoked, snuffed, eaten, drunken, taken as enemas, administered topically to the skin and eyes, and, in certain cases, carefully mixed using specific recipes in order to achieve particular hallucinogenic effects.

The importance of these hallucinogens and the altered states of consciousness that they were used to induce is shown dramatically in art and iconography, both by identifiable depictions of the hallucinogens themselves and through representations of their effects. Mushroom stone effigies are common at sites in the highlands and Pacific slope of Guatemala prior to about 200 C.E., for example, as are stone "altars" made in the form of the *Bufo marinus.* In West Mexico, at about this same time, ceramic human and animal figurines are shown holding or eating peyote as well as taking snuff. Similarly, the San Juan cactus is shown in Peruvian sculpture, textiles, and ceramics, including examples from Chavin de Huantar, the first great Formative civilization in the Andean region, and other examples can be found in later cultures, especially the Moche, dating from the first millennium of the common era.

Equally importantly, a shamanic repertoire of symbolic themes such as mystical flight, death/rebirth, aggression, and bodily transformation is widely represented. All of these symbols are well known cross-culturally and can be linked to the somatic and emotional effects of altered states of consciousness; they were used as embodied metaphors for otherwise ineffable experiences (Whitley 1994b, 1998). Figurines and sculptures of "jaguar-priests" characteristic of the first major civilization of Mesoamerica, the Olmec of southern Mexico, for example, can be understood as conflations of humans and the predatory feline, which, throughout the lowland tropical Americas, is strongly associated with shamanic power. Humans in flight, which is to say having an out-of-body experience, are also present in Olmec iconography. Similarly, an early sculpture at Chavin de Huantar not only depicts the hallucinatory San Juan cactus, but also a standing human with serpentine hair, bird claws, and feline fangs.

Combinations of bird, reptile, and feline characteristics, sometimes also melded with human, are in fact a hallmark of shamanistic imagery for the civilizations of Mesoamerica and South America, speaking to the importance of transformation in the belief systems and ritual practices of these cultures (Furst 1976): that is, the transformation of ritual practitioners, during trance, into their supernatural alter egos. But perhaps the best expression of the shamanistic aspects of New World civilizations is provided by the Classic Maya, who occupied eastern Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras from about 200 to 1000 C.E.:

> The act of communication between the human world and the Otherworld was represented by the most profound symbols of Maya

> kingship: the Vision Serpent and the Double-headed Serpent Bar. In the rapture of bloodletting rituals, the king brought the great World Tree [axis mundi] into existence through the middle of the temple and opened the awesome doorway in the Otherworld. During both public and private bloodletting rituals, the Vision Serpent, which symbolized the path of communication between the two worlds, was seen rising in a cloud of incense and smoke above the temples housing the sculptured sanctums. (Schele and Friedel 1990, 68–69)

Shamanistic techniques and the art and imagery that resulted were not only part of the religious systems of New World civilizations, but were central to these systems, so central that they served as symbols of rulership. These systems appear to have involved a kind of institutionalized shamanism, or at least an institutionalized use of shamanistic techniques. In Mesoamerica, at least, this use involved rituals and public spectacles that implied a supernatural sanctification of rulership, pointing to the fact that, although the prehistoric connection between shamanistic power and political power may have not been complete, they were nonetheless joined at the hip; rarely did one exist without the other completely in step with it.

Southern Africa

Archaeological evidence for shamanism has been identified in many other cases in additional regions of the world, but one of the strongest bodies of evidence, and richest interpretive frameworks, has been developed for the southern San (or Bushmen) rock art of southern Africa (e.g., Lewis-Williams 2002b). Painted on rock shelters in open locations that (unlike European Paleolithic cave art) were adjacent to living areas, or engraved on open boulders in regions lacking shelters, this art provides a particularly detailed record of the San perception of the spirit world. Unlike the New World case, this supernatural realm appears to have been accessed largely through what is known as the communal Trance Dance, which was open to a large proportion of adult society. Again, due to the cross-cultural universals commonly cited in shamanistic practice and symbolism, the San art has many parallels with the shamanistic rock art of Paleolithic Europe and North America, including depictions of motifs known to be generated as the mental imagery of trance, and the use of shamanic metaphors like death and flying for ineffable altered states of consciousness.

The southern African shamanistic tradition appears to be of great antiquity, rivaling the European Upper Paleolithic: At Apollo 11 Cave, Namibia, a painted plaquette was recovered from a stratigraphic layer dated to about 27,000 years ago. The plaquette portrays a feline with plantigrade rear feet, suggesting that it is a conflation of a human and an animal; this bodily transformation indicates continuity in belief throughout the Late Stone Age in this part of the world (Lewis-Williams 1984).

Archaeological research has traditionally emphasized material culture and material aspects of prehistory. The archaeology of religion, regardless of type, is in fact a relatively new and still somewhat undeveloped concern. As the above examples illustrate, however, substantial work has already occurred, contributing to some understanding of the prehistory of shamanism.

David S. Whitley

See also: Art and Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Entheogens and Shamanism; Mayan Shamanism; Peyote Ritual Use; Rock Art and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Boyd, Carolyn E. 1998. "Pictographic Evidence of Peyotism in the Lower Pecos, Texas Archaic." Pp. 229–246 in *The Archaeology of Rock Art.* Edited by C. Chippindale and P. S. C. Taçon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bradley, Richard. 1989. "Deaths and Entrances: A Contextual Analysis of Megalithic Tombs." *Current Anthropology* 30: 68–75.

Campbell, Thomas N. 1958. "The Origin of the Mescal Bean Cult." *American Anthropologist* 60: 156–160.

Devlet, Ekaterina. 2001. "Rock Art and the Material Culture of Siberian and Central Asian Shamanism." Pp. 43–55 in *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* Edited by N. Price. London: Routledge.

Dronfield, Jeremy. 1996. "Entering alternative Realities: Cognition, Art, and Architecture in Irish Passage Tombs." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6: 37–72.

Furst, Peter T. 1976. *Hallucinogens and Culture.* Novato, CA: Chandler and Sharp.

———. 1977. "The Roots and Continuities of Shamanism." Pp. 1–28 in *Stones, Bones and Skin: Ritual and Shamanic Art.* Edited by A. Brodzky, R. Daneswich and N. Johnson. Toronto: Artscanada.

Howard, J. H. 1957. "The Mescal Bean Cult of the Central and Southern Plains: Ancestor of the Peyote Cult?" *American Anthropologist* 59: 75–87.

LaBarre, Weston. 1980. *Culture in Context: Selected Writings of Weston LaBarre.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Lewis-Williams, J. David. 1984. "Ideological Continuities in Prehistoric Southern Africa: The Evidence of Rock Art." Pp. 225–252 in *Past and Present in Hunter-Gatherer Studies.* Edited by C. Schrire. New York: Academic Press.

———. 2002a. *The Mind in the Cave: Consciousness and the Origins of Art.* London: Thames and Hudson.

———. 2002b. *A Cosmos in Stone: Interpreting Religion and Society Through Rock Art.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Lewis-Williams, J. David, and Thomas A. Dowson. 1988. "The Signs of All Times: Entoptic Phenomena in Upper Paleolithic Rock Art." *Current Anthropology* 29: 201–245.

———. 1993. "On Vision and Power in the Neolithic: Evidence from the Decorated Monuments." *Current Anthropology* 34: 55–65.

Rozwadowski, Andrzej. 2001. "Sun Gods or Shamans? Interpreting the 'Solar-Headed' Petroglyphs of Central Asia." Pp. 65–86 in *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* Edited by N. Price. London: Routledge.

Rudenko, S. I. 1970. *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Bronze Age Horsemen.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schele, Linda, and David Friedel. 1990. *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya.* New York: William Morrow and Company.

Sherrat, Andrew. 1991. "Sacred and Profane Substances: The Ritual Use of Narcotics in Later Neolithic Europe." Pp. 50–64 in *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion, Monograph 32.* Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

———. 1995. "Alcohol and Its Alternatives: Symbol and Substance in Pre-Industrial Cultures." Pp. 11–46 in *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology.* Edited by J. Goodman, P. E. Lovejoy and A. Sherratt. London: Routledge.

Sutherland, P. 2001. "Shamanism and the Iconography of Paleo-Eskimo Art." Pp. 135–145 in *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* Edited by N. Price. London: Routledge.

Whitley, David S. 1994a. "By the Hunter, for the Gatherer: Art, Social Relations and Subsistence Change in the Prehistoric Great Basin." *World Archaeology* 25: 356–372.

———. 1994b. "Shamanism, Natural Modeling and the Rock Art of Far Western North America." Pp. 1–43 in *Shamanism and Rock Art in North America.* Edited by S. Turpin. San Antonio, TX: Rock Art Foundation, Inc., Special Publication 1.

———. 1998. "Cognitive Neuroscience, Shamanism and the Rock Art of Native California." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 9: 22–36.

Whitley, David S., Ronald I. Dorn, Joseph M. Simon, Robert Rechtman, and Tamara K. Whitley. 1999. "Sally's Rockshelter and the Archaeology of the Vision Quest." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9: 221–247.

Winkelman, Michael. 1992. "Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners." Anthropological Research Papers No. 44. Arizona State University, Tempe.

———. 2002. "Shamanism and Cognitive Evolution." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12: 71–101.

ART AND SHAMANISM

The meaning of the terms *shamanism* and *art* has been much debated; to consider both together, then, is a challenging task. Shamanism is an academic construct: Those from the West who encountered Siberian shamans in the eighteenth century (see, e.g., Hutton 2002), and thereafter compared them with similar ecstatic priests and mediums (see, e.g., Narby and Huxley 2001), created *shaman-ism* as a generic term ascribed to a wide diversity of socioreligious practices worldwide (see, e.g., Eliade 1989). The use of such a generalizing term contributed to a tendency to ignore the diversity of practitioners,

and now, in a neoshamanic era, shamanisms are further decontextualised, universalized, and romanticized (and in some instances honored) by Westerners wanting to be shamans (Wallis 2003). The term *art* has endured a similar process of homogenization, having also emerged as a concept in the West in the eighteenth century, defined according to Kantian and Hegelian aesthetics and notions of genius, connoisseurship, and taste; in the early twenty-first century, almost any form of visual (and material) culture can be incorporated into the art dealer-critic system. Thus one can make a good case that shamanism and art have been constructed historically by the West. When these terms are applied to non-Western communities, then, as in the study of shamanic art, the approach must be self-consciously critical and sensitive to diversity among indigenous and prehistoric communities. Recent work in the field has tried to take this imperative into account.

The Problem of Defining the Terms

Scholars have yet to agree on a discrete definition of shamanism (Harvey 2002), but Thomas Dowson (1999) argued that rather than pin shamans down by going through a checklist of features, specific religious phenomena, or restrictive definitions, it might be best to look for three elements that embrace intercultural similarity and community specificity: (1) Agents consistently alter consciousness; (2) these altered states are accepted as important ritual practices by the agent's community; and (3) knowledge concerning altered consciousness is controlled as a way of seeing to it that certain socially sanctioned practices are carried out. Such nuanced consideration is also essential when considering art. Recognizing *art* as a concept created during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, Mary Staniszewski (1995) argued the term should not be applied before this period, to such imagery as Paleolithic "Venus" figurines and Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. Janet Wolff (1981) had already suggested that the production and consumption of specific visual cultures can only be understood when examined in their social contexts. Drawing on both approaches, it seems reasonable to retain the term *art* when examining non-Western visual imagery, since like the generic *shaman* it has currency, so long as (1) it is clear that it is not a fixed, nonnegotiable, value-free term, (2) indigenous art is not directly compared with Western art, and (3) the "art" in question is examined in its specific social context.

With the terms *shamanism* and *art* recognized as problematic and approaches to them developed, it becomes reasonable to consider the four principle disciplines that have proposed links between shamanism and art: anthropology, archaeology, art history, and psychology. In brief, then: Anthropologists in general have debated the value of applying the Western concept of art cross-culturally to shamanic visual culture and have developed methodologies for exploring local indigenous aesthetics. Archaeologists have proposed sophisticated methodologies that suggest that certain elements of rock art imagery (e.g., some European Paleolithic cave art, some Southern African rock engravings and paintings) and other material culture derive from the altered states of consciousness entered into by shamans. A variety of artists in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have called themselves shamans, or their work has been interpreted by scholars as "shamanic." Linking the interests of these three groups, via the perceived commonality of the human central nervous system and/or psychological interpretations of "mind," psychologists have referred to the art of mentally ill patients as shamanic. Clearly shamanic art has a wide variety of meanings to different people, so wide perhaps that the value of the term could be questioned. Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to provide more detailed accounts of how these four disciplines have approached shamans and art, with reference to specific examples of perceived shamanic arts, in order to bring out the value of each approach to an understanding of both shamans and art.

Anthropology

Anthropologists have pointed out that the application of the terms *art* and *aesthetics* is problematic outside the occident (e.g., Gell 1998). In elucidating the meanings of imagery to the specific communities that produce and consume it, anthropologists often have the advantage of being able to ask the people themselves. In the context of shamanic art, ethnographic records suggest that the visual imagery is often a direct depiction of shamanic experiences. For

the Huichol (who call themselves Wixárika) in Mexico, for example, yarn paintings produced by applying brightly colored woolen threads to beeswax "canvases" portray the intense visions of the Mara'akáme (Schaeffer and Furst 1996). According to the elements common to various shamanisms defined above, the Mara'akáme are shamans: (1) they induce altered consciousness by ingesting the cactus peyote; (2) such ritual practices are supported by the community—the role of the Mara'akáme is central to community life; and (3) the Mara'akáme engage with the spirit world in order to perform essential community-related tasks; in particular the peyote enables them to "see with their hearts," promoting social well-being and cohesion.

The bright colors and kaleidoscopic shapes in the yarn paintings are a reflection of their origins in altered consciousness. Based on their formal properties alone—the tools of the traditional art historian—the meaning of Huichol yarn painting imagery is elusive. Only awareness of Huichol cosmology makes it possible to understand why Huichol artists might portray, for example, two hunters shooting a cactus. On the sacred thousand-mile pilgrimage to the land of Wirikúta (in the north-central desert of Mexico) where the Mara'akáme harvest peyote, all social conventions are reversed: Men become women, for example, the young become old, and the peyote cactus becomes a deer. When collecting the cactus, the Mara'akáme "hunt" the deer, firing "prayer arrows" into the plant. It is now clear why some yarn paintings portray the hunters and cactus as they do: The art is a literal depiction of the Mara'akáme "hunting" the deer/peyote in Wirikúta. Where the traditional methods of art history might examine formal properties and aesthetics alone at the expense of indigenous understandings, approaching Huichol yarn paintings as shamanic art in a specific socioreligious context makes it possible to understand the complex meaning of the imagery.

Embroidered artwork of the Huichol Indians, bright with colors and symbols. January 1982. (Morton Beebe/Corbis)

Since Huichol art works so well as an example with which to argue against the institutionalized concept of art, it is ironic that Huichol art has entered the Western-motivated dealer-critic system: Yarn paintings by famous Huichol artists fetch high prices on the unfortunately named "primitive" art market. In fact, anthropology itself has turned to this arena, the "traffic in [visual] culture" (Marcus and Myers 1995), as a fertile area for research, not only for understanding how the Huichol and other indigenous communities in similar situations (indigenous art is hot property across the world) are adapting actively to these circumstances, but also for better understanding the ways (post)modern Westerners are implicated in processes of neocolonialism (see, e.g., papers in MacClancy 1997). Contemporary art historians are also interested in how the dealer-critic coterie reifies canonical approaches to art (selling indigenous art as "Art," for instance), since it has developed a more self-reflective understanding of art, one that takes into account postmodern theory (e.g., Hides 1996). Although the anthropological example of the Huichol demonstrates that approaching some indigenous art as shamanic is valid, applying the terms *shamanism* and *art* to archaeological data is more controversial.

Archaeology

Use of the term *shamanism* in discussions of archaeological art is not new: The stereotypical shaman Other, whose practices are perceived as

the origins of religion, is singled out as the "artist" of that classic Other archaeological art perceived as the origins of "art"—Cave Art. Cursory references to shamanism are all too frequent in archaeological literature: In G. Speake's analysis of raptors in Anglo-Saxon "animal art," for instance, he observed that "the interpretation must be that the birds represent the mind of Odin as seer or shaman" (Speake 1980, 82). This liberal, off-the-cuff use of the term *shaman* strips shamans, art, and the material culture in question of context. To provide more than cursory comments, one must embed shamanistic interpretations of archaeological art in specific, local, community contexts. (The term "shamanistic," used here in connection with archaeological findings, indicates that our interpretation of such art can be even more tentative than more recent—and verifiable—examples of "shamanic" art.) Such an approach, aided by ethnographic analogy and neuropsychological research, has produced sophisticated interpretations of rock art.

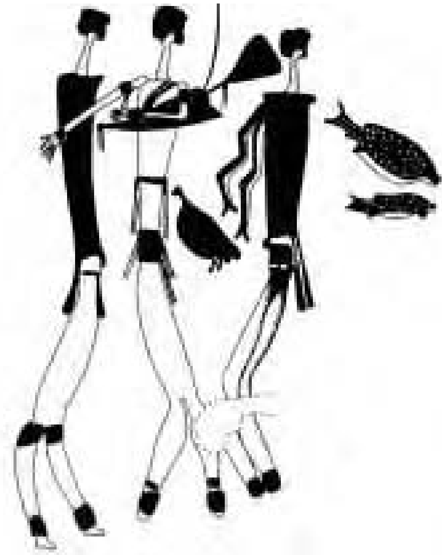
San (Bushman) rock painting, Southern Africa, interpreted as a depiction of trance dancing. (Courtesy of Thomas Dowson)

Interpretations of rock art traditions worldwide have been diverse: Rock art has been understood as art for art's sake, as information storage, and as hunting magic. Contemporary researchers tend to agree that many of these interpretations have been Western constructions and problematized insufficiently to be of value. Over the last fifteen years, however, theorizing of the approach that sees rock art as shamanistic has made an important contribution to rock art research. Southern African rock art researchers (e.g., Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1999), have reexamined rock art imagery in the region in light of ethnographic documents from the nineteenth century and anthropological records since the 1950s, both of which record the lifeways of the San (Bushmen). Central to the community life of the contemporary San and likely also to the life of their ancestors who produced the rock art is the trance, or healing dance, in which shamans alter consciousness by means of dancing, hyperventilation, and the auditory driving of monotonous clapping and singing (e.g., Katz, Biesele, and St. Denis 1997).

The altered consciousness San shamans induce is felt as a painful boiling energy called *n|om* (or *n|um*) at the base of the spine; it is considered a supernatural potency, and it rises up the spine as it increases in intensity until shamans collapse in a trance, called *!aia* (or *!kia*). To the Western observer, the shaman appears unconscious, often sweating profusely and bleeding from the nose, such is the intensity of the experience. Other shamans revive trancing shamans by rubbing them vigorously with their own sweat (said to contain n|om), and sweat is used similarly to heal the sick—sickness that, from the anthropologist's point of view, may be physical or social. Hence the trance dance facilitates community healing and is central to community life. After the dance, shamans have described how !aia was rather different from unconsciousness: Out-of-body experiences in the spirit world have been reported, during which shamans may journey over the veldt in search of game, remove arrows of sickness from the sick, and encounter spirit helpers in the form of birds and animals. It is precisely these shamanistic aspects of San lifeways that are depicted in some Southern African rock art.

One painting, for example, is most likely a literal depiction of a trance dance: A number of human figures are dancing around two central figures, leaving a circular furrow in the desert sand. Some of the dancing figures have their arms raised upwards or are bent over in postures like the trance postures San shamans adopt in the Kalahari today. At the center of the group appears to be a shaman laying his or her hands on a prone patient. A single arrow is

juxtaposed with these figures and the arrows on the outside of the group: There is little in this imagery to suggest we are dealing with real arrows or hunting magic here; rather, the arrows are likely arrows of sickness—perhaps one of these has been removed from the prone figure and expelled by the shaman. But the meaning of arrows is not exhausted by a single interpretation: San shamans describe somatic trance experiences, such as the sensation of prickly skin, as being pierced by arrows. Other shamanic experiences of San shamans are depicted in a painting showing a figure with arms that are depicted as two wavy lines and that end in fish tails, enigmatic features that may be explained by the juxtaposition of the figure with fish. Entering the spirit world is described by the San as a death, and, in one account, as a drowning (Old K'xau, reported in Halifax 1979, 55–56). Perhaps the fish here, then, and the wavy arms terminating in fish tails, are a metaphorical reference to the feeling of submerging into the spirit world, being underwater, or even drowning. Shamans also describe experiences of floating, flight, and out-of-body travel while in the spirit world, so the image of a bird may also be a metaphor for these experiences. Alternatively, the birds and fish depicted here may be examples of the spirit helpers San shamans encounter while in the spirit world.



San (Bushman) rock painting, Southern Africa: the human figure with arms that end in fishtails may depict a shaman expressing the "underwater metaphor" for altered conscious experiences. (Courtesy of Thomas Dowson)

With a strong case for shamanistic interpretations of Southern African rock art, David Lewis-Williams and Thomas Dowson (1988), noting like many before them the similarities between San rock art and the polychrome cave paintings of Upper Paleolithic Europe, propose a neuropsychological model for interpreting cave art. These authors suggest that specific (though not all) geometric shapes found in some rock art may be derived from the entoptic (within the eye) phenomena reported by indigenous shamans and Western subjects of neuropsychological experiments on altered consciousness. They argue that the commonality of the human central nervous system and entoptics derived therefrom might account for similar trance-induced images being depicted in a variety of shamanic arts worldwide; hence the similarities between them. These suggestions have been much contested, all the more so since a number of rock art scholars have gotten on the entoptics bandwagon and interpreted rock art traditions they are studying as shamanic just because of the presence of geometric, entoptic-like images. Proponents of the shamanistic approach (i.e., those scholars who find these shamanic interpretations not sufficiently verifiable) have argued against such laissez-faire applications of the neuropsychological model, pointing out that only specific geometric forms should be recognized as entoptics and that the identification of entoptics is only one part of the model—those searching for entoptics alone have neglected to apply the neuropsychological model in its entirety, thus overlooking the diversity of rock art and shamans. (For a critical review of the debate, see Wallis 2002.) With these concerns addressed, the shamanistic (that is, the more conservative) approach has been refined and developed into a sophisticated methodology for examining shamanistic art, and scholars are acknowledging its value for understanding some rock art traditions, as well as other aspects of visual culture.

Modern Art

As discussed above, the eighteenth century was formative in the development of the terms

shamanism and *art,* and perceived links between the two derive from this time. The concept of the artist as a divinely inspired but penniless genius subsisting on the fringes of society is not a world away from the concept of the shaman as a social misfit, an inspired or mad (or both) ecstatic priest plagued by "artistic" visions. Even though both concepts are misleading fabrications, and neither applies consistently across cultures, the stereotypes have endured. The link between shamans and art intensifies and is solidified in the context of modern art in the twentieth century. The poet Jerome Rothenberg has claimed that various romantic and visionary poets, including Rainer Maria Rilke, Arthur Rimbaud, and the Dadaists, all represented "Neo-Shamanisms" (cited in Wallis 2003, 26). Certainly, modern artists have drawn on the Western magical tradition (if not shamanism) to inspire their art, with works by Marc Chagall (1887–1985) and Vasily Kandinsky (1866–1944), for example, influenced by occultism, mysticism, and folklore. Kandinsky himself regarded the artist as a shaman, as, more recently, did Joseph Beuys (1921–1986).

The tribute to Beuys in the Tate Modern Art Gallery (South Bank, London) states he "was no ordinary sculptor. He was also a shaman" ("Bits and Pieces" collection display in the Landscape/Matter/Environment gallery, 2002). Beuys himself claimed that everybody is an artist, a concept that Beuys's biographer, Caroline Tisdall, in a conversation with the author of this entry, agreed may also imply that everybody is a shaman. Beuys has been termed a shaman for a number of reasons. He claimed that after the Stuka plane in which he was radio operator crashed in the inhospitable conditions of the Crimea during World War II, he was rescued by Tartars who revived him, badly burnt and freezing, with fat and felt insulation. These substances became a primary inspiration for his work: wrapping himself in felt for hours at a time, for instance, and wearing a felt trilby hat, which he always termed shamanic, during the performance of *Coyote.* He viewed felt and fat as alchemical substances, felt being both an insulator and a filter, and fat being an insulator with a unique state that fluctuates between solid and liquid.

Beuys regarded the plane crash as an initiatory experience, likening it to a death and rebirth, and he also endured a long-lasting breakdown, which he viewed as a rite of passage essential to being an artist. Beuys's words, "Show your wound," espoused the view that vulnerability is the secret of being an artist, the term "wound" here perhaps alluding to the indigenous shaman as a "wounded healer." Many of Beuys's paintings are entitled *Shaman,* and the techniques he employed to produce the drawings entitled *Coyote,* as well as the performance of *Coyote* itself (New York 1974), were certainly mimetic of shamanic consciousness-altering practices: Sometimes wrapped in an enormous piece of felt, wearing the trilby and an old pair of boots (later renamed "sulphur [another alchemical substance] boots"), and wielding a cane walking stick, which he perceived as a conductor of energy, Beuys spent three days in a room caged with a live coyote, accompanied by a tape recording of chaotic turbine sounds.

To apply Dowson's elements of shamanisms to Beuys and other modern artists to elucidate whether or not they were or are shamans is to miss the point. Not only is applying a term suited to indigenous contexts to modern Westerners anachronistic, it is more significant to consider the sociopolitical implications of the artists themselves using the term (as in the case of Beuys) or art historians and others applying the term to them (as in the case of Chagall). In both cases the use of the term associates certain "mystical" meanings or abilities with the individual concerned; connections made between artists and shamans imply that they have in common a "divine madness." In both cases, the process of comparison is part of a wider historic trend: As had happened in previous centuries, the shaman in the twentieth century was relegated to the realm of the bohemian artist.

This is not to say that appropriations of shamanisms by artists and art historians and critics are without value entirely. Beuys used art and his understanding of shamans to challenge the art world's elitist dealer-critic system: In Beuys's worldview, archaeology, the everyday (in a similar vein as Duchamp's readymades), and shamanism (particularly healing of nature, individual, society, and planet) are embraced by the term *art.* Beuys's use of shamanism in his art was self-empowering on the one hand, and a potent postmodern critique of modernity on the other. To avoid anachronism then, rather than call Beuys a shaman, one might more accurately term him a neo-Shaman.

A number of other modern artists may also be approached as neo-Shamans, as they utilize shaman-like techniques in the production of their work. Austin Osman Spare's (1887–1956) idiosyncratic system of atavistic resurgence incorporated sexual excitation and orgasm combined with will and image in a technique of ecstasy. He encountered spirit familiars (well known to shamans); he made automatic, or trance, drawings of them; and the Native American spirit "Black Eagle" was a major source of Spare's ecstatic inspiration. Similar shamanic other-than-human-helpers are evident in the artwork of Australian witch Rosaleen Norton (1917–1979). To term these artists neo-Shamans is not to construct a generalizing metanarrative across cultures, which neglects diversity and difference (whether differences between different artists, shamans, or human beings); it is rather to suggest that our understanding of these artists and their work is advanced by seeing them in relation to Neo-Shamanism.

Artists such as Beuys, Spare, and Norton differ significantly from indigenous shamans, particularly in terms of sociocultural context, but the boundary between shaman and neo-Shaman is more permeable in other instances. Some Western practitioners involve themselves in the revival of shamanisms in indigenous contexts, for example, as Michael Harner has done in his Foundation for Shamanic Studies in Siberia (Wallis 2003). Some indigenous shamans adapt their practices to the global village, as Peruvian shamans have done in adopting Catholic saints as spirit helpers. And some Sakha artists in Siberia have, in this post-Soviet era, reconceptualized shamans in their art as positive, though they were once perceived negatively. In these instances, any rigid boundaries between shamans and neo-Shamans perceived by academics are disrupted.

Psychology

The perceived divine madness link between artists and shamans was intensified in the twentieth century with the emergence and popular consumption of psychology, which has played a significant role in the discernment of relationships between altered consciousness, shamans, art, and mental illness. In the first half of the twentieth century, shamans were defined as psychotics (e.g., Kroeber 1940), a perception that was revised from the 1960s toward the opposite extreme of seeing shamans as adept psychiatrists (Groesbeck 1989). In either case, the debate concerns concepts of mind, madness, and consciousness, as well as the question of whether the similarity of the imagery some artists, mentally ill patients, and shamans produce is due to the fact that all possess a human central nervous system or to Jung's "collective unconscious." The images produced by patients undergoing art therapy, particularly the images created by schizophrenics, have been likened to the "hallucinatory" imagery of art produced by indigenous shamans, as well as to images produced by artists such as Kandinsky, founder of "pure" abstract art and the German expressionist movement.

Since Mircea Eliade and other scholars of shamanism decontextualised and universalized shamans, and where traditional art historians have promoted a similar transcendental and homogenous approach to "art" across cultures, in order to do justice to shamans, artists, and shaman or neo-Shaman artists, it is now vital to examine them as individuals, case by case, to tease out diversity and nuance. Thus psychological approaches to shamans, artists, and the mentally ill that foreground similarity at the expense of difference are problematic. It may be argued that the human central nervous system is a biological given, whereas the existence of Jung's collective unconscious is debatable, but the real question is how much these psychological approaches contribute positively to our understanding of shamanic art. The notion of entoptic imagery derived from neuropsychological research and applied in the shamanic interpretation of rock art is controversial, yet proponents of the research have developed an approach that acknowledges similarity (i.e., the commonality of the human central nervous system, altered consciousness, and entoptics derived therefrom) but foregrounds diversity (i.e., ways in which these visual percepts are interpreted in rock art imagery according to cultural differences). Jungian analysis of indigenous, prehistoric, schizophrenic, and modern art, however, tends to explain similarity in a sweeping metanarrative (e.g., Tucker 1992), precisely the kind of approach anthropologists, archaeologists, and others in cultural studies have deconstructed,

accusing it of being peculiarly Western in its simplicity and insensitivity.

The essential point is that, whether researchers explore "shamanic art" in indigenous and prehistoric contexts or in the modern West, it is vital to be sensitive to social specificity and diversity. In the modern West, it would be well to approach shaman-artists as neo-Shamans, so as to be sensitive to indigenous shamans past and present and to recognize the sociopolitical contexts and implications of calling oneself a shaman in the West. With such precautions, which involve using the terms *shamanism* and *art* critically and sensitively, the notion of "shamanic art" can be useful.

Robert J. Wallis

See also: Archaeology of Shamanism; Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Costume, Shaman; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Entoptic Images; Huichol Shamanism; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Psychology of Shamanism; Rock Art and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Dowson, Thomas A. 1999. "Rock Art and Shamanism: A Methodological Impasse." Pp. 39–56 in *Rock Art, Shamanism and Central Asia: Discussions of Relations.* Edited by Andrzej Rozwadowski, Maria M. Kosko and Thomas A. Dowson. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Academickie (in Polish with English summary).

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Groesbeck, C. J. 1989. "C. G. Jung and the Shaman's Vision." *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 34(3): 255–275.

Halifax, Joan. 1979. *Shamanic Voices: A Survey of Visionary Narratives.* New York: Arkana.

Harvey, Graham. 2002. *Shamanism: A Reader.* London: Routledge.

Hides, S. 1996. "'Other' Art: Approaching Non-European Cultures." In *Guide to Art.* Edited by S. West. London: Bloomsbury Press.

Hutton, Ronald. 2002. *Shamans: Siberian Spirituality and the Western Imagination.* London: Hambledon.

Katz, Richard, Megan Biesele, and Verna St. Denis. 1997. *Healing Makes Our Hearts Happy: Spirituality and Cultural Transformation among the Kalahari Ju|'hoansi.* Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions International.

Kroeber, Alfred L. 1940. "Psychotic Factors in Shamanism." *Character and Personality* 8: 204–215.

Lewis-Williams, David, and Thomas A. Dowson. 1988. "The Signs of All Times: Entoptic Phenomena in Upper Paleolithic Art." *Current Anthropology* 29, no. 2: 201–245.

Lewis-Williams, David, and Thomas A. Dowson. 1999 [1989]. *Images of Power: Understanding Bushman Rock Art.* Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers.

MacClancy, Jeremy, ed. 1997. *Contesting Art: Art, Politics and Identity in the Modern World.* Oxford: Berg.

Marcus, George E., and F. R. Myers, eds. 1995. *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley, eds. 2001. *Shamans Through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Schaeffer, Stacy B., and Peter T. Furst, eds. 1996. *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian Story, Religion, and Survival.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Speake, G. 1980. *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Staniszewski, Mary A. 1995. *Believing Is Seeing: Creating the Culture of Art.* New York: Penguin Books.

Tucker, Michael. 1992. *Dreaming With Open Eyes: The Shamanic Spirit in Contemporary Art and Culture.* London: Harper Collins.

Wallis, Robert J. 2002. "The *Bwili* or 'Flying Tricksters' of Malakula: A Critical Discussion of Recent Debates on Rock Art, Ethnography and Shamanisms." *Journal of The Royal Anthropological Institute* 8(4): 753–778.

Wallis, Robert J. 2003. *Shamans/neo-Shamans: Ecstasy, Alternative Archaeologies and Contemporary Pagans.* London: Routledge.

Wolff, Janet. 1981. *The Social Production of Art.* London: Macmillan.

BIOENERGETIC HEALING

In New Age parlance, bioenergetics refers to certain forms of therapy, including the therapy specifically called bioenergetics; Reiki; and chakra, distance, and aura healing. These therapies deal with natural but invisible energies flowing around the human body through numerous channels, or meridians (e.g., Nudel and Nudel 2000; Oschman and Pert 2000). Complementary therapies such as acupuncture and reflexology, which also explain their healing effects by energy channels, are comparable, although "bio-energy healing" deals more specifically with noncontact techniques. The term bio-energy is used in both instances to lend an air of scientific authenticity to complementary healing techniques that are not based on Western medical science. Much jargon-laden literature exists on the subject, fusing the language of the New Age, quantum physics, and Eastern mysticism, but that does not necessarily mean that the techniques do not have healing effects. Bio-energy healers claim that the physical bodies of humans, animals, and plants contain and are surrounded by electromagnetic, or bioenergetic, fields. These energies are polarized into positive and negative bio-energies and when flowing harmonically through the body, both positive and negative forces are balanced—the body is in good health. These energy fields are in constant communication with one another through the body's network of energy channels, known variously as meridians, power centers, energetic transformers, or chakras (a frequently used term from Hindu philosophy). At times of physical or mental stress and illness, one or more of the channels may become blocked, and the bio-energy there stagnates.

It is the task of the bio-energy healer to unblock these areas, free the flow of bio-energy, and restore the body to a state of balance. Bio-energy healers also attempt to maintain the harmonic flow of bio-energy in healthy bodies, so as to prevent and avoid imbalance. Bio-energy healers suggest that all humans have an intuitive ability to sense and affect the bio-energy field with their hands and mind, but certain gifted individuals stand out as exceptionally able. Both practitioners and patients make big claims for the power of bio-energy healing, which is said to be able to relieve such conditions as asthma, prostate cancer, multiple sclerosis, and even infertility. It is not necessary for the healer to be present in order to effect a healing, since energy healing from a distance and healing using a photograph are also possible.

Practitioners of bioenergetics may claim their techniques, as a form of holistic natural healing, are ancient and traditional, but there is no evidence to link bioenergetics to indigenous shamanistic techniques. Although the engagement of shamans and neo-Shamans in postmodernity has led to certain New Age techniques (as in, e.g., Michael Harner's Core Shamanism) passing into indigenous shamanic knowledge systems, the manipulation of hidden or invisible energies of the body without contact with the body is not a significant feature of traditional shamanisms.

Indigenous shamans consistently use the spirit journey to seek out sources of illness and may battle with evil spirits, and sometimes remove spirits from a patient's body, in order to effect a cure. This approach to healing is particularly prevalent in Siberia, where the term shaman originates (e.g., Hutton 2001), but it is also found in such geographically distant areas as the Arctic and South America, where shamans may extract the spirit causing the illness by, for example, sucking through a tube placed on the skin (e.g., Harner 1990). In both of these instances, the shaman considers the

spirit-illness to be a foreign body in the patient, not a blockage of natural energies, as is the case with bioenergetics. A closer analogy to bioenergetics in an indigenous context might be San (Bushman) shamanism in southern Africa. San shamans sweat profusely while performing a trance dance, and this sweat is perceived to contain supernatural potency, so shamans rub the sweat vigorously onto their patients in order to effect healing (e.g., Katz 1982). Even in this instance, however, San shamans believe they are introducing healing substances from outside, rather than balancing naturally occurring energies within the patient.

Robert J. Wallis

See also: Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Green, Rayna. 1988. "The Tribe Called Wannabee." *Folklore* 99, no. 1: 30–55.

Harner, Michael. 1990. *The Way of the Shaman.* 3d ed. London: Harper Collins.

Hutton, Ronald. 2001. *Shamans: Siberian Spirituality and the Western Imagination.* London and New York: Hambledon.

Katz, Richard. 1982. *Boiling Energy: Community Healing among the Kalahari !Kung.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Nudel, Michael, and Eva Nudel. 2000. *Health by Bio-Energy and Mind.* Los Angeles: Bio-Energy System Services.

Oschman, James, and Candace Pert. 2000. *Energy Medicine: The Scientific Basis.* London: Churchill Livingstone.

Wallis, Robert J. 2003. *Shamans/Neo-Shamans: Ecstasy, Alternative Archaeologies and Contemporary Pagans.* London: Routledge.

BUDDHISM AND SHAMANISM

It is easier to explicate why shamanism is a widespread practice in Buddhist societies if common misconceptions about the Buddhist tradition are dispelled. Although Buddhism is often called an atheistic religion, it is atheistic only in the sense that it is not based on belief in an omniscient and omnipotent God; in fact, as a look at the "wheel of life" showing the different domains of rebirth will easily demonstrate, Buddhists believe that gods, demons, ghosts, and many other spirits exist, that they reside in heavens and purgatories, and that most supernatural beings can inhabit the human realm, affecting individuals. Further, although Buddhist texts counsel elite monks and nuns to ignore all of these beings, since they are irrelevant to the search for nirvana, it is important to understand that the great majority of Buddhists in every Asian community have been householders (secular people) who have not pursued nirvana, but whose main interests have been acquiring merit for a better rebirth, and using the resources of Buddhism and other cultural traditions to secure health, success, and prosperity. Though the canonical texts were written by monks and definitely focused predominantly on the monastic minority, there are canonical passages that make this division of spiritual concerns clear. The Pali Canon of Theravada Buddhism conveys this division clearly, when the Buddha instructs the good Buddhist householder to seek "The Four Conditions":

> Housefather, there are these four conditions which are desirable, dear, delightful, hard to win in the world. Which four? . . .
>
> [1] Wealth being gotten by lawful means . . .
> [2] Good report gotten by me along with my kinsmen and teacher
> [3] Long life and attain a great age . . .
> [4] When the body breaks up, on the other side of death may I attain happy birth, the heaven world!

The text then proceeds to specify how the moral and wealthy Buddhist householder should attain these goals by doing the "The Four Good Deeds":

> Now, housefather, that same Aryan disciple, with the wealth acquired by energetic striving . . ., is the doer of four deeds. What are the four?
> [1] [He] makes himself happy and cheerful, he is a contriver of perfect happiness; he makes his mother and father, his children and wife, his servants and workmen, his friends and comrades cheerful and happy. This . . . is the first opportunity seized by him, turned to merit and fittingly made use of.

> [2] Then again, the . . . disciple . . . with that wealth makes himself secure against all misfortunes whatsoever, such as may happen by way of fire, water, the king, a robber, an ill-disposed person . . . He takes steps for his defense and makes himself secure . . .
>
> [3] Then again . . . the disciple . . . is a maker of the five-fold offering (bali), namely: to relatives, to guests, to departed hungry ghosts, to the king, and to the gods (devatā) . . .
>
> [4] Then again, the . . . disciple . . . offers gifts to all such recluses and brahmins . . . who tame the one self, . . . to such he offers a gift which has the highest result . . . resulting in happiness and leading to heaven.
>
> (*Anguttara Nikaya* IV, VII, 61; Hare 1992, 75–76)

Thus, the good Buddhist householder is instructed to foster family ties, engage in "energetic striving" after economic success, and worship hungry ghosts and local gods, seeking justly earned worldly happiness and security (Powers 1995).

The pragmatic conception of the Buddha's teachings (the dharma), however nuanced in every local community, shaped the domestication of Buddhism from Sri Lanka to the Himalayas, from Central Asia to Japan. To focus only on texts designated to guide the rare meditation master or philosopher is to miss the center of Buddhism in society and the rationale for Buddhists enthusiastically supporting shamans.

The canonical texts clearly indicate that Buddhists should understand not only that gods, ghosts, and demons exist, but that they should also be taken seriously, as they can cause suffering through their powers to influence the natural world, spread disease, and foment misfortune. Thus, the understandings of the power of the gods and spirits from early South Asia were extended to other parts of Asia, though the spirits themselves often differed. In many localities where Buddhism flourished, the monastic leaders had no basis for objecting to indigenous shamanic traditions whose aim was to contact the great gods, local deities, or ancestral spirits. The only basis for conflict was the practice of animal sacrifice associated with such cults, an issue that will be discussed below.

The most dangerous spirits have been thought capable of possessing individuals, causing the body's essential elements to become unbalanced or the individual's consciousness to become deranged, even to leave the body. In addition to indigenous curative practices, the first Buddhist rituals were designed to protect individuals and communities from these and other dangers, primarily through the repetition of special words (called *mantras, paritta,* or *raksha*) bestowed by the Buddha for this purpose.

Since there was no universally acknowledged institutional locus of orthodoxy or orthopraxy in the history of Buddhism, and since adapting to local societies and cultures was encouraged from the very beginnings of this missionary faith, Buddhists creatively melded their traditions with local practices. Monastic leaders across Asia skillfully balanced their general doctrinal norms with a great variety of cultural understandings about deities, illness, and methods of healing. Acceptance of and support for shamanistic practices by Buddhist householders should therefore not be surprising.

Whatever the accommodations, however, there was no compromising with the universal Buddhist notion that the Buddha is the greatest being in the cosmos, that all deities are subject to karmic law and hence are inferior to the Buddha and Buddhist saints, and that Buddhist moral law must take precedence over local ritual practices, especially in the realm of animal sacrifices. Thus, shamanic traditions have existed—and in places thrived—where Buddhism has been the dominant culture, though their ritual practices have commonly been adapted to respect Buddhist ethics.

As for Buddhist monks, the two branches of Buddhism, Theravāda and Mahāyāna, differ significantly in distancing the monastery and monastic practice from shamanic practices. In the South and Southeast Asian culture regions, there have been a number of studies of Theravada tradition and the wider religious contexts in which it has existed that have included a study of shamanic elements. Shamanism in Sri Lanka illustrates the "southern school's" pattern of accommodation: A host of dancing and drumming exorcisms are still conducted by troupes *(kattiya)* of typically low-caste exorcism specialists *(adura),* who remove the influences

of hostile ghosts or demons from sick Buddhist patients. Thought to act capriciously and often without warning, specific demons are believed to cause specific illnesses, some potentially fatal. The five greatest exorcistic rites are similar in many respects: The chief exorcist goes into trance to divine the cause of illness; for the ritual, he (and others in the troupe) wear the demon-specific masks or makeup, enter the trance state to channel the demon's presence, then confront the patient, eliciting the family's and community's protective response; finally, the shaman plays out having the demon's malevolent presence removed by invoking the law of the Buddha. These nightlong rituals "define the character of demonic attack, and fill out and outwardly objectify the nature of the patient's subjective experience as this is culturally constructed. The movement of a patient from a condition of demonic control to a condition freed from the power of demons is presented and validated in the order of the performance" (Kapferer 1983, 60).

Buddhist monks have no involvement in these shamanic events, and in the strict interpretation of the monastic code should not even witness them. However, it is the Buddha's law, the dharma—through both its supernatural spoken power and its definition of cosmic order—that is ultimately invoked to establish the final triumph of humanity over demonic control. As illustrated in the climax of the *Sanni Yakuma,* an exorcism rite ridding a patient of the eighteen illness demons, the chief of these evil forces, the frightening Kola Suniya, is made to depart, forced to read the long-accepted *varan* (warrant) of the Buddha: "The Great Lord, Our Buddha says, according to this letter of authority . . . [to] give this mean ancestral spirit, this mean one, seven bags of rice and seven bags of food, burn him with the rays of the Buddha, chase him beyond the seven villages, beyond the seven boundaries. All the misfortunes, upset humors are over" (Obeyesekere 1969, 196).

Quite different were the Indo-Tibetan *vajrayāna* traditions of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Here, spiritual masters of tantra (called *siddha*s or *vajrācārya*s) adopted spiritual practices that incorporated shamanic elements while retaining the ancient Buddhist purpose of reaching enlightenment. The tantric meditative practice of *sādhana* involves practitioners "seizing the divine ego"; through mantra incantations, mudra hand gestures, drumming, and visualization, this sādhana practice invites the enlightened divinity to merge with the siddha and so impart both enlightenment and blessings to the practitioner.

Masters of the tantric spiritual tradition are expected to serve as bodhisattvas, dedicating their accomplished practice of channeling the divine Buddhist presence to serve others. The substances offered in carefully choreographed tantric rituals are imbued with the enlightened being's power and grace; gathered at the end, this *prasād* is a vessel of blessings that is consumed by the master's community of disciples. All schools of Tibetan Buddhism, Newar Buddhist vajrācāryas in Nepal, as well as the priests of the Shingon school of Japan, all adopted these spiritual practices and rituals that applied the master's powers to compassionately serve others.

Tantric ritualism also was integral to Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism. Monks applied this ritual technology and control over the enlightened divinities to perform rites to satisfy the departed ancestors who were thought possibly to be reborn as *preta*s (hungry ghosts). In China, these hungry ghosts were regarded as more dangerous than in India, where the early conception was that pretas were too consumed with their own suffering to harm others. But in China, as a marker of filial piety to the departed ancestors, monks perform tantric rituals to make merit for themselves and the dead, while seeking to insure the best possible afterlife destiny for their relatives. In the five-hour evening rite called the *fang yen-k'ou* (release of the burning mouths), monk ritualists seek to draw upon the powers of the Buddha, the dharma, and the *sangha* to break through the gates of purgatory, open the throats of the suffering pretas, and feed them mantra-imbued water, making rebirth as a human being or in a paradise inevitable (Welch 1973, 186–187).

There were also tantric practitioners across the Mahāyāna culture area who were famous for their ability to exorcise spirits from the afflicted using tantric amulets, prasād, and ritual implements that are placed in contact with the body. Buddhist monastic healers were sought based upon their individual charisma and the record of their cures. These practices were regarded as praiseworthy, since healing is a direct

act of compassion and consistent with the bodhisattva monk's vow to help others while pursuing enlightenment. Although it is difficult to ascertain whether the Indic origins of these tantric practices were Buddhist or non-Buddhist, there is no doubt that later Buddhists in the Mahāyāna communities pursued them, in part, to offer a Buddhist healing practice, one that in places had to compete with indigenous shamanic curing traditions.

Such rivalry between Buddhist monks and shamans has been especially highlighted by recent studies of religion in the Himalayan region. Stan Mumford (1989) studied refugee Tibetan Buddhists of the Nyingma-pa school and the shamanic traditions among the Gurungs, a Tibeto-Burman ethnic group of the central Himalayas that had also adopted Buddhist traditions from the north several centuries ago. He shows how the traditions of Buddhism and shamanism overlap in many respects (exorcism, healing, worshipping the local deities), at times competing for support by the local merchants and farmers. In an ongoing cultural dialogue—one that likely was entered into by many who converted to Buddhism across Asia over the millennia—the Gurungs straddled these traditions, adopting to some extent Buddhist beliefs in consciousness and rebirth, yet unwilling to abandon their ancestral practice of having shamans perform "guiding the soul" rites after death and worshipping the local deities with an annual animal sacrifice. It is not the shamanic practice per se that caused conflict between these specialists, but the shaman-led annual sacrifice of a captured deer to the local deities. From the Buddhist perspective, killing an animal is like killing one's parents; from the shamanic perspective widely accepted by the villagers, if the mountain guardian deities do not receive their annual "red offering" indicating the villagers' gratitude, the rains will not fall and their life will become impossible.

Geoffrey Samuel (1993) has provided an interpretation of tantric Buddhism that helps to explain the distinctive features of the Tibetan tradition, distinguishing clerical monastic Buddhism from what he terms Shamanic Buddhism: "Vajrayana Buddhism as practiced in Tibet may be described as shamanic, in that it is centered around communication with an alternative mode of reality via the alternative states of consciousness of Tantric Yoga" (Samuel 1993, 8). In effect, the tantric monks of Tibet function as shamans, utilizing the practices and techniques of tantric Buddhism: A few utilize these methods for pursuing enlightenment; most do so to serve the pragmatic needs of the householder majority. In Tibetan Buddhism, then, both the shamanic-tantric approach (visionary, involving oral instructions from teacher) and the clerical monastic approach (discipline-bound, textually derived meditation) have been woven closely into the fabric of religious life, with the scholastic monastics such as the Gelug-pa Tsongk'apa (1357–1419) developing theories to reconcile the clerical and shamanic modalities.

Todd Lewis

See also: Burmese Spirit Lords and Their Mediums; Buryat Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Japanese Shamanism; Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices; Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles; Manchu Shamanism; Mountain Priests—Shugendō; Priestesses of Sri Lanka; South Asian Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism; Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia; Tantrism and Shamanism; Tibetan Shamanism; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Bimala Churn Law. 1974. *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits.* Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House.

Hare, E. M., trans. 1992 [1933]. *The Book of Gradual Sayings [Anguttara Nikāya].* Vol. 2. Oxford, UK: Pali Text Society.

Kapferer, Bruce. 1983. *A Celebration of Demons: Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri Lanka.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

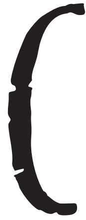
Miller, Casper. 1979. *Faith-Healers in the Himalayas.* Kathmandu: Center for Nepal and Asian Studies.

Mumford, Stan. 1989. *Himalayan Dialog: Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Rene de. 1956.*Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of Tibetan Protective Deities.* The Hague: Mouton.

Obeyesekere, G. 1969. "The Ritual Drama of the *Sanni* Demons." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11: 174–197.

Powers, John. 1995. *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications.
Samuel, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Spiro, Melford E. 1967. *Burmese Supernaturalism: A Study in the Explanation and Reduction of Suffering.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Welch, Holmes. 1973. *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.



CHRISTIANITY AND SHAMANISM

The concept of shamanism was borrowed from its original central Asian context by historian of religions Mircea Eliade. His intent was to define the notion of shamanism with greater precision, so that it would no longer be arbitrarily equated with magic and wizardry (Eliade 1989, 13). Eliade identified as shamanic phenomena certain basic characteristics that can occur in all religions and cultures.

Christian theological studies, on the other hand, seldom use the concept of shamanism and rarely discuss it as a component of Christian texts and tradition. For many years, shamanic activities were usually regarded as standing in opposition to Christian religious practices. The reason for this avoidance of the concept derives, at least in part, from the history of the dissemination of Christianity and is related to Christianity's rejection of magic and wizardry. There were, however, syncretistic phases in Christian religious and missionary history during which pagan influences were integrated. One such phase, for example, occurred in the sixth century C.E. when Pope Gregory the Great ordered a halt to the practice of destroying pre-Christian cult sites. But ever since the High Middle Ages and continuing into the early modern era, bloody missionary activities in Europe, the Americas, Africa, and Asia set Christianity ever further apart from the religious rites of indigenous peoples. Christian dogma became progressively less willing to accept other peoples' faiths as genuine religions on a par with Christianity.

This hierarchical attitude, along with the definition of the concept of magic, had already become firmly established in ancient times. Under the influence of the Greek enlightenment that started in the sixth century B.C.E., magic was deprecated, whether as part of religion or medicine; philosophy and the enlightened sciences rejected magic and distanced themselves from it. The so-called evolutionary view, which began during the epoch of the ancient city cultures, regarded magic as a relic of an earlier and more primitive agrarian way of thinking that had served its purpose and become obsolete (Graf 1996, 18). This rejection of magic became particularly obvious after Emperor Constantine recognized Christianity as the official state religion and ordered decapitation as a punishment for practicing magic or fortune-telling in 357 C.E. (Kieckhefer 1992, 54). Nonetheless, the relationship between magic and religion continued to be an ambivalent one for many centuries, into the middle of the medieval period. "Monks in the monasteries employed magical healing methods with which they had become familiar partly from folk medicine of the native culture and partly from ancient medicine, both of which included magical elements" (Kieckhefer 1992, 72).

Beginning in the thirteenth century, moral and theological condemnation of magic increased steadily, sometimes going as far as juridical indictment and prosecution. The Latin word for superstition *(superstitio)* carries the connotation of "a remnant of paganism." The accusation, which claimed that adherents of superstition had misunderstood certain passages in the Bible, supported a division of piety into a lower religion in opposition to a higher religion (Kieckhefer 1992, 212–213).

This division into low cultures as opposed to more highly valued cultures became still further reinforced during the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and survived into the twentieth century. The history of research into the concept of shamanism reveals the influence of this tendency, with much of

the work obviously judgmental in the words it uses as it attempts to deal with shamanic phenomena. Any discussion of shamanism or magic therefore requires "critical reflection about the conditional nature of the sources as well as the scientific, metalinguistic concepts and statements" (Motzki 1977, 16).

This religious and cultural history of Christianity has interposed itself and distorted the view on testimony contained in the Bible and on the dissemination of the Christian faith during the first three centuries C.E. Closer scrutiny shows that Biblical texts are by no means unanimous in their rejection of shamanic practice. Ever since the Christian faith was first committed to writing, opinions have differed, for example, about the way the work and person of Jesus as a healer ought to be judged and about the significance of ecstasy among the prophets and early Christian congregations.

A Shamanic Reading of Biblical Texts

The breadth of variation in the texts of the Christian tradition yields no unified picture. These texts indicate above all that shamanic activities were not fundamentally rejected, as they came to be in later apologetical discussion. On the contrary, elements of shamanic practice, such as the act of healing in Christ's name or on his behalf and the ability to experience ecstasy, characterized the social work, welfare-related, and missionary activities of the early Christians during the first three centuries C.E.

In addition to orienting itself according to Eliade's criteria and viewing the testimony from a phenomenological standpoint, this understanding of shamanic practice also relies on a functional definition of shamanism. Through the special way in which shamans practice ecstasy, they also have social significance, serving the community, for example, as intermediaries between the divine and the people or as healers of the sick (Motzki 1977, 48–49).

Mircea Eliade identified as specifically shamanic characteristics the technique of ecstasy and the shamanic flight as an ascent into heaven or a descent into the Underworld. In a wider spectrum, he particularly cited the special initiations that shamans undergo, the instruction they receive in the proper ways to conduct healing ceremonies, and necromancy. Eliade also described important shamanic symbols such as the shaman's costume and drum, and the special significance accorded to the numbers 7 and 9, the world tree, and the cosmic mountain (Eliade 1989, 148–268).

In this context, it is essential to realize that the aforementioned basic forms and functions of shamanism, as well as its characteristic symbols, can all be found in the Bible with varying frequency and in different combinations (Wilhelmi 2000, 11–17). Many of these forms and functions are or were components of Jewish and Christian religion, at least during a particular span of time.

Ecstasy

Ecstasy was fundamentally affirmed in a story about Moses and Joshua (Numbers 11:16), where the spirit of the Lord came upon seventy elders of the people, who thereupon experienced a seizure of prophetic ecstasy. In response to Joshua's criticism, Moses exclaimed, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!" (Numbers 11:29). Moses, who was also shown in Exodus 7 as one who magically competed with Egyptian sorcerers and who, especially in later Jewish tradition, was regarded together with Solomon as the guarantor of spiritual and magical knowledge, was shown here as a prophet who approved of ecstasy for his entire people.

The First Book of Samuel described companies of ecstatic prophets. Seized by the spirit of Yahweh, these groups of people played rapturous music upon instruments and fell into an ecstatic state of consciousness (1 Sam. 19: 20–24). The prophet Samuel described such a group to Saul and told him he would meet them prophesying and be changed himself: "The Spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man" (1 Sam. 10:5–6). The spirit was described as an irresistible power that transformed, overwhelmed human volition, and led to a state of prophetic ecstasy. Ecstatic experiences were also mentioned as occurring among prophets of the sixth century B.C.E., for example, Isaiah and Ezekiel.

In the New Testament, ecstatic gestures among the early Christian communities were welcomed by Paul as evidence of charisma. He described them as "speaking in tongues" (glos-

solalia) and said, "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh unto God" (1 Cor. 14:2). Glossolalia was experienced in a communal setting, but not all people were capable of doing it. The story of Paul's calling as told in the Acts of the Apostles is clearly related to shamanic ecstasy (Acts 9:1–19). Paul saw "a light from heaven," heard a voice, and was stricken blind for three days, during which time he neither ate nor drank. Guided and treated by a spiritual helper, he emerged from the ordeal healed and transformed, and afterwards bore a different name. Paul explicitly mentioned his special ecstatic gift in his First Epistle to the Corinthians: "I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all" (1 Cor. 14:18). The Pentecostal story told in the second chapter of Acts likewise contains ecstatic elements.

The Shamanic Flight: Ascent and Descent in the Bible

The prophet Ezekiel deserves particular mention with regard to the second shamanic criterion, namely, the shamanic flight. Several passages in the Bible recounted how Ezekiel was lifted up into the air by the spirit and borne upon wings (Ezekiel 3:12, 3:14, 8:3, 11:1). The similarity to shamanic ascents is evident in the change of states of consciousness, the description of the visions, and the intervention of a spiritual helper in male or female guise.

Another impressive vision of an ascent with shamanic overtones can be found in the Old Testament (Money 2001, 19). Jacob's dream at Bethel, in which he saw a ladder that stretched from earth to heaven (Genesis 28:10–22) suggests the possibility of shamanic ascent, especially when it is considered in the overall context of the story of Jacob, who is sometimes described as a "trickster," and even clad in animal's pelts, albeit to fool his father into thinking he is Esau.

The New Testament mentioned an ascent into heaven by Jesus himself (Mark 16:19 and Luke 24:51, Acts 1:9–11). Perhaps intended primarily to lend credence to Jesus' divine nature, this story may have little in common with shamanic journeys. Nonetheless, the depiction of his death, its interpretation as offering salvation to souls because he has thereby carried away the sins of humankind, and his resurrection after three days all contain elements that bear strong similarity to Underworld journeys of the sort that can occur in the shamanic context.

Jesus as Shaman

The theologian Morton Smith discussed the evangelists' texts primarily against the background of shamanic criteria (Smith 1978). In particular, he also included in his research certain statements that are recorded as having been uttered by opponents of Jesus and Christianity. Smith interpreted as characteristic of a shaman Jesus' withdrawal into the desert, driven into the wilderness by the spirit of God for a lengthy period of time. Smith also called particular attention to Jesus' communication with "wild beasts and angels" during this time (Mark 1:12–13). Other passages in the Gospel according to Mark likewise indicate that the evangelist unquestioningly viewed Jesus as having powers that can be considered shamanic, as also can be noted in parallel passages in the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke, where they discuss this story (Matthew 4:1–11, Luke 4:1–13).

In these Gospels, too, the tale of Jesus in the wilderness formed the beginning of the story of his works. This episode, however, was depicted here in a far more finely differentiated manner than in Mark. Matthew and Luke likewise mentioned the spirit who led Jesus into the wilderness, but communication with wild beasts and angels went unmentioned. While Jesus was fasting in the wilderness, the devil appeared and tempted him to embark on a shamanic flight, but Jesus resisted and refused to cast himself from "a pinnacle of the temple." Jesus also denied the devil's request to change stones into bread. Thus Matthew and Luke seem to distance themselves from the shamanic practices of flight and transubstantiation. On the other hand, the evangelists either approved of similar practices or emphasized descriptions of them. Dreams and visions, for example, are given particular significance in the Gospel according to Matthew.

Supernatural miracles such as the tale of the calming of the storm (Mark 4:35–41) likewise alluded to the shamanic motif of being able to exert a direct influence on natural forces (Kollmann 1996, 272). Jesus' rebuke and pacifica-

Sculpture relief depicting Christ healing the blind man. (Araldo de Luca/Corbis)

tion of the sea and wind seem to stand squarely in the context of ecstasy and the shamanic journey (Kollmann 1996, 275).

The gospels ascribed many shamanic roles to Jesus. Especially with regard to the functional definition of the shaman as one who practices shamanic techniques, it seems reasonable to speak of Jesus and his disciples as people who practiced techniques similar to those engaged in by shamans. Several different shamanic roles can be distinguished: (1) spiritual leader and guide (i.e., guardian of the consciousness of a people or group), (2) leader of ceremonies, (3) psychopomp (i.e., companion of souls), (4) bringer of good fortune, (5) healer and helper, (6) poet, singer, performer of shamanic acts (Hoppál 2000, 100).

The texts of the Biblical evangelists ascribed many of these shamanic roles to Jesus. The very name Jesus (deliverer) expressed his role as a healer. In addition, he was also assigned the roles of savior and spiritual guide. It seems most important in this context to call attention to his unconditional sacrifice for humankind and to his social and helping acts. Healing, in the classical definition, is foremost among a shaman's various tasks (Eliade 1989, 208).

Another typically shamanic motif can be seen in Jesus' repeatedly asking people to tell him who and what they believed him to be. Shamans do not call themselves shamans (Smith 1978, 43–44). Jesus only described his acts, and he mentioned as first among them, "I cast out devils, and I do cures" (Luke 13:32). Healing the sick and casting out evil spirits numbered among the principal tasks engaged in by those who felt that they belonged with Jesus. The dualistic notion of evil and good spir-

its, a dualism that is familiar in shamanic contexts, is also present here.

Although the healing tradition of ancient Greece had long since established itself in the Palestinian world, there also existed a vital tradition of ancient Jewish magical spells and rites designed to heal and help. There even seems to have been a comprehensive collected wisdom, attributed to King Solomon, about pharmacological medications and incantations (Kollmann 1996, 137).

Some stories in the New Testament are nearly impossible to interpret unless they are considered from the point of view of religious and cultural history, in the light of magical papyri and traditions handed down from Joseph and preserved by rabbinical Judaism (Blau 1898). As an example of this, consider the passage where Jesus says, “Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward” (Mark 9:41). The meaning of this passage is difficult to understand unless one knows that a spilled cup of water was regarded as a sign that an evil spirit had departed (Merkelbach 1996, 6).

From this perspective, it seems reasonable to reconsider and reevaluate many other passages in the Gospels. Although some passages urge that the person of Jesus not be reduced to his thaumaturgical abilities (Kollmann 1996, 379), passages about those miracle-working abilities are more numerous and more comprehensive than are passages that deal with other contents (Mark 2:17ff).

Healing Rituals in Early Christian Communities

During the first three centuries after Jesus, his adherents and opponents alike testified to the importance that healings and psychopomp work played in the missionary dissemination of Christianity (Brown 1999, 41). As early as the Acts of the Apostles, explicit descriptions were given of several cures performed by Jesus' disciples. Peter, for example, healed by means of *talitha kumi,* an ancient Aramaic phrase that means “arise” (Acts 9:34 and 9:40). Jesus too uses this spell. The healing of possessed and ailing people subsequently became a matter of course within the everyday life of early Christian communities, where such practices were regulated through the offices of the presbyters, “the elders of the church” (James 5:14–15).

Justin and Tertullian continued the tradition of these successful early Christian healings into the Roman Empire, whenever pagan conjurers, magicians, and pharmacologists failed or were too expensive (Kollmann 1996, 373). For Tertullian, it was important in whose name the possessing spirits were expelled. Tertullian reports on specific individual cases and, like Origen and others, he did not preach against the belief in spirits or psychopomp practice per se (Kollmann 1996, 374), as long as the spirit invoked by the healer is the spirit of God.

A turning point seems to have occurred during the fourth century C.E. In the context of confrontations with pagans and in the wake of Christianity's recognition as the official state religion, thaumaturgic practice declined among Christians and ceased to be a basic aspect of the Christian mission (Barb 1961). Although Christian enthusiastic and spiritual groups (e.g., Pentecostal and revivalist congregations) have arisen repeatedly throughout subsequent centuries, it was the *word* of God that came to occupy the central position in Protestant theology. Thought and thinking have continued to occupy the foreground since the Reformation and Enlightenment. Attempts were made to offer rational explanations for miracles, which were generally dismissed as more or less marginal events in the actual history of Jesus and his works. Only the general theology of the Resurrection and Epiphany remained untouched by this rationalist tendency to minimize the importance of wonder-working (Kollmann 1996, 379).

Liaisons with Foreign Religions: Motifs and Symbols

On the liturgical level of religion, motifs of the Christian faith entered into liaisons with similar motifs in foreign religions and often developed into new religions or cults. One example of this evolution is the contemporary appearance of the peyote cult. The central element of this cult is a sort of sacrament, a holy repast (Hultkrantz 1992, 270). The background of this sacramental banquet is a ritual practiced by Mexican Indians in which peyote is eaten in order to come into contact with supernatural beings. As time went on, this cult evolved into

an independent religion containing certain Catholic contents.

When symbols that have been isolated from their cultural and historical surroundings are carefully reviewed, numerous relationships can be discovered between shamanic notions and corresponding Christian or Biblical ideas. In addition to the cosmic mountain, which plays a central role as Horeb in the Old Testament and as the "high mountain" where Jesus undergoes transfiguration in the Gospels, it is above all the symbol of the Crucifix that deserves particular emphasis. Within the context of Christian religious history, the meaning of the Cross soon became divorced from its historical form as an instrument of torture. The cruciform symbol came to express the relationship between the world and the heavens as an orderly connection between God and man. The Crucifix is thus quite similar to the shaman's drum in this sense. Furthermore, many men and women shamans have had and continue to have spiritual relationships with the person of Jesus Christ and can justifiably describe themselves—often in an ecstatic state—as having "Christ consciousness."

A New Approach

A new approach to the relationship between Christianity and shamanism has evolved during the past several decades. Christian missionary theology is giving a new impulse to intercultural dialogue through the reawakened self-awareness of formerly missionized peoples of Asia, Africa, and Central and South America.

Whereas in the past the declaration of faith in Christ meant a break with tradition, the encounter with indigenous religions is now being described anew, and the one-sided, exclusively Western pattern of interpretation is no longer being continued. The situation in contemporary Korea deserves explicit mention here within the context of Protestant theology. On the one hand, evangelistic denominations have the largest number of adherents in Korea, and at the same time, shamanism thrives as a substantial feature of Korean culture. Korean theologians are formulating Korean Christianity's encounter with the country's native religions in a new way and do not necessarily regard the encounter as inherently confrontational or contradictory (Choi 1999). This view has consequences for the future evolution of Christian theology in general. In the long ignored areas of creation theology and the awareness of nature, it can offer new impulses for a more holistically oriented view of the world and humankind.

Another example of new impulses for intercultural dialogue about healing and ecclesiastical practice comes from missionary stations in Africa. After a long period of time during which a generally demystified understanding of the New Testament's text had predominated, the African cultural context led to a rediscovery of the Christian healing tradition in accord with the continent's own understanding of the nature of reality (Kahl 2001, 118). This new access also led to changes in conventional Christian theology, so that religious services conducted with the intent to heal or rituals performed with the intent of bestowing blessings are again the subject of more intensive discussion.

The history of the relationship between Christianity and shamanism has alternated between intimacy and aloofness. Throughout many centuries and even into recent times, the interpretation and exegesis of Christian texts has been characterized by an effort to distance Christianity from shamanism. Of late, however, a rapprochement has become evident, catalyzed in part by the current renewal of shamanic and indigenous traditions among various groups.

The practice of Christian counseling too is being stimulated and revivified in the context of the New Spirituality and through a return to its own early Christian roots. Renewed attention to features that are shared by both early Christianity and shamanism alike is helping to catalyze a reconciliation in the intercultural and interreligious context.

Barbara Wilhelmi

See also: Choctaw Shamanism; Colonialism and Shamanism; Dreams and Visions; Ethnocentrism and Shamanism; Korean Shamanism; Latin American Christianity and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Barb, A. A. 1961. "The Survival of Magic Arts." Pp. 100–126 in: *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century.* Edited by Arnaldo Momigliano. Oxford, UK Clarendon Press.

Blau, Ludwig. 1898. *Das Altjüdische Zauberwesen.* Shassburg: K. Trübner.

Brown, Peter. 1999. *Die Entstehung des christlichen Europa.* München: Beck.
Choi, Sung Soo. 1999. *Koreanisches Christentum in der Begegnung mit einheimischen Religionen: Beiträge zur theologischen Urteilsbildung.* Vol. 7. Edited by Gerhard Sauter. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften.
Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.
Graf, Fritz. 1996. *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber: Die Magie in der griechisch-römischen Antike.* Munich: Beck.
Hoppál, Mihály. 2000. *Shaman Traditions in Transition.* Budapest: International Society for Shamanistic Research.
Hultkrantz, Åke. 1992. *Shamanic Healing and Ritual Drama.* New York: Crossroad.
Kahl, Werner. 2001. "Heilungserfahrungen in westafrikanischen Kirchen und ihr kultureller Kontext—betrachtet aus neutestamentlicher Perspektive." Pp.117–141 in *Heilung in Mission und Ökumene,* Studienheft 41, Weltmission Heute. Hamburg: EMW.
Kieckhefer, Richard. 1992. *Magie im Mittelalter.* München: Beck.
Kollmann, Bernd. 1996. *Jesus und die Christen als Wundertäter, Studien zu Magie, Medizin und Schamanismus in Antike und Christentum.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
Merkelbach, Reinhold, ed. 1996. *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts. Vol. 4: Exorzismen und jüdisch/christlich beeinflusste Texte.* Opladen, Germany: Westdeutscher Verlag.
Money, Mike. 2001. "Deceit and Duality: Jacob's Shamanic Vision." P. 19 in *Shaman,* vol. 9 (Spring)1: 19.
Motzki, Harald. 1977. *Schamanismus als Problem religionswissenschaftlicher Terminologie.* Bonn: Religions Wissenschaftliches Seminar der Universität Bonn.
Smith, Morton. 1978. *Jesus the Magician.* San Francisco: Barnes and Noble.
Wilhelmi, Barbara. 2003. "The Prophetic Performance in the Bible and the Shamanic Ritual." Pp. 11–19 in *Rediscovery of Shamanic Heritage.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

COLONIALISM AND SHAMANISM

According to the classic definition proposed by Åke Hultkrantz, a shaman is "a social functionary who, with the help of guardian spirits, attains ecstasy to create a rapport with the supernatural world on behalf of his [or her] group members" (Hultkrantz 1973). As a social functionary, the shaman is defined not merely by extraordinary personal abilities to achieve ecstasy, communicate with spirits, or affect the healing of individuals, but also by a public capacity to mediate between a transcendent reality and a particular social group. In many instances, the relevant social group for a shaman is constituted by kinship, since shamans often serve as hereditary ritual specialists for their clans. But the constitution of a community might also be determined by broader social relations within a territory. Operating as an inspirational mediator on behalf of a community, the shaman necessarily performs a range of political, social, and economic roles. Under colonial conditions, those roles are inevitably altered.

In simple terms, colonialism is the use of military and political power to create and maintain a situation in which colonizers gain economic benefits from the raw materials and cheap labor of the colonized (Chidester 2000a). Generally, colonizers come from outside of a territory, arriving as alien intruders to dominate an indigenous people, although situations of internal colonialism have also involved similar relations of domination.

Not only a system of military, political, and economic power, colonialism is also a cultural project, advancing a cultural agenda, but also entailing intercultural contacts, relations, and exchanges. Often legitimated by explicit appeals to religion, colonialism inevitably affects indigenous religious life. Following the colonial disruption, dispossession, and displacement of an indigenous community, everything changes, including the religious roles of shamans. Characteristically, in response to colonizing forces, shamans are faced with the options of extinction, assimilation, or resistance. However, more complex, creative responses have also been evident in new strategies for weaving together alien and indigenous religious resources. Although colonization has always been destructive of indigenous religion, shamans have often

played new, innovative roles as mediators, now not only between the supernatural and human beings but also between the religious worlds of the colonizers and the colonized.

Mobility, Geography, and Resources

Since they provided the original source of the term *shaman,* Siberian shamans have often been regarded as the classic type of indigenous religious specialist. However, subject as it has been to two empires, Chinese and Russian, Siberian shamanism has been shaped by a long history of colonization. That history has witnessed both political fluctuations and religious changes in the mobility, spiritual geography, and spiritual resources of shamanism.

Buryat shamanism, which was subjected to colonization by both Chinese and Russian empires, illustrates religious persistence and change, surviving persecution, but also adopting a new mobility under colonial conditions. In Buryat shamanism, ritual specialists mediated between humans and the supernatural in two ways, developing a hunter's shamanism, which negotiated access to game animals, and a cattle-breeder's shamanism, which negotiated relations between the living and the dead, the ancestral masters of the mountains. Chinese imperial states, such as the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911), that supported Buddhism tended to force shamanism into a marginal position by asserting a centralized claim over material and spiritual resources. When those states collapsed, Buddhism retreated, and shamanism resurged in Inner Asian states. In these imperial religious politics, the vitality of shamanism was clearly affected by the fate of empires.

Many indigenous people living in tribal arrangements during the nineteenth century, however, recalled an earlier history of imperial power, a time in which their shamans were at the center of political power. In relation to the Chinese empire, competing religious interests could operate in the same political economy of the sacred. Although the political status of shamanism depended on the historical rise and fall of empires, shamans, Buddhist clergy, and officials of imperial ancestor veneration operated in the same field of religious references, making competing claims on access to the sky, for example, which represented the supreme symbol of political authority from all religious perspectives encompassed within the Chinese empire (Humphrey 1994, 196). Accordingly, shamanic ascent, which represented the hallmark of a shaman's spiritual capacity, also registered as an explicitly political claim.

When subjected to the force of a dominant, colonizing Chinese empire, however, shamanism was usually cut off from establishing access to centralized political power. Beginning in the nineteenth century, Buryat shamanism survived Buddhist persecutions by working out a kind of division of spiritual labor between shamans and lamas. Making no explicitly political claims, shamans assumed responsibility for healing. As the case of Buryat shamanism shows, shamans have generally been vulnerable to centralizing religious power. Although shamanism can adapt, what often survives are the most portable aspects of shamanic practice, such as techniques of healing which are not necessarily anchored in the political economy of a community, but are services that can be made available to clients wherever they might be. In colonial situations all over the world, this new mobility of shamanism has been made necessary not only by the expansion of imperial power but also by the disruption of local communities. In the process, religious mobility has become a new requirement of indigenous survival.

Although marginalized under the centralized, hierarchical power of Chinese empires, Buryat shamans nevertheless survived, even if their sphere of political, social, and economic influence was circumscribed. For Buryat shamans enclosed during the seventeenth century within the Russian protectorate, Russian colonization allowed much less room to maneuver. Although shamans were active in anti-Russian revolts, they were forced to retreat in the face of overwhelming military power. Legitimated by Orthodox Christianity, Russian colonization entailed a more pervasive project of converting indigenous people, land, and wealth to Russian ends.

As the Russian empire advanced, shamanism was systematically persecuted. In response to the colonization of their religious life, indigenous people displayed a range of strategic positions, rejecting, accepting, or selectively appropriating the Christian mission that accompanied Russian colonization. For example, in nineteenth-century Siberia and Alaska, the Chukchee disregarded the missionary mes-

sage; the Dena'ina embraced Christianity; and the Altaians engaged in selective borrowing of Christian symbols (Znamenski 1999). Although different indigenous responses were possible, Russian colonialism inevitably altered the religious position of shamans. In addition to adopting a new colonial mobility, often demonstrated by fleeing to remote places, shamans developed new spiritual geographies and new spiritual resources for negotiating with the spiritual world on behalf of their fractured communities.

Among the Khanty and the Mansi in northwestern Siberia, an indigenous political system of chiefdoms was destroyed by Russian colonization during the sixteenth century. Beginning in the eighteenth century, these Ob-Ugrian people were subjected to forced conversion to Christianity. Since they were closer to the imperial center of Russia, the Khanty and Mansi were exposed to the full range of colonizing measures developed by European states—alienation of land ownership, multiple forms of taxation, exactions by professional civil servants, and legal prohibitions on indigenous religion. Instead of adapting to these measures or inspiring revolts against Russian colonization, shamans retreated to the forests. Surviving in exile, they developed a new spiritual geography.

Like many indigenous people displaced by colonial incursions, these shamans found that the meaning of their territory, including their spiritual territory, had been fundamentally altered. In earlier practice, a shaman might have been adept at spiritual travel, but shamanic voyages generally moved on a horizontal plane from the ordinary world of the community to the places of extraordinary power associated with the forest or the sea. Under colonial conditions, horizontal movement within this spiritual geography of the world tended to be replaced by a vertical axis along which shamans ascended to the sky or descended to the Underworld. Living in exile in the forest, shamans no longer traveled to the spiritual forest, but instead they journeyed into heavenly realms and subterranean regions that were beyond the geography of this world. Since this world had come under the control of an alien colonizing power, shamans had to work out an alternative spiritual geography that transcended colonial conditions (Hamayon 1995).

New maps for the spiritual world, therefore, could be developed in colonial situations. Subjected to foreign domination, shamans all over the world found that they were suddenly in a world turned upside down, a world in which alien intruders from foreign places had become central and indigenous people were alienated from their own land. In the case of many Siberian communities, shamans assumed the responsibility for remapping the contours of a spiritual geography in such a distorted world. No longer able to draw upon spiritual meaning and power within the world, they looked to other worlds. Although the vertical axis of ascending and descending into spiritual worlds has often been regarded as a constant, universal feature of shamanism, in many cases this verticality, replacing earlier attention to the spiritual contours of a territory, might instead represent an innovative religious response to the crisis of colonial domination.

While developing new spiritual geographies, shamans under colonial conditions also appropriated new religious resources of spiritual power from the Christian mission. In northern Siberia, Yakut shamanism, which had been subjugated by Russian colonization from the beginning of the seventeenth century, displayed this indigenous appropriation of alien sacred symbols. Although the Yakut people converted to Christianity for a variety of material reasons, such as avoiding persecution or gaining tax relief, the majority had been baptized by the end of the eighteenth century. Preserving the indigenous traditions of shamanism, Yakut ritual specialists modified those traditions by introducing aspects of Russian Orthodox Christianity, including God, the Virgin Mary, guardian angels, and the promise of spiritual rewards in a heavenly afterlife. By integrating these Christian features, Yakut shamans were not merely developing a syncretism of foreign Christianity and indigenous religion. They were drawing in new, transcendent, and powerful negotiating partners in their ongoing spiritual work of securing health, prosperity, and survival for their community.

Shamanism is not merely mediation but also negotiation with supernatural forces on behalf of a community. In the case of indigenous Yakut religion, with its basis in hunting, shamans were particularly adept at negotiating with the masters of animals for the souls of

wild game. Not only expert in techniques of ecstasy, they were skilled in negotiating techniques, supplicating and imploring, but also bartering, trading, and exchanging with the spiritual world. In rituals of healing, for example, shamans could negotiate with spirits by trading a sacrificial animal for the soul of a sick person. Such negotiations with spirits were central to shamanic sessions. Aided by a principal spirit, usually an ancestral spirit, Yakut shamans conducted ongoing negotiations with the forces of the spiritual world on behalf of their clan or community.

Under colonialism, however, indigenous ritual specialists experienced a breakdown in negotiations, a shift from earlier relations of reciprocal exchange to new colonial relations based on the invasive, coercive, one-way flow of value from the colonized, who were dispossessed of their resources, displaced from their territory, and exploited for their labor, to the colonizers. By introducing new negotiating partners into the spiritual world, spiritual negotiating partners associated with the religion of the colonizers, shamans struggled to change the very terms of negotiation in ways that might restore reciprocity between indigenous people and the spiritual world.

As specialists in ritual techniques of trance, healing, and spiritual power, shamans continued to play a significant role in Siberian and Alaskan religious life, even when subject to Russian domination and Christian conversion. Sent to Alaska in the 1820s, the Russian Orthodox missionary Ioann Veniaminov (later Bishop Innocent; 1797–1879) found a Christian shaman among the Aleuts, an elderly man by the name of Ivan Smirennikov, who had been baptized into the Russian Orthodox Church, but was regarded by the local Aleutian people as a shaman because of his familiarity with spirits that enabled him to see the future, heal individuals, and locate food for the community.

Based on his investigations, Veniaminov found that Ivan Smirennikov was a "shaman, not an ordinary person." During his interview with the shaman, Veniaminov learned that shortly after his baptism in 1795 Ivan Smirennikov had been visited by two spirits who said that they had been sent by God to instruct him in Christian teachings. Over the next thirty years, the spirits appeared to him almost daily, providing Christian instruction, but warning him not to listen to the Russians or to confess his sins to their priests. Instead, he was to rely directly on the spirits, and they would grant his requests and the requests made by others through him. To Veniaminov's surprise, he found that Smirennikov had become not only a noted shaman but also an informed Christian through the mysterious intervention of the two spirits. Although Veniaminov worried that these spirits were demons, he became convinced that the Aleut shaman's spirits provided confirmation rather than competition for his Christian gospel. The two spirits, according to Smirennikov, were even prepared to reveal themselves to the Russian priest, although they chastised him for his curiosity: "What does he want? Does he consider us demons?" Accepting the orthodoxy of Ivan Smirennikov, the Russian priest nevertheless insisted that he should not be regarded among the local people as a shaman. "I told the other Aleuts who were present not to call him a Shaman," Veniaminov reported, "not to ask him for favours, but to ask God." Apparently, the shaman agreed with this resolution, since he was also convinced that his spiritual negotiating partners were not demons but emissaries of the one true God of heaven and earth (Chidester 2000b, 382–388).

Memory, Concealment, and Noise

In Christian representations of indigenous religion, we find a long history of demonizing local forms of religious life, from the expansion of Roman Catholic Christianity into Europe to the explorations and conquests of the New World. The earliest appearances of the term *shaman* in travelers' reports tended to demonize indigenous religious specialists. Having served at the court of Peter the Great and journeyed through imperial Russia, Nicolas Witsen (1640–1717) reported in his travel account, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen,* that a "Schaman" was nothing more nor less than a priest of the devil (Flaherty 1992, 23). While allegedly serving the devil and his demons, shamans were also represented as fakes, frauds, or imposters, thus combining genuine evil with deception. This mixture of authenticity and fakery made the shaman a strange contradiction—full of real demonic power, but empty of legitimate religious power—in colonial representations of indigenous religions.

Certainly, these accounts recycled classic features of superstition, which could be rendered as beliefs and practices based on ignorance, fear, and fraud, as the defining antithesis of authentic religion. Nevertheless, the depiction of shamans as authentic frauds represented a strange crisis for the ideology of Christian colonization well into the nineteenth century. Working in southern Africa during the 1830s, the missionary Robert Moffat dismissed the local ritual specialists, the Tswana *ngaka,* as nothing more than imposters, but at the same time demonized them, along with all other indigenous religious specialists, whether the "angekoks" of Greenland, the "pawpaws" of North America, or the "greegrees" of West Africa, by identifying them as the "pillars of Satan's kingdom" (Moffat 1842, 305; Chidester 1996, 192). In this formula, shamans, who supposedly were empty of any real power, were paradoxically also full of demonic power as the primary obstacles to the advance of a colonizing Christian empire.

Suggesting more than merely an alien incomprehension of indigenous religious specialists, this colonial representation of shamans as demonic obstacles, simultaneously immaterial and material, underwrote specific colonial policies of religious destruction. In the Americas, the extirpation of idolatry entailed both physical and spiritual warfare against shamans. According to Bishop Peña Montenegro in 1668, Indian shamans, who "since time immemorial had been worshiping the devil," formed "the principal obstacle to the spread of the Gospel." These sorcerers and magicians, charlatans and imposters, he argued, "resist with diabolical fervor," in order to avoid being exposed as frauds, "so that the light of truth shall not discredit their fabulous arts." To overcome these diabolical obstacles, Bishop Peña Montenegro advocated a campaign against what he regarded as fake material objects and real immaterial demons. Military action had to be taken to "destroy their drums, deerheads, and feathers," the bishop urged, "because these are the instruments of their evil and bring on the memory of paganism" (Taussig 1987, 143, 376). Destroying sacred objects, therefore, was part of a campaign against real spiritual forces of memory—the memory of ritual, the memory of ancestors, the memory of the land, or the memory of an indigenous way of life—identified by the alien logic of colonialism as an integral part of the evil, diabolical work of shamans.

In northern Siberia, shamanism was also reconfigured under colonial conditions as a work of memory. As reported by Martin Sauer, secretary to the expedition of Joseph Billings (ca. 1758–1806), which had been commissioned by Catherine the Great, the advance of colonization and Christianization had undermined the authority of once almost-omnipotent shamans. Like the Roman Catholic extirpation of idolatry in the Americas, the Russian Orthodox campaign against indigenous religion attacked the material signs of shamanism, the masks, musical instruments, and other material objects of spiritual practice. In the process, Sauer observed that their old customs were abolished (1802, 308), but the shaman was recast as the guardian of indigenous memory. Weaving together threads of indigenous continuity that had been broken by colonization, the shaman assumed a new role, which could be acquired through extraordinary acts of resistance or recalled in ordinary, everyday nostalgia for a lost heritage. Among the Yakuts, as Sauer reported, a man by the name of Aley had shown remarkable skill in avoiding the Russian conquerors and leading people to safety. By demonstrating this extraordinary power against the overwhelming power of the colonizers, Aley came to be regarded as a shaman and began to practice traditional divination (Sauer 1802, 110). As this case suggests, colonial situations could redefine the role of the shaman as defender of tribal survival, thereby creating new ways of becoming a shaman.

Under the weight of colonial oppression, however, many indigenous people could only recall the power of shamans as a lost legacy, a memory preserved but also distorted under colonial conditions. According to one of Sauer's Yakut informants who had been forcibly converted to Christianity, shamans represented traces of a lost world that only survived in memory, even if the indigenous terms of memory had been Christianized. Indigenous shamans, Sauer's informant recalled, "were observers of omens, and warned us of approaching dangers, to avert which sacrifices were made to the demons" (1802, 308). Betraying the influence of a pervasive Christian demonology, this Yakut account nevertheless located the shaman not as an obstacle to over-

The taking of Kumassi, Ashanti Expedition; the submission of King Prempeh. Gold Coast, West Africa. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

come but as the dividing line between current misery and a precolonial world in which the Yakuts had been "wealthy, contented, and free." Under colonial conditions, that lost world could only be recreated in memory, a memory so fragile, however, that Sauer's Yakut informant concluded that "our former religion was sort of a dream" (Sauer 1802, 308).

In this new work of memory under colonial conditions, shamans concealed ritual objects from alien colonizers, adding another layer to the practice of concealment that was already part of the shaman's ritual repertoire. As the traveler Giuseppi Acerbi reported, Siberian shamans hid their ritual drums from Christian missionaries, in the process concealing their true religious identities from outsiders (Acerbi 1802, 2:294). Accused in colonial accounts of being diabolic deceivers, shamans actually were forced to engage in deception to preserve themselves, their practices, and their ritual objects from destruction. Secrecy, therefore, assumed new meaning under colonial conditions.

Although shamanic practices were concealed from the colonial gaze, they often registered in colonial ears as incomprehensible noise. From a colonial perspective, the sound of the shaman's drum produced meaningless noise rather than coherent music. Songs, chants, and ritual performances were often described in colonial accounts as dissonant noise. As Acerbi reported, the song of the Siberian shaman, performed in secret in the mountains, was "the most hideous kind of yelling that can be conceived" (Acerbi 1802, 2:311). Likewise, in early reports from the Americas, shamans were said to produce the "most hideous Yellings and Shrieks" (cited in Flaherty 1992, 26), while accounts from southern Africa claimed that indigenous ritual experts "sang only ha, ho, HO, HO, until one

almost lost hearing and sight because of the terrible noise" (cited in Chidester 1996, 40–41).

For colonial regimes relying upon visual surveillance, verbal command, and embodied discipline, the practices of shamans represented a kind of sensory disorganization. Inherently threatening to colonial rule, this alternative ordering of the senses was sometimes intentionally deployed by indigenous ritual specialists in opposition to a colonial domination. In the Eastern Cape of southern Africa during the late 1830s and early 1840s, a Xhosa diviner by the name of Mngqatsi conducted regular rituals outside the British colonial settlement of Grahamstown, frightening the settlers with loud drumming and chanting. Often performed on Sundays, these rituals sought to disrupt the religious order of colonialism (Chidester 1992, 43). During the 1920s in central and southern Africa, anticolonial noise was transposed into a Christian idiom, under the influence of Pentecostal missions, in the practice of *chongo,* all-night sessions of loud drumming, singing, shouting, and speaking in strange tongues. Although chongo was nothing more than "gibbering, shivering, and generally mad fits," according to colonial administrator Charles Draper, his attempt to suppress this religious activity suggests that the sounds of shamanic ecstasy could be perceived as threatening colonial authority and control (Fields 1985, 156). Occasionally, shamans were involved in explicitly anticolonial movements and revolts (Capeci and Knight 1990). Their mere existence, however, represented a wild space beyond colonial control.

Wildness

In colonial situations, shamanism can be located in struggles over the meaning and power of wildness. Drawing on a long history of literary and pictorial representations of the "wild man," European colonizers generally saw shamans as the wildest among wild people. As a hunting religion, requiring familiarity with wild animal spirits, shamanism has been perceived as essentially wild, but only from the perspective of a social order based on animal husbandry and settled agriculture. For colonizers based in metropolitan centers of empire, shamanism represented the wild, dangerous, and disruptive antithesis of urban order.

As the opposite of domestication, wildness has often appeared as an indigenous category. Throughout southern Africa, for example, indigenous African religious life was organized by a structured opposition between the domestic space of the home, which was sanctified through relations with ancestors, and the wild space of the forest, bush, or desert, which harbored wild, dangerous, and evil forces. Operating between the domestic space and the wild space, African ritual specialists invoked ancestral spirits to protect the home against evil forces of the wild. Often, those evil forces were identified with witches, those antisocial agents who drew upon the dangerous power of the wild space. When colonial governments intervened to stop the detection and exposure of these agents of evil, indigenous ritual specialists could only conclude that the colonists were in league with the witches, colluding with these wild forces to disrupt the stable order of the ancestral home (Chidester 1992, 4–5).

In precolonial Andean religion, shamans also moved between domesticated order and the wild forces associated with the forests. Under the Inca empire, the shamans of the highland, who assumed religious responsibility for maintaining social order, stood in contrast to the lowland shamans of the forest, the wild, dangerous, and sometimes rebellious specialists in techniques of ecstasy (Taussig 1987, 99, 236–37). In the highlands, *kubu* shamans tended to comprise a small elite, the "owners of the chants," skilled in the regular rituals of the life cycle, social relations, and political stability. In the lowlands, *payés* (or *piais*) shamans formed a more egalitarian, decentralized network of religious practitioners, gaining extraordinary power through rituals of trance and spirit possession, aided by hallucinogens, power that could be used in healing, hunting, or warfare. The lowland shamans were conversant with *auca,* "the wild." Challenging the centralized political power of the highlands during the era of Inca sovereignty, these wild shamans of the forest were also at the forefront of religiously inspired rebellions against Spanish colonial authority. During the nineteenth century, shaman-prophets, identifying themselves with Christ as the "*payés* of the Cross," organized messianic movements in opposition to both foreign domination and indigenous shamans of the highlands (Hugh-Jones 1994, 47–49). As

these religious rebellions suggest, anticolonial resistance can also address indigenous tensions between religiously sanctioned social order and the religious power of the wild.

In colonial engagements with wildness, indigenous and alien categories generated hybrid productions of meaning and power. Although wildness defied colonial control, many colonizers, following the novelist Joseph Conrad into the "heart of darkness," were both repelled and attracted by the "mysterious life of the wilderness that stirs in the forest, in the jungles, in the hearts of wild men" (Conrad 1973, 9). As the wildest of the wild, the shaman was a focal point of colonial fear and fascination. Despite colonial policies of opposition, European settlers on colonial frontiers were known to consult indigenous shamans for healing or divination, although these intercultural exchanges have been largely neglected in the history of shamanism.

Today, they still consult. For many scholars in the academic study of religion, following Mircea Eliade's classic text, *Shamanism,* the shaman exemplifies premodern religious experience, cultivated by "archaic techniques of ecstasy," a spirituality however that has been irrecoverably lost in modernity (Eliade 1989). For enthusiasts of New Age spirituality, including self-proclaimed "white shamans" in the United States, the shaman exemplifies postmodern religious experience, available to anyone, anywhere (Noel 1997). By signing up for guided shamanic tours, which take spiritual tourists to meet with shamans in Siberia, Africa, or the Amazon, anyone can be initiated into the wild spirituality of the shaman. Between the premodern and the postmodern, the realities of colonialism anchored the religious practices of shamans within specific relations of meaning and power. Acting on behalf of a community, even when that community was displaced and dispossessed, shamans developed new religious strategies, not only for preserving archaic techniques of ecstasy, but also for exercising new capacities for memory, concealment, performance, translation, and transformation in negotiating indigenous religious survival under difficult colonial conditions.

David Chidester

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Buryat Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Chinese Shamanism, Classical; Ethnocentrism and Shamanism; Sakha Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Acerbi, Giuseppe. 1802. *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape in the Years 1798 and 1799.* 2 vols. London: J. Mawman.

Capeci, Dominic, and Jack Knight. 1990. "Reactions to Colonialism: The North American Ghost Dance and the East African Maji-Maji Rebellion." *Historian* 5: 584–601.

Chidester, David. 1992. *Religions of South Africa.* London: Routledge.

———. 1996. *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

———. 2000a. "Colonialism." Pp. 423–437 in *Guide to the Study of Religion.* Edited by Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon. London: Cassell.

———. 2000b. *Christianity: A Global History.* London: Allen Lane/Penguin; San Francisco: HarperCollins.

Conrad, Joseph. 1973. Reprint. *Heart of Darkness.* Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin. Original edition, 1902.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fields, Karen E. 1985. *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Flaherty, Gloria. 1992. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1995. "Southern Siberian Religions." In *Encyclopedia of Religion.* Edited by Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillan.

Hugh-Jones, Stephen. 1994. "Shamans, Prophets, Priests, and Pastors." Pp. 32–75 in *Shamanism, History, and the State.* Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1973. "A Definition of Shamanism." *Temenos* 9: 25–37.

Humphrey, Caroline. 1994. "Shamanic Practices and the State in Northern Asia: Views from the Center and the Periphery." Pp. 191–228 in *Shamanism, History, and the*

State. Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Moffat, Robert. 1842. *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa.* London: John Snow.
Noel, Daniel C. 1997. *The Soul of Shamanism: Western Fantasies, Imaginal Realities.* New York: Continuum.
Sauer, Martin. 1802. *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia.* London: T. Cadell.
Taussig, Michael. 1987. *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Wafer, Lionel. 1729. *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America.* 3d ed. London: J. and J. Knapton. Original edition 1699.
Znamenski, Andrei A. 1999. *Shamanism and Christianity: Native Encounters with Russian Orthodox Missions in Siberia and Alaska, 1820–1917.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

CORE SHAMANISM AND NEO-SHAMANISM

For centuries, both in Europe and North America, people have been on spiritual quests for meaning, transcendence, and healing. This search has become more intensive at various times in history, and the modern mystical movement (Townsend 1988) of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is one of the most recent examples.

Within the mystical movement there are two forms. In group movements people are subject to that group's doctrine; individualist movements are structured as fluid networks—individuals create their own meanings based on a variety of sources (Townsend 1999a, 224). Modern individualist movements include the following broad categories:

1. New Age, which emphasizes such things as trance channeling, tarot, reincarnation beliefs, and astrology
2. Neopaganism, positive witchcraft, Wicca, Goddess religion, and groups that focus on the earth as a living organism
3. Modern shamanic spirituality, consisting of Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism

Those who practice Core and Neo-Shamanism object strongly to being included within a generic New Age category. Although some practitioners, especially of Neo-Shamanism, do overlap with Neo-paganism and occasionally with New Age, to include them as merely one subset of a larger category seriously obscures the uniqueness of these explorations.

Core and Neo-Shamanism are especially appealing for people on quests for transcendence and healing because they offer the potential for direct contact with the spirit world. At least part of their inspiration is drawn from "traditional shamanism," a term used here to designate shamanism practiced in a society over a long period of time and considered a continuous cultural presence (Hoppál 2000, 89). Traditional shamanism can be observed among some indigenous societies in various areas of the world, particularly the Arctic and Subarctic, North America, and Asia; it occurs within a variety of cultures and belief systems. (For a detailed discussion of traditional shamanism see Townsend 1997a). Consequently adaptation of aspects of shamanism into Core or Neo-Shamanism by people within modern Western belief systems is a comparatively simple matter (Brunton 1999, 233; Harner 1980; Townsend 1988).

Belief System

The belief systems of Core Shamanism and parts of Neo-Shamanism are similar. Their paradigms maintain that sentience and interconnectedness permeate the universe. Like traditional shamans, Core and Neo-Shamans believe that there are two realities: the ordinary material reality of conscious, waking life and alternate (nonordinary, or spiritual) reality, which is peopled by spirits, souls of the dead, deities, transcendent powers, and other entities. Usually alternate reality is conceived of as having three layers: the Lower World, the Middle World (which occupies the same space as ordinary reality), and the Upper World. By entering an altered state of consciousness one can travel in alternate reality to various levels of the spirit world to gain knowledge and help and healing for people in the material world. Further, what

happens in alternate reality can affect material reality (Townsend 1988; 1997a, 437).

Very important in addressing Core and Neo-Shamanism is the fundamental epistemological quandary dealing with questions of the source of misfortune (and evil, if such exists), death and the afterlife (if there is one), and the nature of reality: whether there are deities and spirits separate from the individual, or whether the individual is part of an undifferentiated oneness. These crucial questions underlie many of the beliefs and actions within the movement.

Traditional shamanism is clearly dualistic, though it has animistic elements, as well a belief in interconnectedness at some level. Humans, deities, and spirits are independent entities, and their relationships with each other often reflect worldly social interactions. Those relationships can sometimes be seen as a cosmic battle with evil in the form of dangerous spirits and witches. Core Shamanism, which is also dualistic in the sense that spirit and matter are distinct, does not stress the good/evil dichotomy of traditional shamanism, although that dichotomy is present. The emphasis in Core Shamanism is on helping and protecting one's self and others. One of the prime rules is *not* to use shamanic knowledge to attack or harm others; that is sorcery and is forbidden. In advanced Core Shamanism, ways to guard against intentionally or unintentionally caused dangers are addressed.

This dualistic perspective contrasts with much of Neo-Shamanism, Neopaganism, and New Age, all of which have monistic or pantheistic approaches to reality. The universe is usually conceived of as friendly or benign; there is no dichotomy between good and evil. Another aspect of the contrast of traditional shamanism and Core Shamanism with Neo-Shamanism, Neo-Paganism, and New Age is epistemological. It concerns the source of authority. For traditional shamanism and Core Shamanism, knowledge and direction come from spirits. For the others, knowledge and direction come from "within," from one's higher self, inner voice, or inner wisdom. It should be noted, however, that within Neo-Shamanism, Neopaganism, and New Age there is a range of beliefs on these matters. In keeping with the individualistic stance, one's personal epistemology may vary to some extent from generally held positions.

History

The two primary catalysts for modern shamanic spirituality are Carlos Castaneda and Michael Harner. Beginning in 1968, Castaneda wrote a series of books describing the beliefs and the magical practices of Don Juan, supposedly a Yaqui (of northern Mexico) *brujo* (sorcerer or witch). Particularly fascinating to readers were Don Juan's journeys into alternate reality. Although the validity and authenticity of Don Juan and his adventures have come under severe questioning, and most knowledgeable people feel that Don Juan was a figment of Castaneda's creative imagination, his works still make an impact on the Neo-Shamanism segment of modern shamanic spirituality.

Michael Harner is a professional anthropologist who conducted extensive research in shamanism and other aspects of the Conibo and Shuar (Jívaro) cultures of Amazonia in the late 1950s and 1960s and undertook further research among other societies that had shamans. He began to give workshops in Core Shamanism in the mid-1970s and published his definitive *Way of the Shaman* in 1980.

It was not long before a range of so-called teachers, medicine men, ersatz shamans, and others who supposedly had esoteric shamanic knowledge began to offer their versions of the new shamanism. Still, Core and Neo-Shamanism are the main forms of modern shamanic spirituality.

Both forms are leaderless, in the sense that there is no ongoing controlling presence of an individual; no one is a "guru" who dictates what one can or cannot do or believe. There are a few minor organizational structures around an individual who has created a specific method or ritual system (for example, Brant Secunda's Dance of the Deer Foundation and Michael Harner's Foundation for Shamanic Studies, mentioned below), but they are very limited in their controlling ability. Leaders in this movement are for the most part simply knowledgeable people who organize and teach workshops, lead pilgrimages, and help perpetuate the broad general character of the version of the movement they support.

Core Shamanism is a conservative, purist approach to shamanism. Neo-Shamanism uses metaphorical images and idealized concepts of shamanism, which are often joined with beliefs and diverse rituals that have little to do with tra-

ditional shamanism. There are some areas of overlap between the two forms, but their foci are distinct. The leaders of Core and Neo-Shamanism work within their own system. Seekers are often more versatile (Townsend ms).

Core Shamanism

Michael Harner is the creator and remains the prime mover of Core Shamanism. It is an experiential method based on his ethnographic research, a method that distills the core elements that have real time depth and are found in traditional shamanism cross-culturally. It creates no additional mythology or theology, nor does it incorporate specific beliefs, ceremonials, or other aspects of any indigenous people's culture, although specific ethnographic examples may be referred to as illustrations in teaching (Conton 2000; Harner 1980; Townsend 1999a, 1999b, ms). Consequently, it should not be accused of stealing the spiritual traditions of indigenous peoples. The method is taught in workshops given by Harner or those certified by him; the workshops teach both introductory and advanced methods.

The basis of Core Shamanism is the journey into alternate reality, through the stimulus of drumming. Drum beats vary between about 205 and 220 beats per minute according to the needs of the journeyer (Harner 1980). Hallucinogens are never used, and it is this drug-free aspect of attaining an altered state of consciousness that has made the method especially appealing. In alternate reality journeyers can contact their helping spirits as well as other spirits and the dead, explore the reaches of alternate reality, gain knowledge, and heal others with the assistance of spirits. Traditional shamans' power, and the power of shamans trained in this method, lies in the ability to contact spirits and enlist those spirits to help them accomplish their goals (Townsend 1999b, 115).

Harner eschews becoming an authoritative guru and encourages seekers to discover their own paths through journeying and to learn what lies in alternate reality from the spirits (Townsend 1999b). The real teachers are those in alternate reality; he provides only a method of contacting them. For the conscientious Core Shamanism student, this approach provides a freedom to learn directly from spirits. At the same time, it opens up a freedom to diverge from the pure Core Shamanism method and incorporate unrelated systems.

The journey differs from other methods of altering one's state of consciousness. Loud rhythmic drumming strongly contrasts with quiet meditation, guided imagery, or chanting. Both Core Shamanism and traditional shamanism stress the *reality* of alternate reality and *seeing* in that reality. Meditation and other methods usually consider visions as some form of illusion or as originating in the mind of the seeker rather than actually existing in any alternate reality. There is considerably more interaction with spirits in Core and traditional shamanism. In meditative systems, if spirit illusions are dealt with at all they are considered unimportant or a nuisance (Townsend ms). Leilani Lewis (1991, 3; also Grimaldi 1997, 4–9) observes that the journeyer sets the objective of the journey; the journeyer is not guided or "pre-programmed" by an instructor. The teachers one meets in alternate reality are actual spirits, not one's "inner self."

As in traditional shamanism, the belief is that illness is caused by the loss of a spirit helper (such a helper being essential if one is to survive), by soul loss, or by spirit intrusion. It is the healer's job to travel to alternate reality to retrieve the patient's spirit helper or lost soul and return it. If the problem is intrusion, the healer must go into alternate reality in order to determine the cause and then remove it, usually by the traditional shamanic method of sucking out the object and disposing of it. Core Shamanism and traditional healing techniques require considerable effort and focus (Harner 1973, 1980; Grimaldi 1997; Townsend 1997a).

In 1985 Harner established a nonprofit educational Foundation for Shamanic Studies. With proceeds from workshops and memberships, the foundation sponsors basic and applied shamanic research in areas where traditional shamanism is threatened. The goals are to salvage shamanic knowledge before it disappears, and where possible assist existing shamans in the preservation of their traditions. With regard to the latter, some shamans in Siberian, Native American, Inuit, Saami (Lapps), Nepalese and other societies have petitioned the foundation to help them to regain and perpetuate their systems. While it is unlikely that lost or fading traditions can be regained in their entirety, reviving and develop-

ing what remains can also contribute to a resurgence of ethnic pride and meaning (Townsend 1999a, ms).

While active face-to-face "groups" are not a formal part of Core Shamanism, small drumming circles do exist almost anywhere Core Shamanism is taught. These groups are autonomous, and although they are sanctioned and encouraged by Harner and his foundation, the foundation does not control them. People who have taken at least the introductory course may meet weekly or once or twice a month for journeying using drums and for healing. Some have considerable time depth, having been active for a decade. In 2000, foundation-recognized drumming circles existed in thirty states in the United States, with the east and west coasts having the largest number. Drumming circles also existed in six Canadian provinces, Argentina, Belgium, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Netherlands, Scotland, Sweden, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand (Conton 2000; *Shamanism* 2000: 94–96). In the Germanic countries in 2001 there were fifteen to twenty drumming circles in Austria, ten in Germany, and fifteen in Switzerland (Harner, personal communication, August 2, 2001).

Some people take Core Shamanism workshops and remain completely within that system. Others also become involved in diverse activities and move toward some version of Neo-Shamanism or Neopaganism. In that case the Core Shamanism method then becomes merely one of many elements employed (Townsend 1999a, 225).

Neo-Shamanism

The amorphous, eclectic nature of Neo-Shamanism makes it difficult to characterize. In contrast with Core Shamanism, there is more emphasis on rituals, other often nonshamanic activities, and a tendency to incorporate aspects of Neo-paganism and aspects of New Age. Authoritative sources are diffuse. Castaneda never taught, except to a small group near the end of his life, but many have been influenced by his books. Other sources of inspiration are workshops, the Internet, and a plethora of literature. Although Neo-Shamanism draws from some traditional shamanism, it emphasizes Western idealized and metaphorical images of the shaman as an all-wise hierophant, a mystic, a guardian of the earth. The shaman exists within a broader idealized unchanging "primitive" or "native" ethos. These important symbols, "nature," the "native," and the "primitive," exist within the old ideology of romanticism, which encourages searching for spiritual guidelines among indigenous peoples, especially Native North Americans (Townsend 1999a, 228; ms). In contrast to practitioners of Core Shamanism, Neo-Shamans tend to rely on calling spirits to them rather than undertaking journeys to spirits in the spirit world. This approach reflects Neo-Shamanism's greater involvement with real or assumed Native American cultural systems. Healing of one's self or others may be undertaken. Healers may use rituals or other techniques in addition to or instead of traveling into alternate reality.

A variety of pseudoindigenous "shamans," "medicine men," and others claiming access to esoteric knowledge have become more active recently, conducting workshops or giving talks. Another recent prominent feature is the pilgrimage in which a group of seekers is led to "points of power" or native villages. There they perform "shamanic" rituals, hoping to gain more spiritual empowerment and perhaps get in touch with their "heart's spirit." Some of these activities take on an element of New Age practice. Pilgrimage destinations include Mount Shasta in California, the southwest United States, Mexico, Hawaii, China, Tibet, Nepal, Alaska, and southern France.

Related to the pilgrimage is the use of psychoactive compounds to induce altered states. Recently some Neo-Shamans have begun to travel to the Amazonian area, either on their own or as part of a pilgrimage led by someone claiming to be a shaman. There they experiment with various hallucinogens, including ayahuasca (*yajé*), amanita muscaria mushrooms, and San Pedro cactus. Concerns have been expressed regarding the dangers of the uninformed use of such drugs, particularly in the hands of ersatz shamans (Townsend 1999a, 228–229; see the journal called *Shaman's Drum* for papers addressing the phenomenon).

Modern Shamanic Spirituality

Modern shamanic spirituality as a whole is a democratic movement; authority is vested in each individual because sacred knowledge is

held to be experiential, not doctrinal. Individuals can create personal belief systems based on information gained from spirits during journeys and from workshops, literature, and other sources. In a movement such as modern shamanic spirituality, it would be almost impossible to limit access to sacred knowledge because of the variety of media and network information systems available, the individualistic nature of the movement, and the fluid relationships between leaders and seekers (Townsend 1999b, 117).

There is a continuum in modern shamanic spirituality from the deeply sincere to the dabbler who searches for the newest esoteric fad. "Traditionalists" adhere to Core Shamanism with minimal additions. "Modernists" blend Core and Neo-Shamanism, some elements of traditional shamanism, and additions from other healing and spiritual practitioners. Rather than trying to follow traditional shamanic systems closely, modernists focus on applying an idealized, often invented, form of shamanism to daily life and to psychotherapy. At the far end of the continuum, "Eclectics," the more extreme segment of Neo-Shamanism, glorify the idealized "native" and "shaman" and integrate a range of unrelated, often invented rituals and beliefs not related to shamanism such as chakras, astrology, and crystal healing. Some eclectics consider themselves to be shamans; some, such as artists or other "creative" individuals, suddenly realize they are shamans, although they were not previously aware of it. Included in the eclectics are the "wanna-bes"—those who "want to be" Indian—who try to involve themselves in indigenous cultures, enjoy dressing up like idealized Indians, and take on pseudo-Indian names such as Running Fawn or Brave Wolf. These practices raise the ire of the native people. These last two types may also include aspects of Neopaganism in their world view (Townsend 1999a, 225; ms).

Nonviolent nativistic, eschatological, apocalyptic, and millennial themes (Townsend 1984) appear in modern shamanic spirituality, as they do in Neopaganism. Humans and the earth are in grave danger. This is partly due to the West's loss of transcendent awareness and loss of connection with nature and the spirit world. These crises must be dealt with quickly, or there will be a catastrophe. "Shamanic cultures" have retained this connection and are the keepers of the mystical knowledge that will prevent catastrophe and create a saner world. Part of the mission of modern shamanic spirituality is to prevent the world's destruction by rekindling the lost spiritual awareness. This mission entails learning from indigenous people and carrying on activities in the spirit world that will save our material world (Townsend 1999b, 116–117; ms). The current global warming fears and other environmental problems have added fuel to this concern.

Spread of Core and Neo-Shamanism

In the past people who held beliefs that deviated from the accepted norm gave up their beliefs, kept quiet, or were ostracized. They might retain their beliefs if they found others nearby who shared them. Today there is more openness to deviant beliefs, and face-to-face verification of beliefs is not necessary. Modern shamanic spirituality is a fluid network. One can gain access to new beliefs, to a virtual community, and to belief verification through a plethora of books, magazines, specialty bookstores, radio and television programs, workshops, pilgrimages, and most recently and importantly, the Internet. Web sites provide information, chat groups, e-mail, and lists to which one subscribes in order to discuss relevant issues, rather than simply being on the receiving end. Strong cyber-friendships are sometimes formed. The Internet reaches throughout the world, and so supports the globalization of the movement, which appears to be expanding exponentially (Townsend 1997b). Although the development of both Core and Neo-Shamanism seems to have initially stemmed from North America, as a result of all these factors they have rapidly spread through much of the First World.

In Europe, especially in Germany, a form of "Scientific Neopaganism" and Nordic pagan revivalism has been evident since at least the 1920s (Poewe 1999). In the last thirty years, partly from a desire to find a spiritual heritage in one's own culture and partly because of indigenous people's anger at real or assumed usurping of their traditions, there has been a rise in the search for European shamanic traditions, notably Nordic and, most recently, Celtic.

Harner began his European teaching of Core Shamanism in Germany in 1978 and continued his personal activities there until 1985. Core Shamanism actively continues in the Germanic countries today (Harner, personal communication, August 2, 2001).

During the middle 1980s some people claiming to be North American Native shamans or medicine men of various kinds traveled in Europe professing to teach "Native American wisdom." The alleged medicine man, Rolling Thunder, who claimed to be Shoshone or Cherokee, held a seminar there. Another ersatz spiritual leader, Harley SwiftDeer (supposedly of Cherokee and Irish heritage) who came to Europe about 1984, seems to have developed a particularly large following, which has continued through 1997 (Kehoe 1990, 201; Lindquist 1997, 25–48). These people purveyed pseudo-Native American rituals such as sweet grass, the Sun Dance, and other conglomerations of pieces of Native American rituals and newly invented ones.

In Scandinavia, especially Sweden, the desire to integrate Nordic shamanism with Core and Neo-Shamanism has been especially strong. The Swedish Association for Nordic Shamanism—Yggdrasil (world tree)—was created in the mid-1970s and has published its magazine *Gimle* since 1976. The first issue briefly commented on a Nordic kind of shamanism and gave a complete list of Castaneda's books. Early issues also included information on non-shamanic traditions, including Druidism, the Arthurian legend, Hinduism, Yoga, and Tantra. In 1982 Yggdrasil became more directly associated with Nordic shamanism, especially the Nordic *seid,* or *sejd,* a séance used for divination and problem solving. No journeys to alternate reality were undertaken until Michael Harner visited in 1983 (Lindquist 1997, 23, 29–31, 131–174). In 1986 his representative in Denmark, Jonathan Horwitz, began teaching and has been particularly influential. In 1993 Horwitz's association with Harner was severed, and he has continued to teach on his own (Lindquist 1997; Harner personal communication, August 2, 2001). Presumably he still adheres to much of Core Shamanism.

Core and Neo-Shamanism manifest differently in Europe than in North America. Boundaries between the two seem blurred in Europe. Some take Core Shamanism workshops and continue within that movement, but it appears that there is a greater tendency in Europe to combine Neo-Shamanic systems, Nordic or Celtic "shamanism," and Neopaganism. Then the blend is lumped under the rubric of Neo-Shamanism. Of course, there is a strong feeling among the North American Core-shaman participants (and especially Michael Harner) that there are major distinctions to be drawn; Core shamans do not want to be classed with the larger, more amorphous Neo-Shaman movement or other spiritual forms in North America or in Europe.

One of the distinctions between North American and European, particularly Swedish, activities is the greater degree of face-to-face interaction in the latter. In North America, Core shamans tend to work independently or to participate in small drumming circles, usually of about eight or ten, discussed above. In Sweden, however, there seems to be a tendency to form some more formal groups.

For most Swedes, Core Shamanism, particularly the journey, is one of the tools used; then rituals are added, including annual Nordic celebrations and practices presumed to be Native North American, such as sweat lodges, sun dances, vision quests, and so on. The practitioners join with others to create local communities and establish sacred localities within a local shamanic cultural milieu (Lindquist 1997; Harner personal communication, May 17, 2001). Harner agrees that it is likely that the Scandinavian version of shamanism is not pure Core Shamanism as he teaches it but is a merging of Nordic mythology and rituals with some input from the itinerant alleged Native North American medicine men who traveled in Europe (Harner personal communication, August 2, 2001).

Unfortunately the ersatz teachers of "authentic" Native American shamanism and their ritual and belief systems have made a major impression on not only Europeans but also North Americans. This influence has created tremendous anger among many Native Americans. Further, some of these inventions have found their way back to Native people, who at times take them to be "real," "traditional" Native spirituality with considerable time depth. There is a danger that these inventions may become fixed in the literature as valid ancient traditional Native spirituality rather than recent

inventions, a few of which may hold some value for the Native people (Townsend 1999a).

Globalization

U.S. citizens still make up the majority of practitioners of shamanic spirituality, although precise numbers are almost impossible to obtain. Membership lists of the Foundation for Shamanic Studies may give some idea of the numbers of those in various geographical areas who are deeply involved. Of a total of 1,696 individuals who volunteered to allow their names to be listed on the 1994 membership list, 86 percent were Americans and 13 percent were from the rest of the world (Canada, Mexico and Central America, South America, Europe, Middle East, Asia, Australia, and New Zealand). A tentative estimate based on a small sample from one shamanism Internet list, which draws from Neoshamans as well as Core shamans, indicates that non-Americans represent about 25–28 percent of the active list participants. The total number of subscribers to the Internet list (both participants and lurkers) is difficult to ascertain. Those who actively participate are probably only a fraction of those who subscribe to the list. Where nationality could be determined, countries represented on the list were the United States, Canada, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Britain, Russia, Portugal, Australia, South Africa, Brazil, and Argentina. There are many other lists, chat rooms, and Internet sites, so these figures are only a very gross approximation (Townsend 1997b). Lindquist's (1997, 288) guess is that there are perhaps between 200 and 300 people in Sweden with some involvement in what she calls Neo-Shamanism.

The globalization of shamanic spirituality is limited primarily to middle-class people of First World countries. Those who are not financially well-off, wherever they are, have little or no access to individualist or group new religious movements. Several factors restrict the involvement. Workshops do cost money, and English is the main language for written materials and the Internet. The Internet is expensive and not always available to people in Third and Fourth World countries. Globalization of belief systems is still a phenomenon of the economically well-off and residents of the First World (Townsend 1997b).

The Future of Core and Neo-Shamanism

There are threats to the survival of both Core and Neo-Shamanism. As more and more people become involved throughout the world there is the danger that there will be more grafting of beliefs and rituals that are borrowed from other systems or invented outright. Another threat to the movement is the propensity of some practitioners of Neo-Shamanism to put forth as authentic ancient traditional beliefs and rituals of Native Americans and other indigenous people that are in fact recently invented and miscellaneous fragments of systems; this deception is practiced for notoriety and profit by a few ersatz spiritual leaders. When seekers begin to realize the shallowness of some of these leaders and their practices, it may jeopardize the movement as a whole.

Modern individualist movements have been heavily criticized by both laymen and academics as examples of the shallowness and superficiality of today's supermarket society, which expects instant answers for profound epistemological questions and practices that require little effort. Although this assessment may be true in some cases, for the most part it is an unfair evaluation. Those who are involved in the individualist movements as a whole, especially shamanic spirituality and Neopaganism, are mature, middle-class, well-educated people, who may have families, and often are in positions of influence or power in society. These are the people who have the potential to bring about social change as well as changes in belief systems. There is a strong possibility that the leaderless individualist movement will persist and spread, at least in Western society, and become a catalyst for social and religious change much more powerful than any organized new religious movement can be. This development was predicted at the turn of the twentieth century by Ernst Troeltsch (1931). That it is becoming a global phenomenon among First World countries is already clear (Townsend 1988, 73, 81; 1997b; 1999b, 117–118).

Importantly, Core and Neo-Shamanism provide the potential for transcendent experiences. The experiential element can have a much more profound effect—a true *knowing*—on those seeking answers than detached intellectualizing or hearing about the experiences of others (Townsend 1988, 82). Finally, shamanic spirituality may represent a practical or folk re-

ligion that focuses on producing important and desired transformations in people's lives. The consequence for people involved is the critical element, rather than what the belief system asserts (Buchdahl 1977; Carter 1996; Townsend 1999a, 226).

Joan B. Townsend

See also: Art and Shamanism; "Celtic Shamanism": Pagan Celtic Spirituality; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; History of the Study of Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Nordic Shamanism; Paganism in Europe; Pilgrimage and Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Soul Retrieval; Tuvan Shamanism; Urban Shamanism

References and further reading:

Blain, Jenny. 2002. *Nine (?) Worlds of Seid-Magic.* London and New York: Routledge.

Brunton, Bill B. 1999. "Western Shamanism in a Cultural Context." Pp. 231–239 in *Proceedings of the International Congress: Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices.* Vol. 5, pt. 2. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Brunton, Bill, ed. *Shamanism.* 2000. Mill Valley, CA: Journal of the Foundation for Shamanic Studies 13 (Fall/Winter), nos. 1, 2.

Buchdahl, David A. 1977. "The Science of Religion (and the Religion of Science)." *American Anthropologist* 79: 397–413.

Carter, Lewis F. 1996. "Introduction to the Issue of Authenticity." Pp. ix-xvi in *The Issue of Authenticity in the Study of Religions,* vol. 6 of *Religion and the Social Order.* Edited by Lewis F. Carter. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Castaneda, Carlos. 1968. *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Conton, Leslie. 2000. "Contemporary Shamanisms: Neo-Shamanism, Core Shamanism, and Reflections on Contemporary Shamanic Practices in the Pacific Northwest." Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for the Anthropology of Consciousness, April, at Tucson, Arizona.

Grimaldi, Susan. 1997. "Observations on Daniel Noel's 'The Soul of Shamanism': A Defense of Contemporary Shamanism and Michael Harner." *Shaman's Drum* 46: 4–9.

Harner, Michael J. 1973. "The Sound of Rushing Water." Pp. 15–27 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael J. Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1980. *The Way of the Shaman: A Guide to Power and Healing.* New York: Harper and Row.

Hoppál, Mihály. 2000. *Shaman Traditions in Transition.* Budapest: International Society for Shamanistic Research.

Kehoe, Alice. 1990. "Primal Gaia: Primitivists and Plastic Medicine Men." Pp. 194–209 in *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies.* Edited by James A. Clifton. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Lewis, Leilani. 1991. "Coming Out of the Closet as a Shamanic Practitioner." *Foundation for Shamanic Studies Newsletter* 4, no.1: 12.

Lindquist, Galina. 1997. *Shamanic Performances on the Urban Scene. Neo-Shamanism in Contemporary Sweden.* Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, 39. Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Poewe, Karla. 1999. "Scientific Neo-Paganism and the Extreme Right Then and Today: From Ludendorff's *Gotterkenntnis* to Sigrid Hund's *Europas Eigene Religion.*" *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 14, no. 3: 387–400.

Shamanism. 2000. Mill Valley, CA: *Journal of the Foundation for Shamanic Studies* 13 (Fall/Winter), nos. 1, 2.

Shaman's Drum: A Journal of Experiential Shamanism and Spiritual Healing. Williams, OR: Cross-Cultural Shamanism Network.

Townsend, Joan B. 1984. "Anthropological Perspectives on New Religious Movements." Pp. 137–151 in *The Return of the Millennium.* Edited by Joseph Bettis and S. K. Johannesen. Barrytown, NY: New ERA Books.

———. 1988. "Neo-Shamanism and the Modern Mystical Movement." Pp. 73–83 in *Shaman's Path: Healing, Personal Growth and Empowerment.* Edited by Gary Doore. Boston: Shambhala.

———. 1997a. "Shamanism." Pp. 429–469 in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook.* Edited by Stephen Glazier. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

———. 1997b. "The Globalization of Neo-Shamanism." Paper presented at the meeting

of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, November 7–9, at San Diego, California.

———. 1999a. "Western Contemporary Core and Neo-Shamanism and the Interpenetration with Indigenous Societies." Pp. 223–231 in *Proceedings of the International Congress: Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices.* Vol. 5, pt.2. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

———. 1999b. "Core Shaman and Neopagan Leaders of the Mystical Movement in Contemporary Society." *Dialogue and Alliance: A Journal of the International Religious Foundation* 13, no.1: 100–122.

———. Manuscript in revision for publication. "Shamanic Spirituality: Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism in Contemporary Western Society."

Troeltsch, Ernst. 1931. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches.* Volume 2. Translated by Olive Wyon. Halley Stewart Publications I. London: George Allen and Unwin. Original edition, *Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen.* 1911.

COSTUME, SHAMAN

Shamans in many cultures do not wear specific costumes as part of their ceremonial attire, although they may wear traditional tribal regalia, westernized dress, individual symbolic items such as masks, headdresses, rattles, or necklaces, or any combination of the above. However, highly specialized complete costumes for shamans exist in many of the parts of East Asia, where traditional shamanic practitioners have long used complete costumes as an important part of assisting, controlling, and expressing the ecstatic journey. Shamanic costumes in these instances are more than mere regalia to indicate tribal affiliation or office, and more than religious vestments that subsume the identity of the wearer into a mere representative of a religion. They are actively powerful magical tools in their own right, capable of assisting the shaman to complete a total internal and external transformation. The relationship between the shaman and these specialized garments is closest to that which an actor in performance has with the expressive and transforming dress of theatrical costume, where the performer assumes another personality or acquires other personal attributes by the process of donning the costume and expressing the character of the being the costume represents.

In the practice still current today, a female Korean shaman (known as a *mansin,* or *mudang*) will, when conducting a *kut* (séance), don a series of robes, hats, and vests that are representative of the spirits of the ancestors she is possessed by in turn. All these spirit clothes are worn over the mansin's main clothing, usually male in style, excepting in the rare case of a male shaman *(paksu),* who wears female base clothing (Covel 1983, 97). In both cases the base dress assists the shaman to subsume the identities of both sexes into one, encouraging spirits of both genders to possess the medium while in the ecstatic state.

As each spirit speaks, dances, or acts out through the mansin, she switches garments, since the spirits are thought to inhabit the robes. Certain outfits are associated with particular types of ancestor spirits, and the mansin's voice, demeanor, and attitude change to reflect these spirit's characters as she dons their dress. Spirits of great kings, generals, magistrates, mountain gods, and other regal spirits wear wide-sleeved red robes and tall hats (Kendall 1985, 6). A blue vest and broad-brimmed black hat will indicate a greedy government official, who is comically greedy even in the afterlife (Kendall 1985, 8). A yellow robe may be for a demanding spirit grandmother, while a yellow blouse and red skirt belong to a princess or maiden who is angry because she died before marriage or before having a child. Children who died before they became adults cry and demand sweets, and are indicated by tying a child's robes to the belt of the medium. Many other sorts of spirits are also indicated by traditional garments appropriate to their status during life. These spirit robes and headdresses are stored in the mansin's shrine, and a mansin's patrons who wish a particular spirit's protection for their family will bring offerings of food, cloth, or money to the shrine as offerings to the spirits. A woman wishing particular attention for her family from a spirit may even give the spirit a new or a finer robe on which she em-

A Tibetan shaman sports a colorful headdress worn during shamanic séance. Tashiparkhel Tibetan camp, Pokhara, Nepal, 1989. (Alison Wright/Corbis)

broiders her name, or a spirit during the performance of the kut may demand such a robe in order to agree to intercede in human affairs (Kendall 1985, 134–135).

Siberian shaman costumes are quite different from this, and most typically consist of a single highly embellished outfit that has many magical attributes that assist the shaman to contact helpful spirits, ward away evil ones, and safely make journeys to and from other worlds. Much has been written of Siberian shaman costumes since they first caught the imagination of Russian and European observers in the eighteenth century, and many examples of nineteenth- and twentieth-century costumes survive in museum collections around the world, but what is perhaps most notable about them is that no two are ever closely alike, as each was the creation of the individual shaman who wore it (Hutton 2001, 80–81). This was true when Johann-Gottlieb Georgi first tried to draw the dress of the inhabitants of Russia in 1776, and found that he had to illustrate eight completely different styles of shaman's costumes to show what he had seen in just a few regions (Flaherty 1992, 75). As in Korea, shaman clothing among the Siberian groups of Yukagir, Koryak, Itelmen, and Evenk had attributes of the clothing of the opposite sex (Serov 1988, 248–249), but unlike in Korea this was not a hard and fast rule, but a matter of local custom and individual inspiration. Higher-level shamans in the Nganasan and Karagas Regions sometimes had multiple costumes dedicated to various types of rituals, with more dangerous rituals requiring more elaborate costumes for protection, but again, the dress required for each level was not standardized in any way.

Certain symbols and attachments, such as fringes, mirrors, bells and other metal ornaments, skeletal markings, and others, reoccur on many different costumes from a broad range of locations, but the meanings and powers ascribed to them vary considerably, not only from location to location, but from shaman to shaman. The probable reason for this is that

while making the costume is part of the shaman's apprenticeship, it is also a continuing work throughout the shaman's life. If the shaman has a mentor, or an ancestor who was a shaman, the mentor may give direction to the student on how to begin making the costume, or the ancestor may have bequeathed metal ornaments to the family (Dolgikh 1978, 70, 73). These influences help to continue traditions that often make costumes produced in certain areas have many similar features. However, the shamans also seek for ideas directly from the spirits who help them, and many costume features are intended to physically represent attributes of animals that the shaman has been allowed by his animal spirits to acquire for use in the other worlds. Shamans in these cultures are said to gain power through the process of making and wearing the costume, and the reverse is also true: There is a recorded incident in the eighteenth century of a Tungus shaman who lost all his powers after a group of professors from the West stole his costume (Flaherty 1992, 73).

Typical metal attachments may include iron "antlers" affixed to the body of the garment, or, more usually, to the headdress. In images from the eighteenth century, these sometimes appear to have been made from actual antlers. Other headdresses have stylized hornlike decorations of stuffed leather, feathers and fur, which appear to echo the antler motif; still others omit the horns entirely. Yenissei shamans explained that the antlers on their costumes signify a relation to a deer spirit who helps one run swiftly in the Underworld (Lommel 1967, 108); others equated the deer imagery with an ability to insure good deer hunting. Metal disk "mirrors" are another common feature found on a majority of Siberian, as well as Mongolian and Northern Chinese, shaman costumes. The number of these disks varies considerably, their placement also varies, and their composition may be either brass or iron. Nganasan shamans when interviewed have described them as variously being there "to break the ice" when going to the Lower World of the dead (Dolgikh 1978, 70), or more simply being there "for beauty" (Graceva 1978, 82). In the Goldi culture of the Amur River the mirror is used to see wandering spirits and to hold helpful spirits (Vasttokas 1977, 98). In other regions they are thought to drive off evil spirits who fear their own reflection, or are used like armor to protect the navel or heart from attack by hostile spirits.

Most, though not all, costumes are also embellished with many iron amulets that make noise; they may be in abstract shapes or stylized forms representing boats, faces, fish, animals, snakes, breasts, six-fingered hands, or humans. The earliest Western account of a Siberian shaman's headdress in 1557 described the face as covered by a piece of a shirt of mail, with fish and animal teeth and small bones hanging on it (Hutton 2001, 30). Occasionally metal "found objects" were also included, as is the case with some garments now in the Kunstkamera Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg, which have old horse brasses, or, in another case, an old brass Soviet army button, added to the mix of metal amulets. Homemade metal noisemaking cones are also common, while further south old trade bells are often also used. Iron amulets are thought to repel hostile spirits, due to the noise created by the blacksmith during their manufacture (Lommel 1967, 125), as well as the noise they make while dancing. Bells are equated with living beings who call good spirits with their ringing (Lommel 1967, 125). Metal plates are also often attached in a pattern resembling a skeletal structure, while other garments trace similar patterns using couched, sacred white throat fur from the skin of a wild reindeer. Further south, these patterns are often repeated in stitched-on patches of fabric. Some have equated the metal "bones" with the bones of the shaman's spirit animal (Lommel 1967, 125), others with the shaman's own bones (Vasttokas 1977, 98), while others have identified it as armor against evil (Halifax 1982).

Siberian shamans also have many soft attachments to their garments, the most common being fringes made of fur, leather, fabric or even beads. Fringe, though it is the broad term most used to describe these dangling pieces, conveys an overly generalized meaning; in fact they are usually individually sewn on strings, or tassels, or bundles of strings. Very often these fringes are attached to the headpiece and used to cover the face, which for the protection of the shaman must be concealed in the world of the dead (Lommel 1967, 110). If a fringe does not cover the face, the face may be painted black, covered in a limited-vision

A tribesman from Northern Siberia, a Tungus Shaman, holding his drum and wearing traditional costume, ca. 1890. (Bettmann/Corbis)

mask, or simply covered with a handkerchief or scrap of cloth to afford the same protection. Fringes are also frequently attached to the body garment in great profusion, especially in the case of shamans whose main animal spirit is a bird; the fringes on the arms of the garment allow the wearer to fly to the other world with the aid of the animal spirit. Fringe strings of leather or fabric are also used to represent helper snake spirits, especially by the Tuvan shamans, and may include tiny carefully sewn bead eyes on each individual snake of the fringe (Djakonova 1978, 160–161, 164).

Another typical feature in areas where hallucinogenic mushrooms are used during trance is a strong back strap, which is sometimes tied to a tree, or held by an assistant, to symbolically hold the shaman so that he can be pulled back to the world of the living, and, on a more practical level, to hold him up from falling over and being injured while in the trance state. Whole pelts of small animals may also be attached, or bundles of fur from larger animals, as a way of sympathetically assisting in the hunting of those animals (Dolgikh 1978, 69, 74), or symbolizing individual animal helper spirits. Patches of fur or fabric are also sometimes attached in the shape of people, or crosses indicating bird spirits (Serov 1988, 241). The earliest complete Siberian shaman's outfit still surviving is from the 1780s Tungus people and is now housed in the Göttingen University Museum (Flaherty 1992, 170, 171). It has many small stuffed human dolls with brass face masks attached, as well as a variety of other amulets and stuffed objects. Shamans' garments also may simply have painted or line-drawn figures and images: A Goldi shaman dress from the Amur River region of southern Siberia in 1900 is entirely covered with elaborately drawn images of the tree of life, humans, animals, plants, and abstract images, with only a cone bell belt and a single breast mirror as dimensional accessories (Vasttokas 1977, 98–104).

Further south, where shamanism has been incorporated into Mongolian, Chinese, Nepalese, Tibetan and other Buddhist traditions, shaman costumes sometimes blend the vestments of Buddhist priests with some of the elements seen in Siberian practice, or use these elements over items of their modern or traditional national dress. Like all religious practice in the region, the Chinese Communist government has tried repressing shamanism, but unlike the Soviets, there was no great push to record and document the practice before attempting to wipe it out. The result is that in these areas little has been written on the subject, so most conclusions must be drawn from limited photographic evidence. Nepalese shamans working now wear multiple belts, necklaces, and baldrics of assorted bells and cowry shells over the traditional dress of the region, as well as a special headdress of bundled tail feathers of mountain pheasants (Hitchcock 1977, 42–48). Lama-shamans of Tibet and China, where shamanism has long been incorporated into the Buddhist religion, wore especially elaborately decorated priestly vestments, and items like protective face-covering fringes or flaps, breast mirror disks, and bell belts. Many of these ensembles also had an unexplained feature borrowed from Chinese theater: a series of flags strapped to the back of the garment, which on

stage signify a legendary general and his army, with each flag representing a troop of soldiers at his command. Like the bundled snake spirits of the Tuvans, these flags may have represented armies of good spirits, or like the mansin's red robes in Korea, may have been a way for the shaman to channel a heroic general of the past to rout out evil spirits in the afterlife, as he routed out enemy soldiers in life.

Tara Maginnis

See also: Chepang Shamanism; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Evenki Shamanism; Finno-Ugric Shamanism; Gender in Shamanism; Khakass Shamanism; Korean Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Covel, Alan Carter. 1983. *Ecstasy: Shamanism in Korea.* Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym International.

Diószegi, V. 1996. "The Problem of the Ethnic Homogeneity of Tofa (Karagas) Shamanism." Pp. 179–235 in *Folk Beliefs and Shamanistic Traditions in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akademia Kiado.

Djakonova, P. 1978. "The Vestments and Paraphernalia of a Tuva Shamaness." Pp. 68–78 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akademia Kiado.

Dolgikh, B. O. 1978. "Nganasan Shaman Drums and Costumes." Pp. 68–78 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akademia Kiado.

Flaherty, Gloria. 1992. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Graceva, G. N. 1978. " A Nganasan Shaman Costume." Pp. 79–87 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akademia Kiado.

Halifax, Joan. 1982. *Shaman: The Wounded Healer.* New York: Crossroad.

Hitchcock, John T. 1977. "A Nepali Shaman's Performance as Theatre." Pp. 42-48 in *Stones, Bones, and Skin: Ritual and Shamanic Art.* Edited by Anne Trueblood Brodzky. Toronto: Society for Art.

Hutton, Ronald. 1993. *The Shamans of Siberia.* Glastonbury: Isle of Avalon Press.

———. 2001. *Shamans: Siberian Spirituality and the Western Imagination.* London: Hambledon and London.

Illinois State Museum, "Journey to Other Worlds: Siberian Collections from the Russian Museum of Ethnography." http://museum.state.il.us/exhibits/changing/journey/objects/ (cited October 17, 2002).

Kendall, Laurel. 1985. *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

Lommel, Andreas. 1967. *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Serov, S. Ia. 1988. "Guardians and Spirit Masters of Siberia." Pp. 241–255 in *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska.* Edited by Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Vasttokas, Joan M. 1977. "The Shamanic Tree of Life." Pp. 93–177 in *Stones, Bones, and Skin; Ritual and Shamanic Art.* Edited by Anne Trueblood Brodzky. Toronto: Society for Art.

CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES ON SHAMANS

The concept of the shaman has been problematic. Central topics of contention are whether shamanism is specific to particular cultures (e.g., Paleosiberian), a human universal, or a widely distributed cross-cultural phenomenon. Underlying issues are whether the concept of the shaman is strictly emic (related to specific cultures), or whether shamanism constitutes an etic (transculturally valid) construct. Cross-cultural investigations establish the etic nature of shamanism and empirically establish characteristics of shamans. These studies differentiate shamans from other shamanistic healers, practitioners who use altered states of consciousness (ASC) in community rituals involving interaction with spirits. The relationship of different types of shamanistic healers to subsistence patterns and social and political characteristics provides evidence of the evolutionary transformation of a hunter-gatherer shamanism into other types of healing practitioners.

Definitional vs. Cross-Cultural Approaches

Specification of the nature of shamanism has been problematic because of the lack of systematic cross-cultural investigations of shamans and their characteristics. The term *shaman* has been used to refer to a wide range of magico-religious practitioners, often with the implicit presumption of shared characteristics. Although some researchers have specified what they viewed as the characteristics of shamans (e.g., Eliade 1989; Hultkrantz 1973; Halifax 1979; Townsend 1997), many use the term without explicating the commonalities or universals of shamanism. Purported universals of shamanism are generally based upon a haphazard synthesis of data from select cultures. Others have employed a subjective definitional approach, specifying the particular characteristics they consider to define the shaman (e.g., see Townsend 1997). These arbitrary definitional approaches cannot establish the characteristics of a shaman nor address cross-cultural variation in shamanistic practices. A cross-cultural or holocultural method is necessary to answer these questions regarding the universality of shamans and their characteristics.

A Cross-Cultural Study of Shamanism

An empirical determination of the etic status of shamans and their characteristics is provided by a cross-cultural research project on magico-religious practitioners (Winkelman 1986a, 1992; see Winkelman and White 1987 for data). This study was based on a forty-seven-society subset of the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample, which is representative of the geographic, social, and cultural regions of the world, and a time span of approximately 4,000 years. This study individually assessed each of the culturally recognized magico-religious roles, coding data on 117 different practitioner types. Those culturally recognized positions involving interaction with supernatural entities or supernatural power were assessed in terms of several hundred descriptive variables developed from an emic perspective, as described in the ethnographic literature. These covered a wide range of characteristics, including selection and training procedures, procedures for inducing altered states of consciousness and characteristics of those states, sources of power, relationships to spirits, the social context of and motives for professional activities, economic and sociopolitical powers, and various aspects of their healing, divination, malevolent acts, propitiation, and other ritual activities.

Statistical analysis of these cross-cultural data permitted empirical determination of the similarities in practitioners from diverse societies. These empirical similarities provided a basis for forming groups representing *types* of practitioners that have cross-cultural validity. A central question was the existence across societies of practitioners associated with the classic characteristics of shamanism. Quantitative assessment of shared characteristics provided the basis for answering this question, and determining different etic types of practitioners based upon their similarities (for methods and analysis, see Winkelman 1986a, 1992). The practitioner types derived from cluster analyses were subjected to independent validation that revealed interrelated and distinct types of practitioners. These empirically derived groups have been labeled with commonly used terms: shaman, shaman/healer, healer, medium, priest, and sorcerer/witch.

These cross-cultural findings establish the etic status of shamans and other types of magico-religious practitioners. Practitioners from different societies and different regions of the world who belong to the same type are more similar to each other than they are to geographically more proximate practitioners, including other practitioners in the same culture and region. These findings include an empirically derived type of magico-religious healers that possesses the classic characteristics of the shaman. Some magico-religious practitioners labeled shamans by ethnographers have characteristics significantly different from those associated with the empirically derived type labeled shamans.

A differentiation of shamanistic practices was also proposed by Siikala (1978), who characterized Siberian shamanism as including four types: small-group shamans, independent professional shamans, clan shamans, and territorial professional shamans. She postulated the prevalence of small-group shamans in highly nomadic groups and independent professional shamans in societies without hierarchical control. Clan and territorial professional shamans

she saw as occurring in more complex groups. Winkelman's cross-cultural study included the Kazak, a group found in the region where Sikala pointed to the predominance of what she called territorial professional shamanism. The practitioner from the Kazak (the *baqca*) was not empirically classified as a shaman, but rather as another type of shamanistic healer, a medium.

Healing practitioners found in Eurasia, the Americas, and Africa are more similar to one another than they are to other magico-religious practitioners in the same regions. This similarity is more relevant than geographical location or definitions, and indicates that the term *shaman* should be used on the basis of empirically shared characteristics. Winkelman's cross-cultural findings suggest restricting the use of the term *shaman* to refer to healers of hunter-gatherer and other simple societies who are trained through altered states of consciousness for healing and divination, as well as sharing other characteristics discussed below. These shamans are distinguished from other types of shamanistic healers (mediums, healers, and shaman/healers) in more complex societies who also use altered states of consciousness for healing, but have different characteristics.

Shamans

Empirical research found the group called shamans were found in societies around the world, with the exception of the region around the Mediterranean; this absence reflects the lack of hunter-gatherer societies from this region in the sample. Shamans were found throughout the world, but survive in only a few places in modern societies. For example, in the formal cross-cultural analyses, shamans found in the modern world included the !Kung *n/um kxoa-si,* the Chukchee *ene nilit,* and the Jivaro *wishinyu.* Societies with shamans are predicted by nomadic residence patterns and political integration limited to local community, but not by diffusion, indicating the role of shaman had an independent origin in each society. The healing practitioners empirically clustered in the group labeled shaman have characteristics emphasized by Eliade—using ecstasy to interact with the spirit world on behalf of the community. These shamans are charismatic political leaders in hunter-gatherer and simple pastoral or agricultural societies, where political integration is limited to the local community. Shamans' ecstasy, or altered state of consciousness, is central to their professional training and activities of divination, prophecy, diagnosis, and healing. Shamans also led raiding parties, organized communal hunts, and decided group movement. Shamans engage in activities on behalf of a client, but generally with the entire local community (the band) participating. Shamans also may engage in malevolent magical acts designed to harm others. They may attack enemies of the group, and they are sometimes suspected of killing patients who died.

Shamans are often from families with a long history of shamanic practice. In most cultures, shamans are predominantly males; however, most cultures also allow females to become shamans, but typically limit their practice to before or after childbearing years (Winkelman 1992). The selection of a shaman might result from the desires of a deceased shamanic relative who provides spirit allies, but anyone could become a shaman who is selected by the spirits, undergoes training, and is successful in practice. Shamans are selected through a variety of procedures, including involuntary visions, receiving signs from spirits, and serious illness. These spontaneous experiences are followed by deliberately induced altered states of consciousness, during which shamans acquire spirit allies, particularly animal spirits. Animals are central to shamans' powers; shamans are believed to transform themselves into animals and have them carry out activities.

Shamanic training involves induction of altered states of consciousness and seeking contact with the spirits, often an extension of vision quest experiences undertaken by the entire population (or all males) as a part of adult development. Shamans' altered states of consciousness are induced through a variety of procedures: auditory driving (e.g., drumming and chanting); fasting and water deprivation; exposure to painful austerities and temperature extremes; extensive exertion from drumming and dancing; hallucinogens and other drugs; and sleep, social, and sensory deprivation. Shamans' altered states of consciousness are generally labeled as involving soul flight and journeys to the spirit worlds, and they are usually not possessed by spirits. A characteristic feature of shamans' altered states of consciousness is a vi-

sionary experience during which they contact the spirit world.

The shamanic ritual was typically an all-night activity in which the entire community participated. The shamans' chanting, singing, dancing, and enactments brought the community into a dramatic encounter with the spirit world. Central to shamanic therapy is soul recovery, which involves soul journeys to do battle with terrifying spirits to rescue the patient's soul. Soul loss has been characterized as the loss of, or injury to, personal essence, manifested in disharmony in life and feelings of disconnectedness with others (Achterberg 1985). Soul recovery restores a sense of identity and emotional well-being, balancing and transforming self. Therapeutic processes involve community participation, healing through enhancing social bonding processes, as well as other symbolic processes characteristic of the shamanistic healers (see below). Other aspects of shamanic therapeutics involve removal of afflicting spirits or objects. A variety of physical healing techniques are also used: herbs, massage, and cleansings (Winkelman and Winkelman 1991).

Initiatory Crises, Death-and-Rebirth, and Psychological Status

Adoption of the shamanic role is often motivated by a psychological crisis, an initiatory period characterized by illness or insanity provoked by the afflictions of spirits. This crisis generally leads to a death-and-rebirth experience involving the dismemberment and reconstruction of the initiate's body that imbues them with powers. It might occur spontaneously, during an initiatory crisis, or during an active engagement in a vision quest. The death-and-rebirth experience begins with attacks by spirits, which cause death; this is generally followed by descent to the Lower World, where spirits may destroy the victim's body, typified by total dismemberment. The initiate's body is then reconstructed with the addition of spirit allies, which provide power, and the individual is reborn.

These initiatory experiences and other shamanic altered states of consciousness have been characterized as pathological, as manifestations of neurosis, psychosis, hysteria, and epilepsy. These attributions largely reflect misunderstandings, although some cultures have considered these experiences as illness. The difference is that in the shamanic context, the expectation is that these experiences are to be resolved as a part of professional development. The shaman's initiatory crises and death-and-rebirth experiences are not schizophrenia or other pathologies (Noll 1983), but a temporary period of emotional turmoil and psychological distress.

The shamanic crisis is a period of psychological deconstruction manifested in natural symbolic forms of self-reference. The death-and-rebirth experiences reflect processes of self-transformation that occur under conditions of overwhelming stress, resulting in the fragmentation of the conscious ego from the consequences of psychological conflict. Dismemberment experiences are autosymbolic images of the disintegration of one's own psychological structures; the inability of the psyche to maintain its integrity is experienced symbolically as death. The rebirth cycle reflects the reformation of ego and self, a psychological reorganization guided by innate drives toward holism and integration (Laughlin, McManus, and d'Aquili 1992). Shamanic development involves the ritual and symbolic manipulation of self and neurological structures to restructure the ego, attachments, affect, and other psychodynamic processes, providing the basis for individuation and self-actualization. These changes produce a new level of identity and consciousness, a self-transformation at the basis of the exceptional health of shamans.

Although the shamanic initiatory crises may involve pathological conditions, the claim that altered states of consciousness of shamans are inherently similar to pathological states is not justified. Shamanic altered states of consciousness have significant differences in their voluntary nature and the deliberate actions taken to induce them, conditions distinct from the involuntary conditions experienced by persons suffering from psychopathology. Noll's (1983) analysis of shamanic states and schizophrenia reject arguments that shamans manifest pathogenic personality traits of acute schizophrenia. Shamanic altered states of consciousness differ from schizophrenia in that shamans enter altered states of consciousness deliberately; they do not lose their social interaction and communication skills; and they are able to discriminate between shamanic experiences and experiences of every-

day life. The experiential qualities of shamanic altered states of consciousness also differ sharply from those of schizophrenia, with shamanic hallucinatory experiences characterized by visual phenomena and positive affective experiences and intensification of emotion, directly contrasting with the schizophrenic's emotional flattening and auditory hallucinations. Shamans are healthy rather than psychopathological, though mediums (see below) may manifest symptoms indicative of organic abnormalities.

Shamanistic Healers

The hunter-gatherer shamans' utilization of altered states of consciousness to communicate with the spirit world on behalf of the community and for divination and healing is found in all societies; however, these activities are associated with different types of practitioners in more complex societies. The general term *shamanistic healer* has been proposed for these universally distributed practitioners, who use altered states of consciousness for training, healing, and divination (Winkelman 1990). Different types of shamanistic healers share characteristics, including aspects of healing involving use of altered states of consciousness, use of rituals and invocations, and removal of detrimental effects of spirits and human agents (e.g., sorcerers) (Winkelman and Winkelman 1991). Shamanistic healing processes share commonalties in addressing emotional distress. Shamanistic healers provide assurance, counteracting anxiety and its physiological effects. Their symbolic manipulations can intervene in stress mechanisms through changing emotional responses and the balance in the autonomic nervous system. These symbolic manipulations also elicit emotions, linking body and mind through effects on the limbic system.

Shamanistic healing processes elicit community support, meeting needs for belonging, comfort, and bonding with others. Shamanistic healing practices can also heal emotional problems by eliciting repressed memories and restructuring them, providing opportunities for social confession and forgiveness, resolving intrapsychic and social conflicts, and providing processes for expression of unconscious concerns. Emotions and unconscious dynamics are typically manipulated by attributing these processes to external forces (spirits). Shamanistic healing practices utilize universal aspects of symbolic healing (Dow 1986). This kind of healing involves placing the patient's circumstances within the broader context of cultural mythology and ritually manipulating these relationships to emotionally transform the patient's self and emotions. Ritual manipulations of unconscious psychological and physiological structures enable shamanistic healers to evoke cognitive and emotional responses that cause physiological changes. These are achieved by the manipulation of cultural symbols associated with autonomic responses and through activities that cause physiological changes (e.g., drumming, fasting).

There are differences in the emotional psychodynamics of shamans and the other groups included under the general term shamanistic healers, and psychodynamic differences in soul journey, possession, and meditation (Winkelman 1999). Shamanistic healers also differ with respect to a variety of other characteristics, including their ideologies of illness, the processes involved in training and healing, the nature and source of their powers, and their relationships to social institutions. These differences in shamanistic healers are illustrated in the following discussion of shaman/healers, mediums, and healers.

Shaman/Healers

Practitioners in the formal cross-cultural study who were classified as shaman/healers included the Nama Hottentot seer, the Roman sorcerer, the Kurd dervish, the Japanese ascetic, the Hidatsa "bundle holder," and the Bribri *jawa.* The shaman/healers are associated with sedentary agricultural societies, and are found at all levels of social stratification and political integration. This suggests that the adoption of agriculture and its associated consequences were fundamental causes of the transformations of shamans into shaman/healers. The fundamental role of agriculture in the transformation of shamans into other types of shamanistic healers is further supported by the significant association of agricultural societies with the presence of another form of magico-religious practitioner, the priest (Winkelman 1992). Shaman/healers are similar to shamans, engaging in healing and divination for the community, but they differ from shamans on a number of key

features. Shaman/healers are not the highest status individuals in their societies, being eclipsed by the priests. Shaman/healers also engage in agricultural rituals. Their training involves a professional group that provides instruction, ceremonial recognition of formal status, and organization of professional activities (Winkelman 1992). Shaman/healers have specialization in their roles. Different practitioners focused on different types of activities; for example, some might carry out diagnosis or agricultural rituals, but not healing, or only healing specific kinds of illness. Shaman/healers enter altered states of consciousness and interact with the spirit world, but these generally do not involve either soul journey or possession. Shaman/healers' altered states of consciousness are similar to those experienced during meditation, and are induced by fasting, auditory driving, social isolation, sleep deprivation, and other austerities (Winkelman 1986b, 1992, 2000). The sources of their powers include both spirits and impersonal sources, as well as rituals and techniques learned from other professionals.

Mediums

Mediums are healers and mediators of relations with the supernatural. Some of the practitioners in the cross-cultural study who were empirically classified as mediums include the Amhara *zar;* the Wolof *M'Deup,* or *lefohar;* the Kazak *baqca;* and the Japanese *miko,* or *kyoso.* The work of Lewis (1989) and Goodman (1988) typifies modern descriptions of characteristics of mediums.

Although the practitioners classified as mediums are frequently called shamans by investigators, they have profiles distinct from the empirically derived characteristics of shamans. For one thing, they are still quite common. Mediums are found primarily in agricultural societies with political integration beyond the local community. Mediums are predominantly women and are generally of low social and economic status. Mediums are not believed to engage in malevolent acts; rather they act against the influences of sorcerers, witches and evil spirits. They engage in worship and propitiation of their possessing spirits and make sacrifices to them.

Mediums also use altered states of consciousness, which begin as spontaneous possessions that occur in late adolescence or early adulthood. Mediums' initial episodes of altered states of consciousness are generally spontaneous and outside of personal control; these constitute both an illness and a call to the profession. These episodes are interpreted as the personality and volition of the individual being taken over by a spirit entity (Bourguignon 1976). The altered states of consciousness of mediums are characterized by central nervous system symptoms such as compulsive motor behavior, tremors, convulsions, seizures, and amnesia. These characteristics of temporal lobe discharges are not associated with the altered states of consciousness of shamans or other types of shamanistic healers (Winkelman 1992).

The training of mediums involves deliberate induction of altered states of consciousness, which enables them to gain control over possession episodes. Their professional episodes of altered states of consciousness are also characterized as involving spirit possession. These altered state of consciousness generally involve subsequent amnesia, which may also result from temporal lobe disturbances; it also reflects the belief that the medium's body is controlled by the spirits. These spirits communicate with the clients directly through the medium's speech, rather than through an account of visionary experiences of the kind given by a shaman.

To summarize, the most significant contrast between mediums and shamans, apart from the features of their respective societies, involve mediums' lower social and economic status; control by the spirits; affliction and training occurring later in life (early adulthood); altered states of consciousness characterized by possession, amnesia, and convulsions; and agricultural rituals and propitiation.

Mediums (like healers) specialize in treatment of possession illness. The concept of possession involves forces outside one's self that act upon the patient's body and consciousness. The psychodynamic of possession provides symbolic mechanisms for externalization of the control of emotions and attachments. The altered states of consciousness associated with possession involve dramatic changes in emotions and self, with the possessing spirits providing opportunities to engage in alternate selves that express socially prohibited roles and emotions. Possession manipulates self, emotions, and relations to

others (Boddy 1994). Possession allows the responsibility for feelings and behaviors to be displaced from the patient, and instead attributed to a spirit entity that controls the body and mind. Possession may shift responsibility for illness and deviance from self to other, implicating social relations as causes of disturbance. Possession consequently allows for indirect influences and subtly alters power relations, enabling transformation of self and others. Possession affects emotional dynamics by expanding self-expression and reconstructing identity, channeling expression of emotions of anxiety, fear, and desire. Possession changes relations between individuals and groups through the incorporation of spiritual "others" into self.

Healers

Healers are still found around the world in agricultural societies with political integration beyond the level of the local community. Practitioners in the cross-cultural study empirically classified as healers include the Vietnamese *thay,* the Igbo oracle, the Kavak *iman,* or *molah;* the Amhara *debtera,* and the Fur Islamic *puggee.* The study shows that healers are generally males; have high social and economic status; exercise political, legislative, and judicial powers; and officiate at group ceremonial activities. Their professional organizations, which provide costly training and certified initiates, also wield considerable power, enabling healers to be full-time specialists. Healers also engage in specialized diagnosis and healing, but many seem to altogether lack the activities associated with altered states of consciousness characteristic of shamans. Altered states of consciousness may nonetheless be part of the clients' experience in their interaction with the healers, with the structuring of interactions with healers having profound effects upon the clients' consciousness. Their divination procedures use material systems, which they interpret within standard frameworks to make diagnoses (e.g., the I Ching and Tarot). Healers' treatments emphasize rituals, spells, incantations, formulas, and sacrifices. Exorcism was a significant activity; they also frequently use herbal medicines. Healers engage in life cycle activities—naming ceremonies, marriage rituals, and funerals. Healers also have the power to determine who is a sorcerer or witch, and take actions against those individuals. Healers are found in societies with priests, and generally work in collaboration with them in exercising political and legislative power.

Healers differ from shamans in their lack of altered states of consciousness and direct communication with spirits; in their powerful professional organizations and formal political power; in their relations with superior group spirits and gods; in their use of material and mechanical systems for divination; and in their learning of spells, formulas, and ritual enactments for healing.

The Socioeconomic Transformation of Shamans and Shamanistic Healers

Shamans formed the original basis for spiritual healing practices in hunting and gathering societies. These practices were transformed as a consequence of social evolution. The emergence of sedentary agricultural societies, political integration, and class structures had significant effects upon the psychobiological foundations of shamanism, but their origin in innate brain structures and functions of consciousness assured the persistence of healing practices based on altered states of consciousness in more complex societies. The persistence of shamanic potentials can be seen in the shamanistic healers (mediums, healers, and shaman/healers), who reflect universal manifestations of the core characteristics of shamanism postulated by Eliade (1989): the use of altered states of consciousness in training, healing, and divination activities; their enactment in a community context; and their relations with the spirit world. Differences among shamanistic healers reflect the adaptation of the psychobiological potentials of altered states of consciousness to different subsistence practices and social and political conditions. These different social conditions transformed the manifestation of shamanic potentials, including types of altered states of consciousness and spirit relations, selection and training practices, the sources and nature of their power, their socioeconomic and political status, illness ideologies, and the nature of their treatments and professional practices (Winkelman 1990, 1992; Winkelman and Winkelman 1991).

Siikala proposed the differentiation of shamanic types as reflecting the effects of the

Societal Practitioner Configurations

BIOSOCIAL FOUNDATIONS				
Conflict			SORCERER/	
SORCERER/			WITCH OR	WITCH
ASC	SHAMAN	SHAMAN/ HEALER	MEDIUM	MEDIUM
			HEALER	HEALER
Social Leadership		PRIEST	PRIEST	PRIEST
	Hunting and Gathering	Agriculture	Political Integration	Social Stratification

SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

SOURCE: Adapted from Michael Winkelman. 1992. *Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners. Anthropological Research Papers #44.* Tempe: Arizona State University.

breakdown of the clan structure and increasing community stratification. Winkelman's (1986a, 1990, 1992) research implicates different conditions as transforming the original basis of shamanism. Analysis of cross-cultural data illustrates this evolution of the shamanic potentials in the systematic relationships of different types of shamanistic healers and other magico-religious practitioners (sorcerers/witches and priests) to socioeconomic conditions. The transformation of shamanic practices into other types of shamanistic healers and magico-religious practitioners can then be seen as a function of (1) agriculture replacing hunting and gathering; (2) transformation of nomadic lifestyle to fixed residence patterns; (3) political integration of local communities into hierarchical societies; and (4) social stratification, the creation of classes and castes, and hereditary slavery (Winkelman 1986a, 1990, 1992). These relationships of practitioner types to socioeconomic conditions are illustrated in the table (adapted from Winkelman 1992).

The chart also illustrates the way these practitioner-societal configurations correspond to relationships between practitioner selection procedures and their professional functions (Winkelman 1992), providing the basis for a model of the evolution of magico-religious functions. These social functions involve three major dimensions: (1) the psychobiological basis in altered states of consciousness (characteristic of all shamanistic healers); (2) the role of social-political and religious leadership (assumed by priests); and (3) the conflict of shamanistic healers and priests, manifested in the sorcerer/witch. Shamans were the original source of traditions involving altered states of consciousness, and provided the social leadership potentials at the basis of priesthoods. Shamanistic practitioners were eventually persecuted by the expansion of hierarchical priestly religious structures, giving rise to the phenomenon recognized as witchcraft.

Contemporary Shamanisms and Neo-Shamanisms

Modern European societies did not have shamanism, which had disappeared in processes of sociocultural evolution and the brutal oppression of remaining shamanistic practices by religions and state political systems as witchcraft (Harner 1973, Winkelman 1992). Consequently, the concept of shamanism reentered modern consciousness through colonial contacts with other cultures. Ethnographic studies of healing practices around the world contributed to an awareness of cross-cultural similarity in these healing practices. An-

thropological and interdisciplinary studies contributed to an emulation of these practices in modern societies, an expansion of Western spiritualities in the late twentieth century, and their application to contemporary healing (Krippner and Welch 1992). Some of these modern borrowings have attempted to maintain a focus upon the classic aspects of shamanic practice; these aspects are emphasized in the concept of Core Shamanism developed by Michael Harner (1990) and in the activities of the Foundation for Shamanic Studies (see www.shamanism.org). Many other modern adaptations, however, were not based upon the primordial hunter-gatherer patterns of shamanism, resulting in the extension of the term *shaman* to a bewildering variety of practitioners, some of which have little relationship to original forms of shamanism.

This overextension of the term *shaman* can be remedied by restricting its use to the practitioners who share the empirically derived characteristics described above. Terms such as *medium, healer,* and *priest* can be applied to other types of healing practitioners. All those practitioners who, like shamans, use altered states of consciousness in training and healing, can be associated with their ancient shamanic roots through the term *shamanistic healer.*

Michael Winkelman

See also: Art and Shamanism; Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Demonic Possession and Exorcism; Entheogens and Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism; Psychopathology and Shamanism; Spirits and Souls; Trance, Shamanic; Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Achterberg, Jeanne. 1985. *Imagery in Healing: Shamanism and Modern Medicine.* Boston: New Science Library, Shambhala.

Boddy, Janice. 1994. “Spirit Possession Revisited: Beyond Instrumentality.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 407–434.

Bourguignon, Erica. 1976. *Possession.* San Francisco: Chandler and Sharpe.

Dow, James. 1986. “Universal Aspects of Symbolic Healing: A Theoretical Synthesis.” *American Anthropologist* 88: 56–69.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Goodman, Felicitas. 1988. *How About Demons? Possession and Exorcism in the Modern World.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Halifax, Joan. 1979. *Shamanic Voices.* New York: E. P. Dutton.

Harner, Michael. 1990. *The Way of the Shaman.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Harner, Michael, ed. 1973. *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hultkrantz, A. 1973. “A Definition of Shamanism.” *Temenos* 9: 25–37.

Jakobsen, Merete. 1999. *Shamanism: Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing.* New York: Berghahn Books.

Krippner, Stanley, and Peter Welch. 1992. *Spiritual Dimensions of Healing: From Native Shamanism to Contemporary Health Care.* New York: Irvington Publishers.

Laughlin, Charles, John McManus, and Eugene d’Aquili. 1992. *Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neurophenomenology of Consciousness.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1989. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 2d ed. London: Routledge.

Noll, Richard. 1983. “Shamanism and Schizophrenia: a State-Specific Approach to the Schizophrenia Metaphor of Shamanic States.” *American Ethnologist* 10: 443–459.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1978. “The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman.” *Folklore Fellows Communication* 220. Helsinki: Soumalainen Tiedeskaremia Academia.

Townsend, Joan. 1997. “Shamanism.” Pp. 429–469 in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook of Method and Theory.* Edited by S. Glazier. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Winkelman, Michael. 1986a. “Magico-Religious Practitioner Types and Socioeconomic Conditions.” *Behavior Science Research* 20: 17–46.

———. 1986b. “Trance States: A Theoretical Model and Cross-Cultural Analysis.” *Ethos* 14: 76–105.

———. 1990. “Shaman and Other ‘Magico-Religious Healers’: A Cross-Cultural Study of their Origins, Nature and Social Transformation.” *Ethos* 18: 308–352.

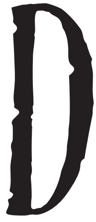
———. 1992. *Shamans, Priests and Witches. A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners.* Anthropological Research Papers 44. Tempe: Arizona State University.

———. 1999. "Altered States of Consciousness." Pp. 32–38 in *Encyclopedia of Human Emotions.* Edited by D. Levinson, J. Ponzetti, and P. Jorgensen. New York: Macmillan Reference.

———. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Winkelman, Michael, and Cindy Winkelman. 1991. "Shamanistic Healers and Their Therapies." Pp. 163–182 in *Yearbook of Cross-Cultural Medicine and Psychotherapy 1990.* Edited by W. Andritzky. Berlin: Verlag und Vertrieb.

Winkelman, Michael, and Doug White. 1987. "A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners and Trance States: Data Base." In *Human Relations Area Files Research Series in Quantitative Cross-Cultural Data.* Vol. 3D. Edited by D. Levinson and R. Wagner. New Haven: HRAF Press.



DAOISM AND SHAMANISM

To understand the connection between Daoism and Shamanism it is necessary to examine the shamanic nature of early Chinese religion. Shamanism in China is said to extend back to the mythical past when rulers relied on special powers to end drought, solicit rain, and improve the harvest. Shaman kings with the surname Wu reigned during the Shang dynasty (1600–1027 B.C.E.), using divination and sacrificial rituals to connect with the spirit world, as suggested in oracle bone inscriptions and animal-like designs in art (in bronze, jade, lacquer, and wood) (Chen 1937; Chang 1983). But in recent years some scholars have voiced concerns about the use of the term *shamanism* to describe early Chinese kingship. The chief complaint has been that there is no evidence providing specific details about the nature of the shaman king's experience, such as whether the king took spirit journeys, became possessed, or spoke the words of the deity (Keightley 1983). Others, such as Edward Davis, are concerned about the proliferation of works that describe shamanism as the substrate of Chinese religion (2001, 2).

Those who subscribe to the view that rulers of the Shang dynasty were shaman kings note that following the Shang dynasty, when the dynasty was overthrown by the Zhou, shamans suffered a decline in social status. The *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli*), a Chinese ritual classic, tells how the *wu* (a term referring to both male and female mediums or shamans) became part of an idealized feudal bureaucracy that may have existed in the late Zhou dynasty (1027–256 B.C.E.). During this period, shamans belonged to the Ministry of Rites, presiding over funerals, performing exorcisms and rain dances, and sometimes becoming possessed during trance. Only those who did not enter trance enjoyed the rank of ministry official. These ranked male shamans were charged with the training of the other shamans in the rain dances. In addition to the male and female shamans, there were also shamans charged with caring for horses.

Among all of the early rituals that shamans performed, rituals to summon rain were the most important and most coveted for proving a shaman's power. The Han dynasty lexicon, *Shuowen jiezi,* defines the shaman (wu) as a priest or invoker, who is female, and also dances for rain with two sleeves raised in dance posture. Explanations about the importance of rain dances and flood control in Chinese shamanism often include a reference to the myth of Yu, the flood controller and sage king, and King Tang. After five years of flooding and severe famine, Yu exhausted himself while he was trying to stop a raging flood. An illness following his successful efforts crippled him, and for the rest of his life Yu walked with a limp that history records as the gait of *yu,* or the shaman's gait. The shaman's gait became the name of a dance performed by Daoist adepts in later Daoist religion.

The story of the sage King Tang also illustrates the combined role of king as political ruler and shaman, and the precedent for later shamans to perform rain prayers and dances. After several years of drought, King Tang assembled a funeral pyre in the mythical Fusang grove, and prayed to *di,* the ghosts and the spirits. He was on the verge of searing his flesh when it began to rain. Miraculously, the downpour extinguished the flames and saved King Tang from sacrificing himself.

Reflecting the importance of self-sacrifice in securing rain, early Chinese rain rituals involved the rain (yu) sacrifice, in which the female shaman (wu) and the cripple called the *wang,* as well as sick children, were burned ei-

ther by fire or by the heat of the sun (Schafer 1951). Later rain rituals in the Han dynasty introduced different elements believed to improve the chance of rain during times of drought, such as the substitution of dragon effigies for the sacrifice of a human being (Loewe 1987).

Daoism

Early Daoism is usually defined by two texts: *The Way and Its Virtue* (*Daodejing*) and the *Zhuangzi.* The *Zhuangzi* is attributed to Zhuang Zhou, who lived in the district of Meng within the State of Song near the border of Chu during the reigns of King Liang and Qi. In the *Zhuangzi*, shamans named wu are not depicted favorably, and are instead portrayed as charlatans who fool people into believing they can divine the future, and as outdated practitioners of cruel sacrificial rituals. These individuals have many of the traits of shamans: They are able to fly and ride on the clouds and mist, they enter trances, and they are masters of fire and the other natural elements. They are recognizable by their names (the true man, the daemonic man, the perfect man, the sage, the nameless man) and by their unusual appearances (hunched backs and skinny necks). These individuals become shaman-like individuals through experiences such as the one had by Ziqi of the south wall: His breathing changed, his body seemed like a tree that had withered, and his mind seemed like ashes. Master Yu is an example of an ideal human being who acquired his unusual appearance—becoming a hunchback—during illness.

In addition to the *Zhuangzi*, early texts often associated with Daoism include the *Elegies of Chu* (*Chuci*), and the *Classic of Mountains and Waters* (*Shanhaijing*). Wang Yi (d. 158 C.E.), an imperial librarian who wrote the earliest commentary on the *Elegies of Chu*, attributes the text to Qu Yuan (fourth century B.C.E.), a loyal official betrayed by his ruler and banished to the south of China. Although Wang Yi's commentary downplays the shamanic origins of the songs, contemporary commentaries and scholarship have mined the work for its detailed information about shamanism in southern China before the second century C.E. (Waley 1955; Hawkes 1959; Sukhu 1999). One of the best examples of shamanism is found in the section called the Nine Songs. In the first song of this work, "Great One, Lord of the East," a *ling,* "shaman," performs a ritual dance to Taiyi, the great sun god. The shaman's dance to a cacophony of drum beats, pipes, zithers, and the jingling of the jade pendants on her waistband sends her into a trancelike state that enables the deity to descend and possess her. In other songs, a ling takes spirit journeys, riding in chariots pulled by dragons. Another section of the *Elegies of Chu*, Zhaohun (The Summons of the Soul), tells about a shaman named Wu Yang (wu being the name of the traditional shaman in China), who summons the soul of a sick or dying person to return, warning the soul of the terrifying things that await it if it continues to wander, and tempting the soul with the celebration that awaits its return (Hawkes 1959).

The authorship and dating of the *Classic of Mountains and Waters* (*Shanhaijing*) is shrouded in debate, with some saying the text is a traveler's guide or geographical gazetteer of the ancient Chinese terrain and others saying that the text is the work of shamans (Yuan Ke 1982, preface, 1). Shamans called wu are healers, and bring the dead back to life. There is also the suggestion that their practices are related to the snake cult and the cult of the Queen Mother of the West, who is later associated with immortality. The shamans of the *Classic of Mountains and Waters* also search for medicinal herbs believed to extend one's life, and transform one into an immortal, like the *fangshi,* "magicians," who are known to have traveled in search of immortality elixirs for the first emperor of China (259–210 B.C.E.) and Emperor Wu of the Han (141–87 B.C.E.).

Later Daoism

Daoist religion is traditionally seen as having developed out of these Daoist texts and the pursuit of immortality, as well as shamanic exorcism, healing, and spirit possession, during the latter part of the Han dynasty. For most of the Han dynasty, shamans performed rain dances and exorcisms and acted as spirit mediums in court circles, but unlike the shamans of the Shang and Zhou dynasties, shamans during the Han dynasty seldom held official positions (Lin Fushi 1988).

Shamans and ecstatic practices, such as the use of talismans, exorcism, and spirit possession, played key roles in gaining popular support for new Daoist movements. In 142 C.E. Zhang Daoling had a shamanistic vision of Laozi, in which Laozi appeared to him in person, transforming him into the first Celestial Master and founder of the Celestial Masters Movement (*Tianshi*), which began in the west. In 184 C.E., another Daoist movement was underway in the east, called the Yellow Turban Movement (also known as the Great Peace Movement), led by Zhang Jue, a man with shamanistic healing powers. Part of the Yellow Turban Movement's appeal was in their use of talismans, which were burned and mixed with water and offered up as cures to patients (Harper 1998).

Daoist schools were influenced by the rituals of the Celestial Masters as well as Buddhist texts and practices, and by shamans, who were seen as competitors by the early schools of Daoist religion. Like the Daoist movements before them, the new texts and practices of the Highest Clarity (Shangqing) and Numinous Treasures (Lingbao) Daoist schools incorporated shamanistic techniques such as spirit possession and spirit journeys, rain dancing, healing, exorcism, and talisman writing. Between 367 and 370 C.E., the scriptures of the Highest Clarity school of Daoism were revealed to Yang Xi during visions of Lady Wei, an immortal. This new school of Daoism also absorbed many shamanistic aspects into its practice, such as the use of talismans, the pursuit of longevity and immortality through inner cultivation, and meditative techniques. Daoist adepts took spirit journeys to the stars, and while they were there performed the dance of yu, or the shaman's gait. In this dance, the adept would drag one foot behind him, mimicking the way in which Yu walked after he stopped the flood (Robinet 1993, 200–226).

The Numinous Treasures (Lingbao) school of Daoism became a unified school during the middle of the fifth century. The term Numinous Treasures refers to the one who "summoned and controlled the numinous souls of the dead" (Yamada 2000, 226). The term *lingbao* came to represent those who became guardians of the spirits during rites of spirit possession and may have originated in the song "Lord of the East" in the Nine Songs, where the lingbao is a type of shaman who communicates with the spirit world (Hawkes 1959). Numinous Treasures scriptures emphasized liturgy and developed out of the scriptures of the Highest Clarity school and southern traditions (such as those discussed in the *Elegies of Chu* and the *Classic of Mountains and Waters*), as well as Pure Land Buddhism (Bokenkamp 1983).

Daoism Today

Daoism today combines rituals, divinations, beliefs, and practices from the many schools of Daoism (Celestial Masters, Highest Clarity, Numinous Treasures, Quanzhen [lit., "whole truth"]) and shamanism. Formally, Daoist rituals and practices are divided into two groups, but in practice there are variations in southern China and on Taiwan. There are the Daoist priests *(daoshi)* and the Daoist ritual masters *(fashi),* who are distinguished by the color of their hats and the kind of rituals they perform. Daoist priests belong to the literati class and inherit their positions. They wear black hats and use classical Chinese during communal rituals in which trance and exorcism do not play a part, and they do not serve a local community. Daoist ritual masters, in contrast, do not belong to the literati class and do not inherit their positions. They wear red hats and use vernacular Chinese during rituals for the local communities they serve.

The Daoist ritual master provides a link between the formal aspects of Daoist religion and the local traditions, often taking on the role of the shaman who is a spirit medium and performing exorcisms (Davis 2001, 11). Shamans, often associated with Daoist practice, have many names and can be found in southern China and on Taiwan. Some have names like the wu of Chinese antiquity, such as the *wupo,* "granny shaman," the *wushi,* "shaman teacher," and the *shenwu,* "daemonic shaman." Others have names that imply childlike qualities such as the *tongzi,* "youths who are mediums," the *jitong,* "divining youths," and the *matong,* "horse youths." There are other male and female shamans called *lingji,* "diviners of the spirit," and shamans who are female called the *hongyi.* Contemporary shamans perform many functions, sometimes alone and sometimes with the help of the Daoist ritual master. He or she is a

spirit medium, exorcist, diviner of fortunes and dreams, spirit writer, healer, and ritual dancer. During important festivals and on pilgrimages, male and female shamans who are in ritual trances and possessed by deities sometimes perform self-mortification, using sharp objects such as swords to cut their backs and foreheads.

Alison R. Marshall

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); Chinese Shamanism, Classical; Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary; Tantrism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bokenkamp, Stephen R. 1983. "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures." Pp. 434–486 in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein.* Vol. 2. Edited by Michel Strickmann. Bruxelles: Institute Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises.

Chang Kwang-chih. 1983. *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chen Mengjia. 1937. "Mythology and Shaman Arts of the Shang dynasty (Shangdai de shenhua yu wushu)." *Yanjing xuebao* 19: 91–155.

Davis, Edward L. 2001. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Harper, Donald. 1998. *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts.* London: Kegan Paul International.

Hawkes, David, trans. 1959. *Ch'u Tz'u: "The Songs of the South."* New York: Oxford University Press.

Keightley, David. 1983. "Royal Shamanism in the Shang: Archaic Vestige or Central Reality?" Paper prepared for The Workshop on Chinese Divination and Portent Interpretation. Berkeley: June 20–July 1.

Lin Fushi. 1988. *Shamans of the Han dynasty* (*Handai de wuzhe).* Baiqiao: Daoxiang chubanshe.

Loewe, Michael. 1987. "The Cult of the Dragon and the Invocation for Rain." In *Chinese Ideas About Nature and Society: Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde.* Edited by Charles Le Blanc and Susan Blader. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Robinet, Isabelle. 1993. *Taoist Meditation.* Translated by Norman Girardot and Julian Pas. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Schafer, Edward H. 1951. "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14: 130–184.

Sukhu, Gopal. 1999. "Monkeys, Shamans, Emperors and Poets: The Chuci and Images of Chu during the Han Dynasty." In *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China.* Edited by Constance A. Cook and John S. Major. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Waley, Arthur. 1955. *The Nine Songs.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Yamada Toshiaki. 2000. "The Lingbao School." Translated by Livia Kohn. In *Daoism Handbook.* Edited by Livia Kohn. Leiden: Brill.

Yuan Ke. 1982. *Shanhaijing jiaozhu.* Taipei: Liren.

DEMONIC POSSESSION AND EXORCISM

Possession by demons, that is, evil spirits, and the resulting need to free the person who is experiencing this type of change through shamanistic healing, is reported from many parts of the world. While the concept of possession is often attributed to shamans, core shamans and the shamans of hunter-gatherer societies generally do not experience possession (Winkelman 1992). Possession experiences are associated with societies where the people's livelihood is predominantly agricultural, and with cultures characterized by social stratification and jurisdiction hierarchy (Bourguignon and Evascu 1977). Possession is, however, significantly and independently predicted by political integration (Winkelman 1992).

The phenomenon of possession is widespread, but the type of invading entity varies according to the cultural circumstances in which it arises. It is not always negative. Sometimes a possessing entity is helpful, having been called by a ritual to enter a body and then leaving at the conclusion of that ritual. In some cultures, spirits are useful if one is careful not to offend them. The therapeutic resolution of possession experiences is traditionally achieved through the ritual of exorcism. In other cultures, invading entities are considered inherently dangerous. This article focuses upon neg-

ative possession experiences and their therapeutic resolution.

Possession is conceptualized as involving an alien entity or consciousness that enters into a person's body, influencing the person and acting through and controlling the person's body. Possession generally occurs spontaneously, and then may be deliberately induced in healing sessions through drumming, dancing, and drugs that induce an altered state of consciousness. The altered state of consciousness typically produces an alteration in EEG, resulting in a profile where theta waves are dominant and blood pressure drops to low levels, while at the same time the pulse rate increases (Goodman 1972 377–379; cf. Winkelman 2000 on the physiology of altered states of consciousness).

In cases of demonic possession, a possessing spirit is essentially evil, an invader whose goal is to do harm and who will leave only after a sometimes very difficult exorcism has been performed. Though demons are occasionally considered useful for the information they can give, they always attempt to do harm to their victims and the people around them. Someone possessed by a demon does not desire this experience; rather, the demon is asked to enter by someone else through a curse or a similarly harmful ritual. If such a spirit has entered, then the victim or the victim's family must find someone who can perform the appropriate exorcism. Otherwise, the possession is likely to end in the victim's eventual death.

Demonic possession can cause various types of illness; it falls loosely into two distinguishable categories based on the cultural expectations of the people involved, although these categories do not exhaust all cases of negative possession. Possessions originating within the large agricultural societies of sub-Saharan Africa differ from those originating within the agricultural societies of Eurasia. The exorcism rituals for each are different. The African type typically involves rough handling within a death and rebirth ritual. The entity expelled is conceived of as a ghost, that is, a spirit of a once living person. The Eurasian type involves communicating directly with the demon and demanding from it its name, purpose for entering, and the conditions on which it will leave. The entity here is usually an inherently evil spirit with no past as a human.

Many of the agricultural societies of Africa have developed rich cultural systems around positive possession. Possession is used for healing and divining, as well as to meet other diverse social needs. The spirits involved are considered helpful and benevolent. The spirits themselves are viewed as benefiting from the exchange—people keep them alive by offering them sacrifices and allow them to participate in the social process by lending the spirits their bodies. Such beings enter only when invited and leave at the ritually appropriate time.

Some entities are used in negative ways. In most negative African possessions, the invading demon is a ghost, that is, a spirit of a dead person. In 1969 Elizabeth Colson wrote about Tonga ghosts of Zambia: "Ghost possession [is] wholly undesirable. Victim and helpers seek only to expel a ghost and prevent its re-entry. The ghost has no message to give, either public or private; it has no desire to be appeased. Ghosts have no mediums, only victims, and these must be short-term ones; either a ghost is expelled or the victim dies."

This description applies to most other African ghost possessions. The Voudou practices of Haiti, known popularly in the United States as voodoo, provide another good example. Voudou is a contemporary descendant of native African religious practices brought to Haiti when members of different African groups were transported there as slaves. Cases have been described where an otherwise healthy person becomes suddenly sick and unable to eat. When other cures are unsuccessful, the person may be brought to a *mambo,* or priestess, for an exorcism. The illness is thought to be the result of a curse from someone who wished the victim harm. A person wishing to make such a curse must first invoke the deity Saint Expédit and the Master of the Dead, Baron-Samedi, and then make an offering at a graveyard, and take handfuls of grave dirt and put them in a place where the victim regularly passes. To rid someone of a ghost possession, the mambo must perform an elaborate exorcism, which may involve spitting rum in the face of the patient and killing a hen by burying it alive at the roots of a banana tree. Shortly after the conclusion of an exorcism ceremony, the victim should regain health and be able to return to regular daily life.

In exorcism rituals of the African type, the patient is handled roughly and made to go through much physical discomfort. At the close

of the ritual, the patient is cleaned and given fresh clothes and food or milk to consume. The ritual as a whole can be seen as representing a death and rebirth, endured so that the victim can be reborn without the encumbering spirits.

In demonic possessions of the African type, the invading beings are usually undifferentiated ghosts without individual personalities. In possessions of the Eurasian type, on the other hand, the invaders are generally creatures of evil with individual characteristics and even names. They may claim to be dammed people, fallen angels, or simply evil spirits. As in the African type, Eurasian demons may enter a victim through a curse or an act of witchcraft. Demons are also thought to enter when the person breaks a significant taboo or commits a serious crime.

Typically, a person experiencing an African demonic possession will not have direct communication with the possessing being, nor will it usually take control of the body. In the usual cases of Eurasian demonic possession, on the other hand, the invading demon may cause the victim to act in unusual ways, hurting others or causing self-injury, or the demon may speak through the victim's mouth, announcing its presence.

Eurasian possessions usually include periods of depression and frightening visions, interspersed with sudden episodes in which a demon appears to take complete control of the victim's body. These attacks have a clear onset, where the victim exhibits all the signs of entering into a religious altered state of consciousness. Eurasian demonic possessions also have their own particular set of symptoms (although they are not necessarily all present in any given case) including insomnia, aimless wandering, compulsively eating strange or repulsive substances (or else refusing to eat at all), a repulsive stench, rigid muscles, unusual strength, fits of screaming or weeping, a significant change in facial features as a result of muscle contractions, and violent aggression against oneself, nearby people, or objects.

When the demon takes control, it will speak through the person's mouth but with a deeper, harsher voice. This may be because in this altered state the person's true vocal cords are not used, but rather the ventricular folds (the superior or false vocal cords). Also, the speech of the demon has been found to have a characteristic intonation pattern. Each phrase has an early peak followed by descending intonation. In this state the demon yells invectives and obscenities, and, if in a Christian context, it speaks of damnation and insults religious figures. The demon may also make predictions relating to the Church.

A person possessed must seek an exorcism; otherwise the possession will end in death from wasting away or from the demon forcing the victim to commit suicide. Different cultures have different qualifications for someone performing an exorcism. An experienced sorcerer, shaman, or priest may be necessary. For a Catholic priest to perform an exorcism, he must first get permission from a bishop, rarely given today. The Roman Catholic exorcism ritual was last committed to writing in the seventeenth century in the *Rituale Romanum.* It is a rite and not a sacrament, which means that the acting priest has considerable freedom in varying the details.

The Eurasian exorcist's ritual involves little physical handling; the only physical contact between the exorcist and patient is the laying on of hands. The possessed person may also be made to touch sacred objects. In such a ritual there are a few standard steps. The exorcist appeals to the relevant benevolent entities of the alternate reality. The demon will be pushed into revealing its name and its reason for entering into the patient. It is finally asked for the conditions upon which it will leave and when it will depart.

In some cultures it is common for a demon to request that the family give a large feast or that a ritual drama be performed in its honor. Commonly the demon will name a specific time in the future, at which point it will leave. The contract of a demon is always maintained, but when a demon does go that does not always end the victim's troubles. In some cases multiple demons will claim to inhabit a body. When one is driven out, another may come forward, with a new name, personality, and new conditions for going.

Most demons will resist strongly the attempt to exorcise them. It may not be until after many sessions of exorcism (in which the presence of holy objects or the reading of holy texts has tortured the demons) that they announce their time or conditions for leaving.

Accounts of these possessions and exorcisms are widespread and ancient. In the Christian

New Testament, the Book of Mark tells of a successful exorcism preformed by Jesus. Jesus encounters a possessed man who lives in tombs and who cries and cuts himself with stones. Jesus asks the demon its name, to which it replies "My name is Legion: for we are many" (Mark 3:7–9). The demons beg to stay, then finally ask to enter a large herd of swine. Jesus allows it, and the demons possess the swine, sending them over a cliff and into the sea to drown, at which point the man is cured. In a work of third-century C.E. Greek writer Flavius Philostratus, a magician named Apollonios of Tyana is reported to have cured a young possessed boy. In this story, however, Apollonios writes a letter, and the exorcism is achieved by having the boy's mother read the letter out loud to the demon.

Exorcisms seem to have been occurring for thousands of years all over the world and continue today. For example, in the 1970s a well-publicized case occurred in Germany. A twenty-three-year-old woman named Anneliese Michel experienced a severe demonic possession. She went first to the medical establishment, but they were little help. She eventually found a priest who would perform an exorcism, and he did so regularly for almost a year. During this time the demons claimed to be the spirits of Cain; Judas; Nero; Adolf Hitler; an obscure, but documented, Pastor Fleischmann; and even Lucifer. They claimed to have entered her as a result of a curse that was put on her before she was born. The exorcism was unfortunately unsuccessful, and Anneliese died in July 1976.

Most exorcisms, however, are successful. Anneliese might have died because of the interference of the psychoactive medication that medical professionals gave her over the same period, which gradually made it impossible for her to enter the trance state necessary for the exorcism to be performed properly.

Much has been written attempting to explain possession phenomena scientifically. The illnesses of possessions of the African type may have physical origins. The exorcism is then seen as a psychosomatic cure. The possessions associated with an altered state of consciousness have interesting parallels to various behaviors diagnosed as psychological disorders. Demonic possession is an illness, not a normal or desired condition. Demon possession has particular signs and symptoms that do not exactly correspond with the symptoms of any psychological ailment. Possession cannot simply be reduced to psychological disorders. Furthermore, exorcism usually provides a successful cure in cases of negative possession, one that would be difficult to achieve through medical or psychiatric processes. Whatever the explanation, such exorcisms are important to people who need them and to those interested in the range of human experience. They should not be disregarded by modern research.

Felicitas D. Goodman
Seth Josephson

See also: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Extraction; Healing and Shamanism; Spirit Possession

References and further reading:

Beattie, John, and John Middleton, eds. 1969. *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa.* New York: Africana.

Boddy, J. 1994. "Spirit Possession Revisited: Beyond Instrumentality." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 407–434.

Bourguignon, Erika. 1976a. *Possession.* San Francisco: Chandler and Sharpe.

———. 1976b. "Spirit Possession Beliefs and Social Structure." In *The Realm of the Extra-Human Ideas and Actions.* Edited by A. Bhardati. The Hague: Mouton.

Bourguignon, Erika, and Thomas L. Evascu. 1977. "Altered States of Consciousness Within a General Evolutionary Perspective: A Holocultural Analysis." *Behavior Science Research* 12(3): 197–216.

Crapanzano, Vincent, Vivian Garrison, eds. 1977. *Case Studies in Spirit Possession.* New York, London, Sydney, Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.

Goodman, Felicitas D. 1972. *Speaking in Tongues: A Cross-Cultural Study of Glossolalia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Henney, Jeannette H., and Esther Pressel. 1974. *Trance, Healing, and Hallucination: Three Field Studies in Religious Experience.* New York: Wiley Interscience.

———. 1981. *The Exorcism of Anneliese Michel.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

———. 1988. *How About Demons?: Possession and Exorcism in the Modern World.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1989. "The Neurophysiology of Shamanic Ecstasy." Pp. 377–379 in

Shamanism: Past and Present. Edited by M. Hoppál and O. J. von Sadovszky. Los Angeles: ISTOR Books.
Kenney, M. G. 1981. "Multiple Personality and Spirit Possession." *Psychiatry* 44: 337–358.
Lewis, Ioan M. 1989. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 2d ed. London: Routledge.
Martin, Malachi. 1976. *Hostage to the Devil: The Possession and Exorcism of Five Living Americans.* New York: Reader's Digest Press.
Winkelman, Michael. 1992. "Shamans, Priests and Witches." Tempe, AZ. ASU Anthropological Research Papers #44.
———. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

DIVINATION

Divination is concerned with the acquisition of information. The derivation of divination from *divine* makes explicit the customary assumption about divination—that the information comes from a spiritual source. Cultures have many different forms of divination processes; those associated with shamanism are some of the most widespread divinatory forms. Divination is inherent to essential aspects of shamanism, reflected in classic conceptualizations of shamans as someone who enters ecstasy to interact with the spirit world on behalf of the community. This interaction with the spirit world had as a primary function the acquisition of information relevant to group or individual concerns. Use of divination in shamanic practice mirrors the functions of shamanism: diagnosis of causes of disease; prognosis regarding the patient's recovery; determination of the interests and intents of spiritual forces; location of animals for hunting; learning about the condition of separated family members; planning the future movement of the group or its enemies; determination of the intentions and whereabouts of others; and prophecy.

Social Explanations of Divination

Divination's etymological origin in *divine* reveals its roots in relationships to spirits and the information available from the spirits. The dominant theories addressing divination fail to respect this indigenous perspective of interaction with spirits as a means of obtaining access to real knowledge and valid information. Although anthropology has viewed divination as a form of communication, "scientific" approaches have generally rejected the perspective that divination procedures involve communication with spirits. Rejecting the explicit claims of spiritual communication and influence made by those who use divination procedures and the presumed empirical legitimacy of those procedures, those who accept the scientific perspective have instead offered explanations of the basis of divination that emphasize latent social functions and psychosocial processes. Divination persists, according to this dominant perspective, because it contributes to societal stability.

This dominant approach reflects George Park's (1963) functionalist perspective that divination procedures produce socially useful results, eliminating disorder in social relations through facilitating decision-making processes. Park considered the consequent reduction of anxiety as secondary to the social implications. Park pointed out that divination is generally with respect to some plan of action about which decision-making is difficult—life crises such as illness and potential death, conflicts, and economic or political calamity. But the legitimizing function of divination lies in its ability to provide a social validation for actions that would be difficult to justify on an individual basis, depersonalizing specific decisions and actions. Divinatory consultation takes the direct decision away from the individual, bringing in other considerations. Divination procedures distance the decisions from the individual, engaging a consultation process in which many opinions and points of view are considered and a consensus derived. It is this consensus accepted by the group that is viewed as the "function" of the divination, giving decisions a stamp of legitimacy in a dramatic social ceremony that invokes divine approval.

The traditional characterization of divination procedures as conservative devices points to what is in some respects an inevitable aspect of divination, since established cultural frameworks are used to define conditions and treatments, channeling opinion and producing social consensus. Divination inevitably operates

as a form of social representation, classification, and control, orienting people to traditional cultural norms and authority. But many lines of evidence call into question simple social control functions of divination procedures. If divination procedures apply the legitimacy of authority and tradition to determine behavior, why not seek out the wisdom and advice of high-status elder authorities?

An alternative view of divination as a randomizing device was postulated by Omar Moore (1957) in his assessment of the practices of scapulimancy. Scapulimancy uses an animal scapula, or shoulder blade, which is prepared and placed upon the coals of the fire; the ensuing burns and cracks are interpreted to determine the direction for hunters to take. Moore characterized this as a method to weaken habitual decision-making processes that could produce nonproductive outcomes. Instead of relying upon experience from past hunts, which may be nonadaptive because of reactions by surviving animals, Moore postulated that scapulimancy provides a randomizing or chance mechanism that produces advantages over habitual behaviors in hunting outcomes. Lothar Vollweiler and Alison Sanchez (1983) rejected Moore's postulations on the basis of a careful analysis of divination practices, hunting patterns, and behavior of hunted animals. They instead viewed scapulimancy as a practice used by hunters during ecological crises to reestablish their relations with spirit powers that control game animals. They rejected theories of the material adaptiveness of such practices, instead pointing to well-recognized sociopsychological consequences motivating continued effort in the face of uncertainty.

Divination is a context in which a socially acceptable outcome is negotiated, but one that is subjected to the development of consensus among many points of view. Rather than a blind acceptance of tradition, these processes involve a selective interpretation of tradition and the application of some traditional models but not others. Social control views of divination's social functions may be legitimate interpretations of some practices. But the success of new approaches in medical anthropology suggests the need for new perspectives in this area. Medical anthropologists have been able to establish the therapeutic effectiveness of traditional healing processes, and so it no longer seems appropriate to dismiss the possibility that the divinatory and diagnostic practices involved in those processes may have empirical validity.

Philip Peek (1991) characterized divination systems as an epistemology, constituting a people's system of assumptions about the nature of knowledge. Although academics may not be willing to embrace the "spirit hypothesis" of external autonomous entities, they should attempt to understand what spirit experiences mean for those who engage them. In particular, they should ask questions about the nature of the information provided by these spirit encounters. One approach involves "naturalizing" the spirit encounter by considering people's experiences to be real, but analyzing these experiences in terms of social and brain processes. These perspectives were voiced in Peek's views of divination procedures as engaging nonrational processes and non-normal modes of cognition. The willingness to submit important questions to the outcomes of oracular processes reveals a willingness to take information from sources beyond the direct control of one's rational processes. Peek points to altered states of consciousness and spirit possession associated with divination as principal manifestations of non-normal cognition. Altered states of consciousness have specific neurological properties that engage nonordinary modes of cognition, providing important sources of information not directly available to the conscious mind (Winkelman 1997, 2000).

Divination procedures also apparently access nonverbal information channels of the limbic brain and lower brain centers. In addition to the symbolic communication forms of language, humans use other forms of visual, behavioral, nonverbal, emotional, and somatic communication (see Hunt [1995] for a discussion of presentational symbolism and Winkelman [2000] for a discussion of other forms of thought from the ancient levels of the brain). Many of these processes are symbolic, but are experienced in systems that function without the mediation of language. Peek reminds us that divination systems combine this intuitive-synthetical mode of thinking with logical-analytical thought, making the diviner someone who is effective in communicating between modes of thought.

Shamanic Healing and Divination

The use of shamanic divination in healing was concerned with both the immediate cause of illness and the more distal and perhaps ultimate causes of a condition.

Divination was generally part of the shaman's activities as a prelude to healing. Divination of the patient's circumstances and likelihood of cure was often a preliminary step, but in some cases shamans would receive information about patients and their likely prognosis before the patients' arrival. In some cases divination specialists were distinct from those doing the healing. Some divinatory specialists did not heal, but referred their clients to others for healing of the conditions they diagnosed. Other diagnostic specialists also cured, but were called upon for diagnoses in cases where other shamans had failed to effectively heal the patient. These specialists are associated with more complex societies and belong to the category Michael Winkelman (1992) classified as *shaman/healers.*

Information Channels in Shamanic Divination

Shamanic divination engages in a number of different information channels, including experiences interpreted as spirit communication, which may be viewed as involving fundamental structures and processes of consciousness; altered states of consciousness and their visual experiences, a presentational symbolic system induced through deliberate vision questing and dreams; body-based sensations derived in particular from the hands; and experiences induced by the focus of attention on material objects, particularly those with reflective surfaces.

Spirits in Divination

The shaman's ability to divine, regardless of the method used, was generally seen as based on information provided by the spirits. The necessary engagement with the spirit might be as simple as turning attention inward and asking the spirit present within one's body. In other cases it required a much more elaborate engagement with the spirit, singing, talking, and making offerings to the spirit before it would take up abode within the shaman and be available for divinatory consultation. The information coming from the spirit could be manifested in a variety of ways. These included visions and voices that appeared to the shaman and their effects upon divinatory objects (e.g., statues, beads, parts of the body).

Dominant anthropological perspectives have considered spirit beliefs to be reflections of societal structures and concerns. While at first glance this view might be seen as simply reflecting the social control hypothesis, viewing the spirit world and associated divination-interpretation systems as an indigenous psychology provides additional perspectives. Spirits reflect both innate brain structures and cultural-psychological structures internalized in the processes of socialization (Winkelman 2000). The importance of culturally construed spirits and traditional interpretative frameworks in divination lies in their ability to place the individual's circumstances within the cultural cosmological framework that informs experience and situation of self. These frameworks are not generally explicit conceptualizations, but part of an implicit way of viewing and understanding the world. The nature of the experiences of the spirit world provides perspectives for characterizing this spirit-borne information. These spirit world interactions are typically accessed via an altered state of consciousness that is viewed as the means by which relations with spirits are activated and brought to bear upon the current situation; spirit information may also be manifested in bodily sensations.

Altered States of Consciousness in Divination

Altered states of consciousness are central aspects of shamanic divination, although not necessary in all cases. The engagement with the spirits in an altered state of consciousness may involve dramatic changes in behavior and appearance, or a subtle internal personal shift in consciousness apparent only to the trained observer. Whether or not the altered state of consciousness is apparent, engaging with nonordinary modes of cognition and consciousness that enhanced spiritual awareness and intuition is typically part of shamanic divination. Altered states of consciousness that provide access to the spirit world are induced through a variety of methods, including voluntary withdrawal and internal focus of atten-

tion; prayers; drumming, chanting, and singing; and smoking tobacco or taking other psychoactive plants. In general, the spirits are seen as speaking to the shaman, rather than speaking through the shaman as in possession. The spirits are often reported as speaking inside the shaman's head, telling the shaman who is coming, their condition, and whether or not they can be cured.

One divinatory aspect of shamanic altered states of consciousness involves visionary experiences that reveal the nature and cause of the patient's condition. Shamanic divination also often engages the visionary capacity, where the shaman "sees" the information desired. This includes in some cases a type of x-ray vision, in which the shaman sees within the person's body to determine the location of the cause of illness. Others see the illness appearing on a screen inside their head, providing details of cause and treatments. Dreams are one aspect of the visionary capacity often used for divination processes. Shamans may also deliberately engage in dream periods over the days prior to or during a healing ceremony to obtain dream guidance on the case.

Body Perceptions

Shamanic divination of illness also employs the shaman's hands in both physical and psychic modalities. The hands may be merely placed upon the body to gather sensations, or systematically moved over the body. Physically touching the body, massaging and kneading specific areas, and observing the patient's response to this touching are also used to determine some ailments. The shaman's hands may also be used as diagnostic instruments without touching the patient's body. Often the hands are rubbed together, warmed near a fire, or cleansed with ash before extending them toward the patient to feel the condition (Lyon 1996). In some cases, the patients' own somatic responses to the repertoire of songs the shaman sings may be taken as an indication of their condition. The renowned Navajo hand trembler exemplifies the use of the diagnostic shaman's own body in receiving information about the nature of a patient's condition. Peek (1991) points to the prevalent use of the otherwise tabooed left hand in African shamanistic divination, a behavior that would facilitate access to right-hemisphere intuitive, holistic, and analogic modes of cognition.

Divinatory Objects and Systems

Diagnostic skills, including the visionary capacity, may also be engaged through the use of physical objects. Some of the most important are mirrors, shiny reflective objects of stone or metal, bowls of water, bones, rocks, and crystals. Quartz crystals are frequently used as instrument for divining. Crystals may be used in diagnosis as a "lens" for observing the patient's body, with the cause of disease being manifested within the crystal. Crystals may also be seen as the abode of spirits that could speak to the shaman and provide a diagnosis or other information. Other material systems are observed for their reactions to drumming, dancing, or other natural processes. A variety of objects may be used to engage the psychic sight of the shaman, including both personal objects of the patient and ritual substances selected for their ability to elicit psychic sight on their reflective surfaces (e.g., bowls of water, mica sheets), where the visionary experiences are projected. Shamanistic systems have also used the appearance of animals and natural phenomena as signs relevant to divinatory outcomes. Many divinatory systems also use complex material systems with relatively standardized interpretations (as in the I Ching and Tarot), but these systems are not shamanistic in their basis.

Divination: Rational or Not?

Although divination has often been seen, like other religious behavior, as something irrational, the behavior of those who seek the counsel of diviners rejects the characterizations of irrationality. The use of multiple verification processes in divination procedures attest to petitioners' efforts to ascertain an empirical and veridical characterization of the situation they confront. Evans-Pritchard's (1937) classic assessment of divination among the Azande also emphasized its rational character, pointing out how the consultants searched for multiple forms of verification that allowed them to reject inconsistent answers. Those present at the divination often sought diviners far from their villages and maintained their anonymity to avoid revealing information to the diviner. In many

cases clients might not sit down with the diviner until significant information about the case had been revealed, and might take back their consultation fee and leave if significant errors occurred in the divinatory revelations. Diviners might be asked questions designed to test their power. Revelations that were accepted were often subjected to further verification and corroboration, several diviners often being consulted and their revelations compared before their divinatory revelations were applied to make decisions. Concern with the accuracy of divinatory revelations was reflected in practices of having the diviner reveal information that was verifiable by previous experience.

It seems, then, that the use of divinatory processes in shamanism and other magico-religious practices engages a number of different modalities of information acquisition and communication. Science may eventually explain many of these processes and illustrate their empirical and rational basis. But for shamanic traditions, divination remains preeminently a mode of communication with the divine in an effort to reach a real truth. For the scientist, divination must remain an effort to incorporate the extraordinary, unknown sources of knowledge beyond our immediate access within the social context of the interpersonal dynamics, conflicts, and psychodynamic constellations of the participants.

Michael Winkelman

See also: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Maya Bone Divination; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Quiche and Zuni Divination

References and further reading:

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hunt, H. 1995. *On the Nature of Consciousness.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lyon, William. 1996. *Encyclopedia of Native American Healing.* Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Moore, Omar. 1957. "Divination—A New Perspective." *American Anthropologist* 59, no. 1: 69–74.

Park, George. 1963. "Divination and its Social Contexts." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 93, no. 2: 195–209.

Peek, Philip, ed. 1991. *African Divination Systems: Ways of Knowing.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Vollweiler, Lothar, and Alison Sanchez. 1983. "Divination—'Adaptive' from Whose Perspective?" *Ethnology* 22, no. 3: 193–209.

Winkelman, Michael. 1992. *Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross-cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners.* Anthropological Research Papers no. 44. Tempe: Arizona State University.

———. 1997. "Altered States of Consciousness and Religious Behavior." Pp. 393–428 in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook of Method and Theory.* Edited by S. Glazier. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

———. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE IN SHAMANISM

An elderly Korean shaman was once asked about a shaman's powers as she sees them. She said that a shaman is, on the one hand, a person through whom the gods and ancestral spirits truly speak and, on the other, a good actor. "It's like a stage," she said. These two aspects of a shaman's powers seem contradictory, but they are not. Shamanist ritual is inherently dramatic. It aims at a direct manifestation of a supernatural presence (Kirby 1975, 2). Its mimetic activity, feats of wonder, music, and dance make the gods directly present before our eyes. It brings to the stage the inherently dramatic encounter between human beings and the gods and spirits that constitutes the core belief of a shamanist community.

A study of shamanist ritual as dramatic performance does not imply denigration of whatever extraordinary psychic or spiritual powers shamans may have, nor does it suggest that the spirits they invoke are mere figments of the dramatic imagination. Such a study highlights the fact that whatever powers shamans have to manipulate spirits are complemented by an artist's skill in manipulating the imagination of persons in attendance (Lommel 1967, 8). It calls attention to the fact that whatever extraordinary powers of healing they may have, they commonly achieve their effect with the aid of the ordinary powers of an accomplished stage artist.

It stresses that whatever private visions shamans have in a state of trance attain significance for the community when given concrete expression in public performance. Such a study approaches ritual in the way a dramatic critic analyzes any dramatic performance. It investigates how mimetic and symbolic activity, music and dance, physical setting, the structure and emotional atmosphere of the rite, and tensions between various elements and parts create the significance of what is taking place and heighten the effect the rite has on those present.

In the still alive and flourishing shamanism of the Korean peninsula, a ritual may be a simple, private affair of a lone worshipper chanting in the night on a mountain by a candle burning before an unusual rock outcropping, a spring, or a gnarled old tree. Often, however, it is a highly theatrical event consisting of a series of episodes that lasts hours or days, takes account of the natural setting and social context, employs colorful costumes, props, and numerous shamans and musicians, and includes the whole neighborhood for an audience. A Korean shaman ushers in a segment of a rite to deal with family problems in the metropolis of Seoul with a dance, first slow then fast, that creates a sacred atmosphere and may induce a trancelike state. Most commonly a woman, she summons the spirits and is believed to serve as their medium in interaction with the family. With an old-style military uniform, weapons, and a fierce demeanor, she exhibits the authority of the General Spirit. With a whining voice and peevish gestures, she gives theatrical life to the spirit of an ancestor who died as a young girl. In the role of the Mountain Spirit in a shaman's initiation rite, she may shed tears of sympathy for the hard life the new shaman is entering. As the soul of a deceased father in a rite for the dead, she may give the son a big hug and then comically upbraid him and his wife for not yet giving him a grandson.

In northern China, a Manchu Han Army clan rite may dramatize the opening of the gates of the other world, in a midnight episode in which a male shaman raises two large sword blades in the air and hammers them together. The next day, the clan gods appear. With silver hairpins stuck in his cheeks to suggest a boar's tusks, a shaman thought to be possessed by the Wild Boar God shakes and gets stiff. As the God of the Underworld, he appears with a mourning cloth hung around his neck. Taking the role of a Tang dynasty emperor, he reenacts the sorrow that the emperor felt when his general fell in battle. As the Hawk God, he waves his arms and jumps about lightly. As the Tiger God seeking his prey, he prowls around on the ground (Guo and Honggang 2001, 85–89).

To say, "It's a stage," sounds like saying, "It's all just playacting," and for many young Manchu, it is said to be just that. In Korea, however, the playacting reinforces what participants take as quite real—the presence of the spirits and their desire to be of help in time of need.

Nonetheless, neither the shaman nor others present take the performance as real in the way a child would. They seem well aware of the element of theatrical play. Like the private hallucinations that an initiate may have in the process of becoming a shaman, the public drama of a ritual performance reinforces a sense of the reality of the spirit world. Now, however, the shaman does not hallucinate. Her dramatic gifts are conscious and controlled. She may say in a rite, "I am the General Spirit" or "I am the Mountain Spirit"; but she does not suffer from dissociative illusions like a schizophrenic who thinks he is Jesus Christ.

The dynamics of shamanist ritual are said to be rooted in a shaman's trance possession by a god (Kirby 1975, 2); but, as has been pointed out with regard to Korean rites (Choi 1987, 35–36), it seems truer to say that these dynamics are rooted in the shaman's performance and in the faith and expectations of the worshipping community. Scholars debate at length about the state of a shaman's consciousness during a rite, but participants in a Korean family rite manifest little concern about the state of the shaman. They could care less about distinctions between possessed mediumship and simple role-playing. They simply seek a vivid dramatization of the ancestors' presence. In the Chinese tradition of shamanist masked drama called *Luoxi,* the key factor in making a god present is said to be simply the putting on of the god's mask (Xue 1996, 2). Indeed, to the mythic mind, role-playing in any such drama never has a "merely representative" significance. Possessed or not, in a trance or not, the performer "does not merely imitate the god"; he is "transformed into him and fuses with him" (Cassirer 1955, 238).

In any case, in evoking the presence and power of the gods, a shaman shows his ability as a performer, not only in vivid mimetic role-playing, but also in dazzling feats of wonder (Eliade 1989, 551). Korean shamans balance a pig's carcass on a huge trident, do a lightning-swift knife dance, or dance barefoot on high-placed chopper blades. Manchu shamans and clan representatives run over burning coals. Taiwanese shamanist mediums dance barefoot over fire fed by paper "spirit money" and beat themselves to the point of drawing blood.

Of course, spectacular feats in themselves do not constitute a sign of the gods' presence. The acrobats of Beijing Opera and the trapeze artists of the Moscow Circus perform more astounding feats without any pretension to divine power. A shaman's feats may arouse wonder in anyone; but they constitute a sacred sign only for a community of believers who expect such a sign (Wilson 1980, 29). Belief in the spirits empowers a rite, and the rites achieve their prime purpose in fostering this belief. Among the Yi people of southwest China, a family sometimes has a shamanist figure perform a rite to seek the protection of the ancestral spirits for one of the family who goes away to school. A Yi student has said that what distinguishes him from other Chinese university students is that he has an abiding sense of this protection.

The Yi pride themselves on their indigenous writing system, and their rites are said to center on the poetic, perhaps magical, force of the dialogical texts chanted in the rites. But in the main, a shamanist culture is not a verbal culture. It is the "culture of gestures" that the twentieth-century French drama critic Antonin Artaud saw as providing the life force of any powerful theatrical experience (1958, 108). The spirits' words constitute the core of a rite, but theatrical gestures empower these words.

Healing Rituals

Some shamanist performances use the language of gesture to dramatize, not the presence of the gods or spirits, but the shaman's act of healing. A Manchu Han Army healing ritual can become a playful game. Wearing grotesque paper masks and clothed in sheepskin, persons taking the part of ghosts grab about fiercely at participants while spectators watch in glee. The shaman, or perhaps a god possessing the shaman, fights off the ghosts. Then he enacts an attack of stomach pains, grabbing at his stomach; and the ghosts pull out of his stomach something shaped like the large intestine. Finally, the shaman chases them away, thrashing at them with bunches of straw (Guo and Honggang 2001, 90–91).

A shaman from the central Siberian Republic of Tuva has said that in his tradition, shamans may speak with a family's ancestral spirits, but that they dread the possibility of actual possession by such spirits. Nonetheless, the healing rite of a shaman from Tuva or neighboring Khakassia can also become an eye-catching dramatic performance. The shaman appears to draw out evil pestilence from a patient's body with his fingers or suck it out with his mouth and spit it out.

Korean shamans sometimes perform acts of ritual magic in a more symbolic kind of theater. They symbolize release from the knotted pains and frustrations of a person's past in simple but evocative dancelike gestures, as they release large loop-knots tied in a long white cloth. Sometimes they dramatize the cure of someone suffering from anxiety, or "soul loss," by spraying a mouthful of water over the patient or using knives to press the seventh vertebrae, where the "lost soul" is thought to return. The effectiveness of such rites in no way depends on spectacular activity performed in an altered state of consciousness. It depends on simple symbolic gestures and the prayers and support of those present, all of which reinforce the patient's world of trusted, harmonious relationships—human and divine.

In other Korean rites, theater and worship become one in a much more lively form of dramatic psychotherapy. Speaking the words of the spirits and vividly dramatizing their presence, the shaman brings a family's troubles and grief out in the open, provides objectifying perspectives on their problems, and encourages release from pent-up frustrations in tears and laughter.

One such rite was offered for the recently deceased mother of six married children. In life, the relations between the mother and one of the daughter-in-laws had been strained. In the course of the rite, the mother's spirit was thought to speak through the mediumship of the daughter-in-law as she held a branch of oak that symbolized the deceased. The branch began to shake, and the daughter-in-law shrieked

Shamaness performing rite, ca. 1980s–1990s. Mount Samak, Seoul, South Korea. (Earl & Nazima Kowall/Corbis)

and went into a trance, speaking sometimes in the mother's voice, sometimes in her own. At one point, the daughter-in-law said she was sorry, and the mother promised to give assistance from the grave. Finally, the daughter-in-law came out of her trance. The whole experience was traumatic for her and frightening for all present, but it gave her a unique opportunity to seek her mother-in-law's forgiveness and personal healing.

In a similar rite offered by a widow one summer for her deceased husband, the proceedings took a humorous turn when the husband asked for his old watch, hat, and clothes and then became irritated when the clothes given him were heavy winter clothes. He cried out, "Where can I go on this sultry summer day with these cotton clothes on?" Later, he asked for medicine for stomach pains, to which his wife replied, "You've already died. Isn't that enough? Why do you, a dead person, want some medicine?" (Yi 1988, 167–168).

Whatever extraordinary powers the shaman offering such rites has, the performance itself goes a long way to achieve cathartic healing, family harmony and well-being, and a sense of the continued presence of the deceased. Belief in this presence plays an essential role in the healing process, but techniques of participative drama, the public use of the stage comedian's humor, and theatrical play provide liberating, objectifying perspectives on the family's situation that modern psychotherapists might very well learn from.

Communal Preventive Rituals

East Coast Korean village celebrations seeking village harmony, health, and abundance in fishing and farming constitute a kind of communal preventive medicine. In the key symbolic event, villagers and a family troupe of what are termed hereditary shamans and musicians gather at the village shrine by the sea or in a grove of trees to summon the village ancestral god. The god is believed to show his or her presence in the shaking, sometimes quite violently, of a tall bamboo "spirit pole" held by a villager, who may go into a trance. The shaman asks the advice of the god regarding the well-being of the village and interprets responses manifested in the shaking pole.

For the preservation of the people's belief, it is important that the pole shake or that the one holding it go strangely into trance. But the effect of the rite does not depend only on this miraculous feat, and its significance cannot be reduced to the degree of altered state of consciousness of the person holding the pole. As participants join in a buoyant round dance, the clear April sky, the towering mountains, and the picturesque shrine on a knoll above the sea crystallize around the spirit pole, its white flag fluttering toward the sky. The result is an evocative "poetry in space," such as Artaud proposes as the ideal of any vital theatrical performance (1958, 38). Everything works together to create a sense of harmonious union among villagers, their gods, and the natural surroundings. Performed by skilled musicians, the subtle rhythmic interplay of drum, shrill pipe, clamorous gong, and chant draws worshipers musically, moreover, into a heightened, Dionysian

sense of the celebration of life in harmony with the gods. This communal heightened state of consciousness is of much greater significance than the momentary state of trance of the one person holding the spirit pole.

So is the harmonious play that unfolds throughout the days of the celebration. While some shamans perform individual divination rites for families on the side, the shaman troupe as a whole engages the villagers and their gods in playful entertainment in the form of moving folktales, lively song and dance, eating and drinking. The genius of the Korean shamanist imagination as manifested in the rite as a whole has little to do with trance or ecstatic vision, but much to do with harmonizing play. It has the boldness to envision contact with divinity in terms of lively Korean banter, shared laughter, and playful entertainment that bring the gods down to the level of neighborly camaraderie and raise the everyday toil of fishing and farming into the realm of sacred play.

Throughout man's history, religious worship has been a vehicle for play (Norbeck 1976, 98). Korean shamanist rites commonly begin, not with "Let us pray," but with "Let's play." A Mongolian rite may honor the god by incorporating a wrestling match and the eagle dance of the wrestlers. The Chinese Luoxi draws upon the rich heritage of the mask carver's art to enhance the sense of the presence of the gods while entertaining both the gods and human beings (Xue 1996, 28).

At the same time, both Luoxi and the farcical skits that may end a Korean village rite exemplify the evolution of pure theatrical entertainment out of religious worship. In a mode of drama that stands poles apart from the symbolic event of the greeting of the god in the spirit pole in the Korean rite, the lone male shaman performing these comic skits portrays not the gods, but the down-to-earth adventures of figures from village life—schoolmaster, fisherman, a blind man, a woman giving birth. In the skit portraying a fisherman, his boat gets caught in a storm. In one version, he calls to the gods for help and is saved. In a darker version that seems at odds with the trust in the gods that the village rite as a whole seeks to foster, he calls for help, but the gods do not hear. As is often the case in the risky business of fishing even today, he drowns. In the episode portraying childbirth, a woman about to give birth calls in her pain to the Grandmother Spirit of Childbirth. The baby, in the form of an orange plastic water dipper, is a cute baby boy. The shaman evokes a burst of laughter from spectators when he claims the baby was fathered by one of the respected village officials. He then chants a poetic lullaby asking the baby, "Where have you come from? Did you fall from heaven? Have you come wrapped in the summer clouds that hide the steep peaks?" (Ch'oe and So 1982, 350). In one version, the skits end here; but in the darker version, the help of the gods is again of no avail. The mother prays for the child's health, but the boy takes sick and suddenly dies.

Shamanic Performance as a Unified Rite

A study of shamanist ritual as dramatic performance considers not just isolated segments of a rite. Like the study of any dramatic work, it considers the interrelationship of parts as they form a coherent, well-unified movement; and it sees how ambivalent tensions and seeming contradictions between parts add to the rite's power and meaning. In themselves, the skits discussed here constitute examples of theatrical entertainment evolving out of religious ritual; but they have an integral role in the religious thrust of the celebration as a whole. They bring the everyday realities of the villagers' lives into the ambiance of the gods' blessing and protection, as symbolized in the encounter with the god in the spirit pole. The dark versions of the final skits stand in marked tension with the buoyant atmosphere surrounding that encounter; but they ensure that villagers celebrate their belief in the presence of the gods with a mature, realistic awareness that the gods' help does not always insure a happy ending.

A midsummer night's rite performed by a band of shamans and religious practitioners from the central Siberian Republic of Khakassia provides a simpler example of how various segments of a rite form a unified thrust. In the evening, on the hills above the clear-flowing Abakan River, the shamans performed a traditional purifying ritual that brought a disparate group of local inhabitants and foreign participants into harmony with one another and nature around a fire. The fire and the simple, unsophisticated drumming of the shamans provided the focus of attention, while a sheep

was slain off to the side. After midnight, all went down by the river for the second stage of the rite. A fire was lit on a small raft and sent floating down the river as a sacrificial gift to the Master of the Waters in thanksgiving for a spring free from flooding. Each participant was urged to make a prayer, and the fire, floating away into the star-filled night, seemed to carry the prayers into the darkness and bring all present into harmony with the cosmos. All then spent the night sharing the meat of the slain sheep as they waited to greet the dawn in the final rite. This rite was said to be traditional, but it could also well be a New Age shamanic ritual. All joined once more in a circle. Then, recalling their prayers of the night before, they followed a shaman ringing a small bell up a small hill to greet the sunrise and offer these prayers in the presence of the new sun. Except for one woman who at times seemed in a trance, the whole constituted a consciously organized, well-integrated symbolic event.

Of course, careful organization and a coherent integration of disparate parts are not the prime criteria for a successful shamanist performance. In June 1996, a group of Buryat shamans in Eastern Siberia performed a daylong sheep sacrifice on the shores of Lake Baikal to seek communal blessing and prosperity. As a dramatic performance, the rite was diffuse and lacked the clear, coherent organization of the Khakassian rite just described. Nonetheless, after many years of not being able to perform the rite under Communist rule, the belief and prayers of the local participants were probably more sincere than that of the disparate participants in the Khakassian rite. In the sublime setting of Lake Baikal, huge like the sea in the midst of pristine stretches of birch and pine forest, the simple gesture of raising arms toward the Master of the Lake became itself a moving dramatic performance. Such a simple ritual action suffices to create a sense of the cosmic drama underlying all shamanist rites, that of the movement of human beings to divinity and, it is believed, divinity to human beings.

After a program of Communist education in the middle of the twentieth century, the shamans of the Oroqen (Orochun) People, a small nation of hunters at the northern tip of China, decided to send their gods away forever. They did so in a grand rite of several days of dancing and drumming; and since then, they say, they have never celebrated a full ritual. But the simple act of carving the face of the Mountain God on a tree and doing homage to him as it is still performed before and after a hunt likewise constitutes a dramatic action fraught with meaning. This miniature dramatic performance preserves a belief system and worldview in which human beings are at one with nature and the gods, and seeking one's livelihood by hunting is itself a form of prayer.

Rites for the Dead

A Korean shaman from the southern port city of Pusan once inveighed against the elaborate performances of Seoul shamans in the north as nothing but empty theater; and some rites performed in modern Seoul theaters probably justify such criticism. But rites for the dead exemplify the fusion of worship with drama of a shamanist performance at its best. (The discussion that follows draws on Kister 1997.)

Korean rites for the dead seek both to send the deceased to the "good place" in the other world and provide a measure of peace for the bereaved family. As a well-integrated dramatic unity, they project the sense of inevitable forward movement toward a destined end that is said to be the mark of a fully developed dramatic work (Langer 1953, 307). From the very beginning, props in the background point toward the destiny of the deceased. In a Seoul rite, there is a flower-covered "gate of thorns" to the other world; in an east coast rite, a colorful paper-craft boat and white cloth symbolize the watery path or bridge to the "other shore." All the mimetic, psychodramatic, and symbolic activity of the rite moves steadfastly toward the climax, in which the deceased is sent to his or her destined end in the "good place."

A Seoul-area rite regularly includes a playful cathartic episode in which the Messenger Spirit from the World of Darkness comes to snatch away the deceased to judgment for sin. As portrayed by the shaman, the wildly flailing Messenger Spirit sometimes evokes the terror of death in a way that threatens all present. On other occasions, his presence evokes billows of healing laughter that dissipate some of death's terror and pain. Mouth stuffed with rice cake, he charges forth to lasso the soul of the deceased, symbolized by white papers attached to

paper-craft flowers on the altar. The family of the deceased gleefully tries to fend him off in playful battle.

At the end of the rite, humor gives way to sorrow; psychodrama gives way to symbols; and play yields to spatial poetry. In a Seoul rite, the shaman chants the tale of the Abandoned Princess Spirit, the god who leads persons through death. Dressed in a princess' elegant robes, she or he then escorts the deceased, symbolized by white funeral clothes carried by a family member, to the destined end. The shaman does so in a graceful, slow-paced dance around tables of offerings before the flower-covered gate of thorns to the stately music of the drum, cymbals, and pipe. She makes three rounds as a butterfly, three displaying long flowing sleeves in a gesture of leading, three displaying a fan to sweep away evil, and three rounds wielding a knife to cut away obstacles. The "poetry in space" that results transforms the sorrow of separation into an event of beauty and peace. The deceased then takes final leave of the family through the mouth of the shaman, who ends the rite by splitting a long white cloth held out by assistants. Running wildly through the tough cloth, she splits it with her body, demonstrating her spirit-given powers and dramatizing the rupture of death.

A shaman also ends an east coast rite for the dead by splitting a long white cloth. In this case, however, the cloth symbolizes the path to the other world; and she or he splits the cloth with a staff tipped with paper flowers that represents the deceased. The shaman stretches out the cloth and sadly tells the deceased, "Now we must load the boat and you must go." As an assistant takes down paper flowers and lanterns from the altar, she does a slow-motion dance, imaginatively loading them onto the paper-craft boat. She holds the flower-covered staff near the deceased's family and speaks words of farewell for the deceased. Then with calm, dignified grace, she uses the staff slowly, but firmly, to split the cloth.

This final gesture is basically the same as that which ends a Seoul rite, but it constitutes an evocative spatial poetry that conveys a quite different feeling and has richer significance. It fuses the searing pain of final separation with an image of the flowering of existence. Composed equally of splitting and blossoming, it evokes both a cruel fear that life is ultimately parting and a soothing hope that death brings fulfillment. Fashioned though it is from the simplest of materials, this ambivalent symbolic gesture speaks an eloquent theatrical language that can move believers and nonbelievers alike. Whatever effect it may be believed to have for the deceased, its impact on those still alive depends just as much on the artistry of the dramatic performance as on faith in the world of the spirits.

Whether complex or simple, well ordered or diffuse, shamanist rituals speak the spatial language of dramatic performance, and any study of these rituals bears its best fruit when it is rooted in this language. As with any drama, the language of the performance itself has an intrinsic significance regardless of the intent or interpretation of any particular shaman, actor, participant, or scholar. As a language of dramatic gesture, it often has its richest meaning and cathartic power when it is multileveled, ambivalent, and, as in this east coast rite, even self-contradictory.

Daniel Kister

See also: Ainu Shamanism; Ancient South Indian Shamanism; Buryat Shamanism; Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary; Costume, Shaman; Khakass Shamanism; Korean Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Shadow Puppetry and Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Spirit Possession in Rajasthan

References and further reading:

Artaud, Antonin. 1958. *The Theater and Its Double.* Translated by Mary Caroline Richards. New York: Grove.

Cassirer, Ernst. 1955. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms.* Vol. 2, *Mythical Thought.* Translated by Ralph Manheim. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ch'oe, Chong-yo, and So Tae-sok, eds. 1982. *Tonghaean Muga* [Mudang Songs from the Coast of the East Sea]. Seoul: Hyong-sol.

Choi, Chungmoo. 1987. "The Competence of Korean Shamans as Performers of Folklore." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Guo, Shuyun, and Wang Honggang, eds. 2001. *Living Shamans: Shamanism in China.*

Shenyang: Liaoning People's Publishing House.
Kirby, E. T. 1975. *Urdrama: The Origins of the Theatre.* New York: New York University Press.
Kister, Daniel A. 1994. "Artaudian Aspects of Korean Shamanist Drama." Pp. 133–145 in *Antonin Artaud and the Modern Theater.* Edited by Gene A. Plunka. London: Associated University Presses.
———. 1997. *Korean Shamanist Ritual: Symbols and Dramas of Transformation.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
Langer, Susanne. 1953. *Feeling and Form.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
Lommel, Andreas. 1967. *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art.* Translated by Michael Bullock. New York: McGraw-Hill.
Norbeck, Edward. 1976. "Religion and Human Play." In *World Anthropology: The Realm of the Extra-Human.* Vol. 1, *Agents and Audiences.* Edited by Agehanda Bharati. The Hague: Mouton.
Turner, Victor. 1982. *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play.* New York: Performing Arts Journal.
Wilson, Robert R. 1980. *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel.* Philadelphia: Fortress.
Xue, Ruolin, ed. 1996. *The Art of Chinese Ritual Masks.* Beijing: Jiangxi Fine Arts Publishing House.
Yi, Du-hyun. 1988. "Role Playing Through Trance Possession in Korean Shamanism." In *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea.* Edited by Richard W. I. Guisso and Chai-shin Yu. Berkeley: Asian Humanities.

DREAMS AND VISIONS

Dreams and visions constitute a large part of shamans' accounts of their experiences, whether the dreams and visions are at the initial stages of their careers, when the shamans are elected, or during the later period of their lives when the shamans have become firmly established in the community and periodically communicate with the supernatural to heal their patients and to provide messages to their communities. In spite of the widespread presence of dream accounts in shamanic cultures, there is not a unifying concept across cultures, primarily because each shamanic society is subject to its own cultural notions about dreams and shamanic traditions. Cultural and religious theories of knowledge expressed in ideas about dreams are analytically distinct from what today we might or might not be able to know of the actual content of the experience. For example, the Western classificatory system separates dreams from visions, whereas in many other societies this classification is blurred, or there is no linguistic or conceptual distinction between them. The language of the Mapuche of Chile, for example, does not distinguish linguistically between dreams and visions (Nakashima Degarrod 1989). On the other hand, many cultures do separate the two and differentiate them linguistically. In some societies, visions occur in full waking consciousness and are thought to be quite different from sleeping dreams. Both dreams and visions can be deliberately sought, so the distinction cannot be a matter of voluntary inducement. It seems clear that dreams and visions, whatever their final definitions, are inextricably linked and that their prevalence in the shamanic discourse matters. Douglass Price-Williams has suggested that what scholars of shamanism have coded variously as dreams or visions can be part of a continuum from a waking to a sleeping state (Price-Williams 1992).

Shamanic visionary experiences are also narratives that are orally communicated by shamans to their communities through a variety of means, such as songs, speeches, diagnoses of illness, storytelling, and informal conversations. Johannes Fabian has observed the communicative value of sharing dreams in a religious context in communities (Fabian 1966). As narratives, shamanic dreams and visions have a communicative value; narrators can send messages by narrating or refraining from narrating dreams and by interpreting dreams with a group with whom there is a shared knowledge of interpretative meanings. Narrators can indicate different meanings by selecting different audiences and contexts of narrations (Herdt 1992). Shamanic discourses about dreams and visions in many societies are valued not only for their different healing, religious, or political meanings but also for their aesthetic value, as these narratives are not transmitted only by the shamans themselves but also by other narrators.

Dreams and the Selection and Initiation of Shamans

Dreams play an important role in the selection and initiation of shamans. Shamans are commonly selected to take on their profession by inheritance from deceased shamans. For example, shamans from the Paviotso of Nevada were reported to inherit their spirit powers from a deceased shaman relative who urged the dreamer to accept the shamanic calling and power (Park 1934). In other societies, shamans are selected when they exhibit unusual physical characteristics, or they are selected from spontaneous vocation. Whatever the means of shamanic selection, it is primarily through dreams that shamans learn about their calling. Most shamanic societies believe that the refusal of the individuals selected to be shamans will result in future misfortunes to those called into the profession (Krippner 1989).

The ability to dream frequently or to have prophetic dreams are some of the unusual individual characteristics that signal future shamans in many societies. Among the Harney Valley Paiute in North America, the ability to dream is encouraged with the purpose of creating shamans. Parents instill in their sons the desire to become shamans and persuade them to dream. Sons are told what kind of dreams to expect to have in order to become shamans. They warn them also to adhere to the instructions in the dreams carefully. Otherwise the spirits will become angry and punish them by making them ill (Whiting 1950).

Shamanic vocation can be caused by spontaneous dreams or visions. This was the case with Henry Rupert, a Washo shaman who lived at the end of the nineteenth century (Handelman 1967). During his early years he had a series of dreams, which in retrospect marked him off as one who would become a shaman. He would dream specifically of a bear who stared at him. When he looked back at the bear, it would vanish, and then Henry would fly up into the sky to the moon. But it was at the age of seventeen that Henry had his power dream, which signified that he was to become a shaman. In the dream he saw a horned buck, which looked toward the east. A voice told Henry not to kill babies anymore. Henry woke up with a nosebleed while it rained outside. He interpreted this dream in the following way: The conjunction of buck and rain suggested that he could control rain, as the buck was recognized as "boss of the rain." The cardinal directions in the dream were important symbols. For the Washo there is the belief that the souls of people who have just died travel south, but the path of evil souls is toward the east. Henry interpreted the buck's action of looking toward the east as meaning that he was being warned against developing potentialities that could become evil. The voice in the dream was recognized as being the voice of a snake. Here the warning was against the indiscriminate taking of life. The rain that he heard on awakening signified to him that water would be his major spirit power. And the nosebleed meant that his dream intended him to have power, as it was the kind of physical reaction associated with the gaining of power. Later, when Henry became a practicing shaman, dreams guided him.

Henry Rupert's use of a symbolic metaphoric system of dream interpretation to decode his vocational dream exemplifies one of the two major types of interpretation used by shamans in the exercise of their profession, the other being the literal interpretation of dreams, in which dreams are taken at their face value as opposed to the symbolic system in which dreams are interpreted according to a specific system that translates different images as symbols for specific meanings. Douglass Price-Williams and Lydia Nakashima Degarrod found in their cross-cultural study of the use of dreams in forty Amerindian societies that shamans make use of both systems of interpretation, with the exception of the Raramuri, who only make use of the literal system of dream interpretation (Price-Williams and Nakashima Degarrod 1989).

Shamans undergo physical and emotional transformations in their dreams of initiation. Lydia Nakashima Degarrod found that in the autobiographical narratives of shamanic initiation among the Mapuche of Chile, shamans narrate dreams in which the shamans describe their physical and spiritual transformations after a period of intense emotional and physical suffering (Nakashima Degarrod 1989, 1996, 1998). Shamans not only go through the physical pain and the anguish caused by inexplicable illnesses, but commonly lack emotional or material support from their families, either because they are orphans or simply because their families do not believe in their calling. In this

context, shamans can have two types of dreams: dreams of an explanatory character, in which supernatural beings explain to the novices the reasons for their inexplicable illness and announce their shamanic calling, which tend to occur during the worst part of the physical and emotional suffering; and dreams of a rewarding nature, in which gods or other supernatural beings provide the novices with their shamanic training and grant them power occurring at the end of the initiatory period.

In these autobiographical narratives Nakashima Degarrod found that these dreams become the sites in which the final transformation of the novices occur—they not only become shamans with all the necessary knowledge and power, but they also overcome all the negative physical and intellectual traits described at the beginning of the autobiographical accounts. Shamans who, prior to the dreams, described themselves as being weak, ugly, or viewed as stupid proclaimed their strength, beauty, and intelligence after the dreams. This explanatory and rewarding nature characterizes most of the dreams that shamans narrate during the course of their profession. In the exercise of their profession shamans use their dreams to receive information and power to fight the agents of evil *(wekufe)* and they receive explanations for their own personal suffering and the suffering of the community at times of natural or political crisis.

Dreams of initiation may be thematically patterned. Common themes widely reported are dismemberment, death, and rebirth. These themes have been described in the initiatory dreams of Siberian, Eskimo, Australian Aborigines, and South American shamans (Eliade 1989). In these dreams, shamans undergo different forms of death, which may include the extraction of their viscera and contemplation of their own skeleton and their actual rebirth. For example, an Eskimo man selected to become a shaman reported a dream in which he was devoured by a bear, chewed up, and then finally spat out (Roheim 1952).

The Vision Quest and Shamanic Initiation

The term vision quest refers both to the experiences of a young person being initiated into adult society and to the shamanic initiation. It is frequently associated with the Guardian Spirit complex of Native American societies (Benedict 1923). Hardship is a necessary preparation for both initiation visions and shamanic experiences. All societies that involve the vision quest have the corollary belief that certain kinds of experiences will facilitate significant dreams and visions. It is generally believed, for example, that the quest necessitates a period of social isolation, coupled with increased vigilance and alertness. Lonely vigils on mountaintops or in forests or desolate places are advocated. Repetitive singing or praying is encouraged. Even the playing of repetitive games is sometimes undertaken in order to promote monotony.

In contrast to this passive approach of meditation and isolation, there is an opposite group of methods that encourages hyperactivity. Excitation, stress, and fatigue are the factors involved. A particular Salish group in the Pacific Northwest coastal area encourages bodily exercises and general exaltation of the senses. There are reports from the Southern Coast Salish of children being sent out on their vision quests in stormy weather and in thunderstorms, or being encouraged to dive into shark-infested waters (Jilek 1974). It is worth mentioning that hallucinogens are not used in these cultures of the Pacific Northwest. All methods of facilitating vision inducement involve harsh physical methods. Sleep deprivation is common. So are methods of dehydration or fasting. Sometimes vomiting is encouraged through the use of purgative plants to cleanse the system. Hyperventilation is sometimes promoted through the use of continual diving or other means of inducing exhaustion. The methods sometimes extend to exposing oneself to extreme temperatures, and even to self-inflicted pain. All these methods tend to create vivid mental imagery.

Charles Wagley (1977) described the novice shamans of Tapirapé of Brazil as seeking out dreams as part of their shamanic training. Annually during the late dry season all the young aspiring shamans gathered each evening in the central plaza of the village and discussed their dreams. A novice would sit near a fully-fledged shaman who was his mentor and be given smoke from his mentor's pipe until he vomited. The practice of "eating smoke," as it was called, persisted until the novice fell into a trance and became ill from the tobacco. During this trance the novice might dream. The practice was con-

tinued over a period of two to three hours. When the novice returned to his hammock, he would be expected to dream during the night. It was a difficult time for these novices. They had to refrain from bathing during this period. They could not eat certain animals, as they might be expected to encounter them during their dreams. There was also sexual abstinence. Frequently Tapirapé shamans would have dangerous dreams, at which stage they would become uncontrollable, running wildly through the village in a trance breaking things and perhaps killing animals.

Dream Helpers

The notion of the dream helper is widespread among Native American groups, though it has been best described in south-central California (Applegate 1967). Essentially the idea is that a supernatural being appears to the dreamer or visionary as a spirit offering power and protection. A song or a talisman is given to the dreamer, with advice on how to use the gift. Direct warnings may also be given. A shaman may further be given skills and knowledge on how to deal with witchcraft. A lay person may be given skills for hunting or even gambling.

The dream helper may manifest itself in dreams in different guises. It is usually in the form of an animal. It is thought of as the archetypal spirit of the animal species, rather than as a specific individual. An animal helper is actually the spirit of one of the First People, as they are called, who at the end of mythic times turned into the animals as we know them today. Owl, for example, is embodied in each individual member of the owl species, but Owl himself still lives in mythic times. Although they mostly appear in the form of animals, the dream helper can also appear as a ghost, a dwarf, or a water monster, or it may be a natural force personified.

There are basically two ways for an individual to acquire a dream helper, through drugs or through fasting and night bathing. The dream helper may be directly sought, as in the vision quest, but it can also appear spontaneously and unbidden.

There is another kind of dream helper, found among the Yurok in northern California. Here the shamans base their power on objects that reside in their own bodies (Kroeber 1925). Theses are objects that would prove fatal in the body of a non-shaman. The acquisition of these magical objects is due to a dream in which a spirit either gives the object to the shaman or places it directly into the shaman's body. The object causes pains to the shaman, whose task is to be able to maintain the lethal object. The fulfillment of that task is the achievement which marks a shaman.

Dreams and Healing

Dreams are a frequent means of diagnosing what it is that is ailing a sick person. If the source is a malevolent being, or a human person wishing the victim ill (as in sorcery), then the dream can reveal the identity of such a being or person. Furthermore, the dream can be used to identify the nature of the medicines to be employed with the sick person. These medicines are usually plants. The kind of plant, its location, and time to be picked can be provided to a shaman or healer by dreams.

Illness can also be induced in dreams in several ways. One of these is through a supernatural force that creates illness directly. Contact with dead people in dreams can also induce illness, not necessarily because of any malicious intention by the dead person. And sometimes just a bad dream has been sufficient to create illness. The activity of dreaming, therefore, is sometimes associated with danger, as a person can become ill through it.

Shamans largely cure through the art of dreaming. They do this often with the help of a dream helper or spirit with whom they enjoy a symbiotic relationship. Frequently the spirit specifies actions to be undertaken by the shaman subsequent to the dream that will facilitate the healing. Such actions sometimes are elaborated into full-scale rituals.

A frequent motif in the teaching of healers through dreams is the giving of instructions for the dreamer to carry out an action while awake. Usually a spirit or an ancestor or sometimes an animal declares in the dream that the dreamer should do something. A Blackfoot shaman learned in a dream how to cure different illnesses (Wissler 1912). A man appeared in his dream and told him that he would give him his body. The dreamer was told that he must carve the man's image in wood and carry it with him. Whenever anyone had a hemorrhage, the im-

age of this spirit-man from the dream must be put on the hemorrhaging person's body, and the hemorrhage would stop. The Blackfoot man said that this dream had given him the power to cure wounds, to heal disorders of the bowels, and to stop hemorrhaging. Another example comes from a Kwakiutl shaman during a great influenza epidemic (Boas 1921). The shaman himself was ill from this sickness when he had a dream of a wolf helping him. In the dream the wolf came into his house and told the shaman he should get into the river both morning and evening. He had to sit in the river and pour water from a bucket over both sides of his neck. More precisely he had to pour two buckets of water on the right side of his neck, then two buckets on the left side of the neck. He should do this for four days. This was to cure him of the influenza. Then he was told to do the same for others who were sick.

Many other groups practice various kinds of incubation rituals in order to have dreams for healing. Kwakiutl shamans were known to induce dreams before going to sleep by concentrating on an article belonging to a sick person as a means of diagnosing an illness (Boas 1921). Chippewa shamans went to a shake lodge in order to get dreams to diagnose illnesses (Levi 1956).

The shamans of the Sharanahua Indians of eastern Peru enter the dream world of their patients in order to heal them (Siskind 1973). They are aided by taking the hallucinogenic drug, *ayahuasca.* Their treatment is effected through curing songs. The choice of songs is dictated by the dreams of the patients and their type of symptoms. The patient reports dream images that coincide with the songs that the shaman knows. The shaman asks the patient about his dreams and also about his symptoms. A hallucinogenic brew is then cooked in the evening. When it is cooled and ready, the shaman and other men drink it. The men chant and the shaman sings a curing song. A vision then appears to the shaman of the image from the dream of the sick man. As he experiences the vision, the shaman openly speaks of it to the others.

There is a malevolent side of dreaming too. Tapirapé shamans have the power of doing damage to the vulnerable souls of people while they sleep. A shaman called Panteri was reported to engage in a dream battle with another shaman. In his dream he would travel in his canoe to the top of a high mountain. From this vista he would look around until he could see the soul of his shaman enemy, whom Panteri suspected of sorcery. Panteri would then throw his headdress, which would wrap itself around the soul of his enemy, carrying him off into the sky (Wagley 1977).

Psychological Healing

The Ute of Colorado and Utah and the seventeenth-century Iroquois are known for their use of dreams, which have been considered in contemporary times to approximate modern psychoanalytic practices (Price-Williams and Nakashima Degarrod 1989; Opler 1959; Wallace 1958). It has been considered that the Ute perceived dreaming as "emotionalized striving." The Ute shaman would dissect a dream in terms of the wishes, attitudes, and motivations of the dreamer. When living relatives appeared in a dream, the shaman would analyze the relationship with the dreamer for rivalries and resentments. Ute shamans and sick people confided that dreaming often reflected life problems in a distorted or delusional way. Dreams were thought by the Ute to show evidence of dominant drives and motivations. Marvin Opler, who studied the Ute fifty years ago, considered the Ute's own idea of dreams was that in the dream world the individual mind was free to roam or imagine, and its fantasies revealed tendencies toward the disguised expression of unconscious wishes. This is almost identical to psychoanalytical theory, and it is difficult to know whether this interpretation represents Opler's own summarizing of Ute ideas or whether this was independently the Ute position. Dreams of deceased relatives, labeled by the Ute as Ghost Dreams, also were regarded in a psychological light. The ghost was blamed for returning and troubling the dreamer, and the latter was advised by the shaman to cease worrying about the dead relative and to focus on the tasks of the living.

Shamanic Political Discourse

Dream and vision reports can transmit political messages and provide aid to a community undergoing communal crises. Lydia Nakashima Degarrod has found that the Mapuche shamans

of Chile narrate their dreams to their communities to provide messages from their gods and ancestors at times of natural disasters and political chaos. She observed that from 1985 to 1987, the last years of the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, was a period of strong political repression when large public gatherings were often prohibited, and a new law had been passed that promoted individual ownership of land and that threatened to break the Mapuche communal land holdings (Nakashima Degarrod 1996, 1998). During this period the shamans of several communities defied authorities by calling for the performance of community rituals that brought together hundreds of people. They were able to ask for the performance of these traditional rituals by narrating dreams in which their gods and ancestors explained the miseries that the Mapuche people were experiencing as a result of the people's deviation from the traditional norms.

The shamans in their roles as *peumafe,* "special dreamers," receive in their dreams explanations for catastrophes from their gods and ancestors and tend to view any form of catastrophe being caused by nature or society as a punishment for the Mapuche's deviation from the traditional behavior. The shamans receive specific instructions about the management and performance of rituals to appease the anger of the gods and ancestors. Because the Mapuche live in an area known for intense seismic activity and other natural disasters, the shamans' activity in their role as special dreamers is rather often called for. Although Mapuche shamans do not have a permanent position in the political organization of their communities, their participation at times of stress is important because through their dreams they provide the divine rules according to which the leaders keep the tribal law functioning—rules that define traditional and ideal behavior.

Lydia Nakashima Degarrod

See also: Ayahuasca Ritual Use; Dreams and Shamanism; Mapuche Shamanism; Peruvian Shamans

References and further reading:

Applegate, Richard. 1967. *Atishwin: The Dream Helper in South-Central California*. Socorro, NM: Ballena Press.

Benedict, Ruth. 1923. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America.* Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, no. 29. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association.

Boas, Franz. 1921. "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl." *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 35: 43–794.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fabian, Johannes. 1966. "Dreams and Charisma, 'Theories of Dreams' in the Jamaa-Movement (Congo)." *Anthropos* 61: 544–560.

Handelman, Don. 1967. "The Development of a Washo Shaman." *Ethnology* 6: 444–464.

Herdt, Gilbert. 1992. "Selfhood and Discourse in Sambia Dream Sharing." Pp. 55–85 in *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations.* Edited by Barbara Tedlock. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Jilek, Wolfgang. 1974. *Salish Indian Mental Health and Culture Change: Psychohygienic and Therapeutic Aspects of the Guardian Spirit Ceremonial.* Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada.

Krippner, Stanley. 1989. "The Use of Dreams in Shamanic Traditions." Pp. 371–381 in *Shamanism Past and Present Part 2.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Otto von Sadovsky. Budapest: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

Kroeber, A. L. 1925. "The Yurok." *Handbook of the Indians of California, Bureau of American Ethnology* 78: 1–97, 112–120.

———. 1951. "The Yurok." In *The California Indians—A Source Book.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Levi, Carolissa M. 1956. *Chippewa Indians of Yesterday and Today.* New York : Pageant Press.

Nakashima Degarrod, Lydia. 1989. "Dream Interpretation Among The Mapuche Indians Of Chile." Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Dissertation Information Service.

———. 1996. "Mapuche: Dream Interpretation and Ethnic Consciousness." Pp. 237–264 in *Portraits of Culture.* Edited by David Levinson. Paramus, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

————. 1998. "Female Shamanism and the Mapuche Transformation into Christian Chileans." *Religion* 28: 339–350.

———. 2001. "Aesthetics and Politics in Chilean Mapuche Autobiographical Shamanic Discourse." Paper presented at the Indigenous Amazonia at the Millennium: Politics and Religion Conference at Tulane University.

Opler, Marvin. 1959. "Dream Analysis in Ute Indian Therapy." Pp. 97–110 in *Culture and Mental Health.* Edited by Marvin Opler. New York: McMillan.

Park, Willard. 1934. "Paviotso Shamanism." *American Anthropologist* 36: 99–103.

Price-Williams, Douglass. 1992. "The Waking Dream in Ethnographic Perspective." Pp. 246–262 in *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations.* Edited by Barbara Tedlock. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Price-Williams, Douglass and Lydia Nakashima Degarrod. 1989. "Communication, Context, and Use of Dreams in Amerindian Societies." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 15: 195–209.

Roheim, Geza. 1952. *The Gates of the Dream.* New York: International Universities Press.

Siskind, Janet. 1973. "Visions and Cures Among the Sharanahua." Pp. 28–39 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.

Spier, Leslie. 1933. *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wagley, Charles. 1977. *Welcome of Tears: The Tapirapé Indians of Central Brazil.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. 1958. "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul: A Type of Psychoanalytic Theory Among the Seventeenth-Century Iroquois." *American Anthropologist* 60: 234–247.

Whiting, Beatrice. 1950. "Paiute Sorcery: Sickness and Social Control." Pp. 27–66 in *Culture, Disease, and Healing.* Edited by D. Landy. New York: Macmillan.

Wissler, Clark. 1912. "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians." American Museum of Natural History. Anthropological Papers 2: 71–85.

DRUGS

See Entheogens (Psychedelic Drugs) and Shamanism

DRUMMING IN SHAMANISTIC RITUALS

The drum is used in a variety of ways in shamanist rituals; it may serve as (1) a rhythm instrument, (2) a divination table, (3) a "speaker" for communicating with the spirits, (4) a spirit-catcher, (5) a spirit boat, (6) a purifying device, (7) the shaman's mount.

To illustrate these functions of the shaman's drum, it will be relevant to summarize three representative shamanist rituals for distinctive purposes as practiced by different peoples of Siberia and Japan: The first of these accounts describes the descent of the Tungus shaman into the Underworld; the second, the ascent of the Altai Turk shaman into the world above; and the third, a healing ceremony performed by an Ainu shaman of Japan. Other uses of the drum from other cultures will also be mentioned.

The Descent of the Tungus Shaman into the Underworld

A historical account by Shirokogoroff (1935) describes the traditional preparation for the Tungus shaman's descent into the world of the dead. This consisted of setting up the following pieces of paraphernalia: (1) an idol; (2) a pair of wooden staffs representing two legs of a reindeer the shaman will ride when traveling over land; (3) a raft, consisting of four planks, which the shaman will use to cross the "sea" (Lake Baikal); and (4) two purifying implements, each made of four or eight narrow pieces of wood set up to form a gate through which the participants pass at one point in the ritual.

The first part began with the shaman drumming and concluded with an act of divination using the drumstick; the shaman throws it into the air, and if it falls down with the back side up, the indication is positive; but if it lands with the bowl or concave side up, the indication is negative. After the divination a reindeer is sacrificed.

Shirokogoroff observed that at the beginning of the second part of the ritual the shaman himself drummed; he rose up, then handing the drum to his assistant, took up the two staffs representing the reindeer's legs and started singing and dancing, from time to time taking short leaps. During the course of his song the

participants joined in by repeating the last words the shaman had uttered or a set refrain. The tempo and volume increased; the shaman took a large cup of vodka, smoked several pipes of tobacco, and, singing and jumping with even greater excitement, he entered a state of ecstasy and dropped down onto the raft motionless. The drumming slowed down, and the singing stopped. In time the shaman came out of his trance and began to reply in a weak voice to questions put to him by the participants.

The ceremony ended with purification (the participants passing through the wooden gate) after which the shaman sang for a long time, then jumped onto the skin of the slaughtered reindeer. The drumming became faster and the singing louder while the shaman remained there motionless. Finally the drumming and singing subsided, and the people began to call the shaman back. (Shirokogoroff 1935).

What is notable about this ritual is that the shaman himself used the drum only at the beginning; the rest of the time the drumming was performed by the assistant. Obviously the shaman could not continue drumming while in a state of trance, whether genuine or simulated, and so entrusted the assistant with the task of maintaining the rhythm. It is doubtful that the vodka and tobacco consumed by the Tungus shaman during the first part of the ritual was powerful enough to induce a state of trance. Among the ancient Indo-Iranians a substance, called in Sanskrit *soma* and in Avestan *haoma,* was prepared and offered by the priests in a special ceremony. This was obtained from a plant, identified as a variety of ephedra that, when crushed, yielded a powerful substance that was mixed with water or milk to make a drink with hallucinatory properties.

Although Henrik S. Nyberg's interpretation of ancient Iranian religious practices and those in Zoroastrianism as decidedly shamanic in nature (1938) was attacked by most scholars of Iranian studies, Mircea Eliade (1989) agreed that the ancient Iranians were familiar with many elements of shamanism, including ecstasy induced by intoxication, which he attributes to the use of hemp *(Cannabis sativa),* or *bangha,* an Iranian word that was disseminated among the Ugrians to refer to the mushroom *(Agaricus muscarius)* consumed by the shaman. The use of ephedra may have been yet another, perhaps earlier, borrowing from the nomadic Iranians, at least among the more southerly peoples of Inner Asia, for *Ephedra monostachya* is native both to the steppes and to Mongolia and Siberia.

The Ostyak shaman of the Irtysh region consumed narcotic mushrooms on the first day of a ritual and while in a state of intoxication communicates what the spirits have revealed to him, but he subsequently falls into a deep sleep and does not continue until the next day (Karjalainen 1921–1927).

René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975) pointed out the close parallels between the Siberian shaman and the Tibetan Lamaist oracle-priest; the oracle-priest, unlike the Bon shaman of Tibet, does not himself make use of a drum, but during the divination ceremony the assembled monks sing an invocation to the accompaniment of a drum and a bone trumpet; the god invoked takes possession of the oracle-priest, or medium, and he enters into a state of what by all reports is a genuine trance. The tendency to enter such a state under the influence of the music and without the use of a stimulant or narcotic appears to have been the original situation.

Examples of the "refrains" sung by the participants during the Tungus shaman's ritual descent into the Underworld may be observed in a manuscript of the Sibe Manchus entitled *Saman jarin.* This text is divided into two parts, and in each part there are two repeated phrases, each consisting of two or three words, which alternate at the end of each line of a couplet; the last word (or two) of each alternating phrase is the same and the remaining word is similar (Stary 1992), so that the constant repetition in conjunction with an increase in volume would have had a hypnotic effect.

As for using the drumstick for divination, this appears to have been an incidental intrusion into the original ceremony, but it is now customary during the shamanist rituals of certain areas as, for instance, among the Nganasan (Dolgikh 1978). Though seventeenth-century visitors to the Lapps reported that the shaman entered a state of genuine cataleptic trance (Ohlmarks 1939), the present-day Lappish shamanist ceremony is devoted entirely to divination. The head of the drum is painted all over with figures; the drum is held horizontally, a group of brass rings is placed on the drum-

head, and, in response to an inquiry the shaman beats the drum so that the rings move around over the surface of the drum. The shaman answers according to where the rings come to rest (Sommarström 1989).

The Ascent of the Altai Turk Shaman

In an account of the ritual of ascent into the Upper World from a nineteenth-century source, the Altai Turk shaman, unlike the Tungus shaman in the ritual of descent, retained possession of the drum the whole time, even though, due to required actions at certain junctures, the drumming had to stop. The Altai Turk shaman did have an assistant, called the head-holder, who helped him even before the ritual began by holding the head of the horse that had been chosen for sacrifice during the ceremony, as the shaman waved a birch rod over it and forced its spirit to leave its body. The spirit of the head-holder left his body at the same time and made its way immediately toward the Upper World (whereas the spirit of the horse continued to hover somewhere in the vicinity), and the head-holder did not reappear physically until the very end.

The shaman began the first part of the ritual by sitting in front of the fire, where he conjured the spirits by calling to them one by one through the drum; as they answered, the shaman then used the drum to catch the spirit, waved the drum, and tilted it toward the assembled participants to show that the spirit thus invoked had indeed been trapped. He continued to do this until he had enough spirits to help him. Next he went out after the spirit of the horse and caught it in the drum, and several people attending the event helped him slaughter the horse.

The second part of the ritual took place the following evening. It started with the offering of horse meat to the Masters of the Drum. The shaman then fumigated his drum and once again invoked a multitude of spirits to assist him; his drum grew heavy with them. The shaman then commenced drumming and with his drum purified all the participants; by the end of the long and complex procedure he was ostensibly in a state of ecstasy.

In the middle of the yurt there was a young birch (representing the Cosmic Tree), stripped of all its bark, with nine notches for steps carved in its trunk. In his altered state the shaman climbed this tree, passing through heaven after heaven until he had reached the ninth heaven, sometimes even the twelfth, all the time recounting to the people below what he saw. On the way the shaman encountered the spirit of the head-holder and encouraged him to continue up into the next heaven. The account did not mention what had happened to the flock of spirits that the shaman gathered in his drum to help him, nor whether the shaman was still carrying the spirit of the sacrificial horse in the drum, but he must have had it with him, for when he reached the uppermost heaven he was able to offer it to Bai Ülgen, the king of heaven, in the event the sacrifice had been accepted. Upon his return to earth, the shaman appeared to awaken from a deep sleep, addressed the participants, and the head-holder stepped forward to take the drum and drumstick from him (Radlov 1885).

It was noted by Shirokogoroff (1935) that the Tungus also had a ritual of ascent into the Upper World, though it was much less frequent than that of the descent into the Underworld; this ritual was performed for healing purposes, but only if the person involved was a sick child. In this case, as in that of the Altai Turk ritual, an animal was sacrificed, though it was either a sheep or young deer, and it is clearer in these accounts that the purpose of the shaman's ascent is to take the spirit of the animal to the Upper World. Unlike the instance of the Altai Turk shaman, however, the Tungus shaman in this ceremony also had an assistant who took over the drumming once the shaman was ready for his journey, the first part of which was mimed by dancing and jumping (Shirokogoroff 1935).

In a healing ceremony of the Yakut of Siberia, described in an account from the early twentieth century, the shaman also escorted the spirit of a sacrificed animal to the Upper World; this happened only after he had captured the illness from the patient's body. Presumably he accomplished both of these tasks using his drum as a medium (whereas in healing rituals of certain other peoples the shaman sucks the illness out, but he may then spit it into his drum), for, though the ritual started in complete silence, by the time the shaman was ready to effect the cure, he was drumming, singing, and dancing, and continued drum-

Manchu shaman with drum. (Adapted from Alessandra Pozzi, 1992, *Manchu-shamanica illustrata* [Wiesbaden, O Harrassowitz])

ming throughout, the last part of his dance imitating the flight of a bird (Sieroszewski 1902).

Unfortunately there is no detailed information about the Bon shaman and his rituals at the time Buddhism first began to spread throughout Tibet; he is credited, though, with the power to perform various feats of magic and sleight-of-hand, such as making a deer walk floating above the earth, but his best-known feat is the flight through the air on his drum (Stein 1981), a shamanic accomplishment implicit in any instance of celestial travel.

The idea of the shaman's drum as mount is common to most societies where shamanism is practiced. The drumhead is made from the skin of a reindeer, roebuck, elk, deer, antelope, or horse, and the shaman rides whatever animal whose skin was used for his drum; in cultures where the drumhead is decorated this mount is one of the figures on the drumhead. At points in the ritual where the drum has been passed over to the assistant, the shaman may have to substitute some other prop for the drum, such as the two staffs representing a reindeer's legs in the Tungus ritual outlined above. And though the shaman rides through the sky on his drum, this does not mean that he conceives of the drum at that moment as a bird; it means rather that his mount is not earthbound.

On the other hand, where a journey to the Underworld through water is involved, the drum may be designated as something more appropriate to the task; according to an early twentieth century account, the Chukchee of northeastern Siberia, for example, referred to the shaman's drum as a canoe (Bogoras 1904–1909), and the Yukagir of Siberia called the shaman's drum *yalgil,* which also means "sea" or "lake" (a related word *yalgide,* "to ring [a bell]," may reveal that the resemblance between the words for drum and sea is coincidental, or it may simply recall the fact that there are small jingles hung inside the drum), and the shaman on his journey says he "travels through his drum as through a lake" (Jochelson 1924–1926). The reason for this association is that the shaman's descent into the Underworld in maritime societies was in fact an underwater venture. This did not inevitably have the same result, however, in all maritime societies, for neither Yupik *cauyaq* "drum" nor Inuit *qilaun* (from a root *qela,* "to invoke spirits, shamanize") has any connection with water.

The shaman's assistant is an individual who has exhibited some potential for becoming a shaman (through calling by a spirit or spontaneous states of ecstasy), and has set out to be the disciple of an established shaman. In many, perhaps even most cases, the candidate is not permitted by the master even to touch the drum until he reaches a certain stage in his initiation, so that he must be satisfied with some substitute such as a drumstick without the drum. The differences between the role of assistant in the descent to the Underworld ritual and the Altai Turk ritual as they were reported may be simply that the Altai Turk shaman's assistant was a novice, whereas the Tungus shaman's assistant had reached a more advanced level.

Normally we would expect a fully qualified initiate either to take over his master's duties entirely or move on to a new territory, but there do exist examples where shamans of the same rank perform side by side. In Korea the ceremony of exorcism is as a rule performed by the *phansu* (a male shaman either blind at birth or blinded voluntarily), rather than by the *mudang,* the female shaman. Typically the phansu

performs this ceremony in threes, one of them intoning the text while the second plays a drum and the third a brass bell (Lee 1981). In the east Canadian Inuit autumn ritual pertaining to the tradition of Sedna, supreme Being and mistress of the Underworld, the most powerful shaman, or *angatkuq* (compare Mongolian *ongun,* pl. *ongut,* the spirit of a shaman inhabiting some material object, generally an idol made of hide and/or felt, which is hung in the yurt) leads the action, but he is assisted by three other shamans (Boas 1964).

The Inuit ceremonies Franz Boas described, which were held in the summer, took place out of doors, but those held in the winter were performed in a structure called a *gaggi,* "singing house," specially erected for the purpose (1964). In Yupik this is *qasgiq* or *qaygiq,* "men's community house; steambath house"; this house was also regularly used for dances and feasts.

The first part of the Sedna festival as described by Boas was a ritual conducted in "a large hut" and the masked pantomime that is part of the same festival may be identified with one that among the Yupik of Alaska occurred in late October.

Boas did not mention the use of the drum by the shaman in other rituals he reported, but the opening of the ceremony held in the singing house as the Sedna festival began was signaled by the appearance of the shaman, who took up his drum and danced and sang to the rhythm of the drum. It is not specifically stated that the drummer was a shaman, but Boas did say that subsequently shamans were heard singing and praying in house after house, conjuring familiar spirits to help fight off the evil spirits aroused by the onset of winter and now active. Certainly these shamans were involved throughout this feast, culminating in the appearance of two "gigantic figures" wearing masks; Boas did not indicate that these figures were shamans either, but one of the sources he quotes did (Kumlien 1879; Boas 1964).

Healing Ceremony by an Ainu Shaman

In his account of shamanism among the Sakhalin Ainu of Japan, Bronislav Pilsudski (1909, 72–78) described two rituals, the first for divination, the second for healing a sick child. In the first ritual the shaman, or *tusukuru* (from *tusu,* "to prophesy," and *kuru,* "person") was bound hand and foot facing the participants, and his drum was hung up some distance from him. Then all the lights were turned out "to encourage the approach of the spirits." Presently the sound of the drum was heard, a signal that the spirit had arrived. This spirit had a rod and approached the row of participants; whomever he touched with the rod might ask a question. A positive answer was indicated by hitting the inquirer on the foot or the ground in front of his foot in a vertical direction; hitting in a horizontal direction indicated a negative answer.

The healing ceremony opened with the shaman warming his drum over the fire, but even before he started drumming, strange half-hissing, half-piping sounds emanated from his breast. He then beat the drum, first light and fast, then slower and louder. At this point he uttered a long series of inhuman sounds, including the baying of a dog, barking of a fox, howling of a wolf, growling of a bear, sounds of ducks and other birds, and creaking of trees in a storm.

The helping spirits arrived and circled the fire; the shaman screamed at the approach of the evil spirits, and he took a whisk (*takusa,* made from the stems of mugwort and wild strawberry) and chased after them. He prayed to the helping spirits to cure the sick child, and every strophe of the prayer was followed by an interval of solo drumming, the sound of which altered from time to time.

Often the shaman held the drum in front of his face, and the sound he made reverberated like an echo. He appeared now to be in a state of trance and ran here and there throughout the hut, his cries growing stronger. The climax came when the spirits spoke through him concerning the condition of the sick child; the participants heard strangled words, which the shaman repeated, instructions for what had to be done to cure the child. At the conclusion of the ritual he swung the whisk around his head to clear out the helping spirits, who were no longer needed, and fastened the whisk to the underside of his drum in preparation for the next ritual.

During the Yukagir healing ceremony the shaman also uttered a series of animal noises, in a manner similar to that of the Sakhalin Ainu shaman, including the sounds of a hare,

cuckoo, stork, owl, diver, wolf, bear, and dog, all of which were his helping spirits.

The Ainu divination ritual as reported appears to be independent of the healing ritual, but it may also have served as a prelude to the healing ceremony, as in the case of the Barguzin Tungus healing ceremony (Shirokogoroff 1935). The binding of the Ainu shaman recalls that of the Inuit shaman in the ritual ascent to the Upper World, when his hands were fastened behind his back and his neck was tied to his knees; the veil of secrecy provided by extinguishing the lamps in the Ainu ritual is paralleled by the use of a curtain to hide the Inuit shaman from the spectators in both the ritual just mentioned and in the ritual of descent into the Underworld (Rasmussen 1929).

John Batchelor, in his 1902 study of the Ainu of Hokkaidō, reported that the shaman lost consciousness and was possessed by the spirits so that he became capable of divination or prophecy; when this happened he appeared to be in a state of trance, a condition marked by tremors, heavy breathing, perspiring, and sightless though open eyes. All these symptoms were apparently self-induced without the stimulus of drumming.

The principal function of the shaman, or *angakuq,* among the eastern Canadian Inuit was to find out the reason of sickness and death or of any other misfortune visiting the natives, which he did by consulting his *tornaq* (Inuit *tarniq,* Yupik *tarneq,* "soul," "spirit")—a familiar most commonly in the form of a great bear—in the case of illness presumably to cure the patient. Boas (1964) made brief reference to the flight of the shaman with his tornaq to propitiate a hostile tornaq and to visit Sedna, mistress of the Underworld (or rather one of three underworlds), the abode of the dead, though he made no mention of escorting the spirits of the dead there. According to several sources that he quoted, however, it would seem that another function of the Eskimo angakuq in general was to visit Sedna, who was, in addition to her chthonic role (mistress of sea animals) to persuade her to release some of them in times when game was scarce. This appears to belong to a hunting magic tradition that may predate the other functions of the shaman.

In most reports on the customs and beliefs of the Eskimos dating from the early 1900s (among which were those of Rasmussen), no mention was made of the use of a drum by the shaman, which led Eliade to conclude that "the Eskimo shaman lacks . . . the drum" (1989, 289) According to certain earlier accounts, however, dating from the 1800s, the Eskimo shaman did make use of a drum during the rituals (Mousalimas 1989). This instance and that of the differences between the practices of the Ainu shaman in Sakhalin and those in Hokkaidō suggest a gradual loss of tradition.

Conclusion: Drumming and Trance

The question arises, then, whether it is possible for the shaman to enter a state of trance without the aid of drumming. Instances reviewed where genuine trance was attested all involved music: drumming, drumming and singing or, in the absence of a drum, at least rhythmic choral singing. In a work devoted specifically to the relationship between music and trance, Gilbert Rouget (1985) reviewed the theory that drumming has a neurological effect that may induce a state of trance and concluded that though the reaction is by no means spontaneous or inevitable, it could occur if the subject expected such a stimulus to trigger this response. In cases where the shaman found this stimulus did not have the expected result he might have recourse to some narcotic or intoxicant to bring on the trance; but this would happen only if a state of trance was the sole credible way to achieve the objective of the ritual as, for instance, when the shaman is required to cross into the Underworld.

Otherwise the shaman might either feign a state of trance or eliminate that particular ritual from his repertoire.

Roger Finch

See also: Ainu Shamanism; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure; Evenki Shamanism; Horses; Korean Shamanism; Sakha Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Tibetan Shamanism; Trance Dance; Trance, Shamanic; Yupik Shamanism

References and further reading:

Batchelor, John. 1902. *The Ainu of Japan.* New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell.

Boas, Franz. 1964. *The Central Eskimo.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Bogoras, Waldemar. 1904–1909. *The Chukckee.* In Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Naturay History, vol. 7. Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert.

Dolgikh, B. O. 1978. "Nganasan, Shaman Drums and Costumes." Pp. 341–351 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Eliade, Mercea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Jochelson, Waldemar. 1924–1926. *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus.* London and New York: American Museum of Natural History, Memoirs.

Karjalainen, K. T. 1921–1927. *Die Religion der Jugra Völker.* Helsinki: Folklore Fellows Communications, Vols. 8, 11, 20.

Kumlien, Ludwig. 1879. *Contributions to the Natural History of Arctic America.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Lee, Jung Young. 1981. *Korean Shamanistic Rituals.* The Hague: Mouton.

Mousalimas, S. A. 1989. "Shamans-of-Old in Southern Alaska." In *Shamanism Past and Present.* Edited by Hoppál and Sadovsky. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de. 1975. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities.* Graz, Austria: Akademische D??ck U. Verlagsanstalt.

Nyberg, Henrik Samuel. 1938. *Die Religionen des alten Iran.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Ohlmarks, Åke. 1939. *Studien zum problem des schamanismus.* Lund: C. W. K.

Pilsudski, Bronislav. 1909. "Der Schamanismus bei den Ainu-Stämmen von Sachalin." *Globus* 95: 72–78.

Radlov, Vasilii Vasilevich. 1885. *Das Schamanenthun und sein Kultur.* Leipzig: T. O. Weigel.

Rasmussen, Kuud. 1929. "Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos." In *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition.* Vol. 1. Translated by W. Worster. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Rouget, Gilbert. 1985. *Music and Trance.* Chicago and New York: University of Chicago Press.

Shirokogoroff, S. M. 1935. *Psychomental Comples of the Tungus.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.

Sieroszewski, Wenceslas. 1902. "Du chamanisme d'après les croyances des Yakoutes." *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 46: 204–233; 299–338.

Sommarström, Bo. 1989. "The Sāmi Shaman's Drum and the Holographic Paradigm Discussion." Pp. 125–137 in Mihály Hoppál and Otto von Sadovsky, *Shamanism: Past and Present,* Part 2. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Stary, Giovanni. 1992. *Das "Schamanenbuch" der Sibe-Mandschuren.* Wiesbaden: Kommissions Verlag O. Harassouitz.

Stein, Rolf A. 1981. *La civilization tibétain.* Paris: Le Sycomore.

DRUMS, SHAMANIC: FORM AND STRUCTURE

Introduction: Historical Origin of the Frame Drum

The frame drum historically has been found in widely separated areas of the world. Sumerian statuettes portraying women playing frame drums date from about 2000 B.C.E., and Egyptian frame drums that have survived date from 700 B.C.E. The Egyptian frame drums were of two types: round and square. The round one was called *sar,* and the square one was called *tab.* Some of these frame drums, like some shaman's drums, were very large. A round frame drum from a relief of the Twenty-Second Dynasty (950–730 B.C.E.) measures over a meter in diameter (Farmer 1997). Varieties of frame drums may also be seen on large stone slabs in Hittite temples or friezes. For example, frieze no. 1 in the Ethnological Museum, Ankara, shows a pair of *kudum,* a kind of frame drum, and frieze no. 10 shows a frame drum with jingles inside at the top (tambourine). In the orthostat frieze from the palace of King Barrekup (late Hittite, eighth century B.C.E.), now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, there are two musicians playing frame drums.

The first representations of frame drums in India occur in the sculptures of Bharhut

(second century B.C.E.), Sanchi (first–second centuries B.C.E.) (Deva 1978), and Amaravati (first century B.C.E.–second century C.E.) (Hariharan and Kuppuswamy 1985). The Vedas, the most ancient and revered scriptures in India, held by most Western scholars to date from towards the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E., mention several drums. Beside the *bhumi dundubhi* ("pit drum" or "pot drum") and *dundubhi* (a bowl-shaped drum, or kettledrum) occur the names *dambara* and *lambara.* These drums are unknown, and there is no description of them in the text (Deva 1978), but from the names it is possible to connect these drums with the Sumerian *dapa,* Egyptian *tab,* and, in the Semitic languages, Akkadian *atapu,* Hebrew *tof,* and Arabic *daff,* most of which have been identified as frame drums.

The single-headed frame drum had its origin in Siberia and was probably from the first a shaman's ritual object or instrument. Its size would have been determined by the materials from which it was constructed, the earliest form consisting simply of the skin of a deer or elk or a similar animal stretched over a frame of green sapling bent into a hoop. Primitive drums of this type are still extant among certain Indian tribes of western North America.

Unfortunately there are no surviving examples of such frame drums in Siberia dating from an early period. Although petroglyphs discovered in Mongolia depict a number of cultural items such as weaponry and carts, there are no representations of drums or other musical instruments or even figures that may be identified as shamans, as in the case of the famed Paleolithic wall painting of a shaman found at Lascaux in France.

Early Sumerian Frame Drums

The earliest representations we have of the frame drum, then, are those from Sumer. The Sumerians may have brought the frame drum out of central Asia with them. It was at one time thought that they were the original inhabitants of lower Mesopotamia, but research in the study of proper names shows that many place names in Sumer are not Sumerian words but belong to an earlier people (called Proto-Euphrateans) of unknown origin and linguistic affiliation. It is now believed that the Sumerians migrated into Mesopotamia in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C.E. from somewhere in the region of the Caspian Sea, possibly from a city-state named Aratta. Hence, it is thought that the Sumerians belong to that broad cultural continuum that extended from the Caucasus area eastward through Central Asia into Siberia.

As early as the third millennium B.C.E., Egypt and Ethiopia, known as Magan and Meluhha respectively, were mentioned in Sumerian texts. By the time of Sargon the Great, the founder of the powerful dynasty of Akkad, the influence of Sumer was felt from India to Egypt, and Sargon may even have sent his armies into Egypt, Ethiopia, and India. So far, Semitic equivalents for the Egyptian name for one kind of frame drum, tab, have been attested to only in Akkadian, Hebrew, and Arabic, and the Akkadian appears to be a borrowing from Sumerian. If a common Semitic or Afro-Asiatic root cannot be recovered, then it is likely that the frame drum, along with the Sumerian name for it, came into Egypt as one of the culture items borrowed from Sumer.

It is not clear from the Sumerian representations of the frame drum whether it had any function other than that of a rhythm instrument. It is not possible to say if it was by origin a shaman's drum because no evidence exists of shamanic elements in the Sumerian religion. However, there is a legend that King Etano of Kish, the first ruler of Sumer whose deeds are recorded, ascended into heaven with the aid of an eagle to obtain the "gland of birth," a legend that has a strong shamanistic air. Magical practices as outlined in Sumerian texts have been compared to the healing and exorcist rituals of the Altaic and Uralic shaman (Lenormant 1877). The descent of Lemminkainen into Death's Domain (Lönnot 1967), obviously the account of the familiar shamanist journey into the Underworld, has its parallel in the Sumerian accounts of the descent of the goddess Inanna into the Underworld realm ruled by her sister Ereshkigal and in the Gilgamesh Epic account of the descent of Enkidu to retrieve the *pukku* (drum) and *mikku* (drumstick) fashioned by Inanna from the wood of the *huluppu* tree (perhaps a willow) she planted, which had fallen into that same death's domain (Kramer 1963).

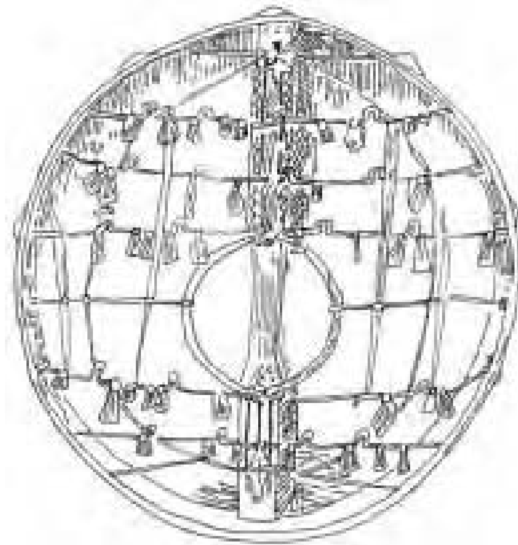
In any case, if the Sumerians brought a shaman's drum with them, they brought a form with jingles on it, for it is in this same general

area that the tambourine spread, in the hands of dancers, westward into Europe and through North Africa and eastward into India.

Early Frame Drums in the Americas

From south India the frame drum was carried to the east coast of southern Africa. The frame drum spread at a very early date from Siberia and then in successive waves into North America; it can be noted that innovations that arose in Siberia later are found on the other side of the Bering Strait closer and closer to Siberia in order of appearance, with the earliest ones being found closest to Siberia.

South America presents a special case, for the sound-producing adjuncts appear to have preceded the drum itself or to have completely superseded it; the typical rhythm instrument which was as a rule used by the shaman was the gourd rattle. At a later period, when the frame drum made an appearance in South America, transmitted there probably by a more direct sea route, a second face was added to the frame drum in Peru so that the drum could contain pebbles or other sound-producing material, thus turning the drum into a kind of rattle. In Chile, a native kettledrum was so modified in form that it came to resemble the broad but shallow drum of Siberia that was its model.



Yenisei Ostyak shaman's drum, back side. (Adapted from Georg Nioradze, 1925, Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern [Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder])

Functions of the Shaman's Drum

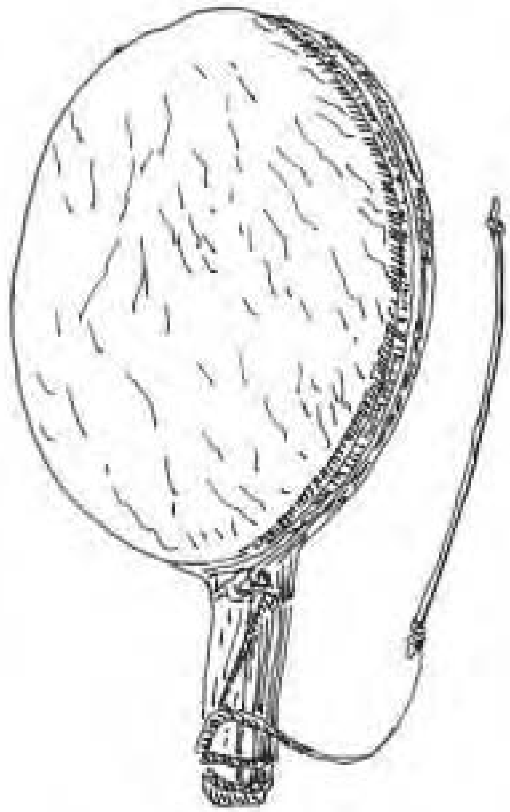
The shaman's drum is still used currently; it has many functions. It serves as the shamans' "mount," on which they ride to the Upper World or the realm of spirits, the hole through which they descend into the Netherworld, or a net in which they catch spirits. The principal function of the drum is through the repeated sound of its rhythm to produce in the shamans a heightened state of consciousness, or a state of ecstasy (Rouget 1985). As a rule, the shamans themselves play the drum and use it to measure the pace of their singing or dancing. But there are also cultures in which the shaman's disciples or assistants may either accompany the shaman on other instruments or may take over the drumming on another drum if the shaman stops playing. This generally happens when the shaman falls into a trance or a trancelike state.

The instruments used by the assistants vary from culture to culture. It hardly matters what these instruments are, for they have no significance for the shamanic ritual other than their sound-producing capacity. But we find in some cases that the shamans themselves do not use a drum but some other instrument, such as the *qopuz,* a stringed instrument of the lute type. What has undoubtedly happened in such cases is that the shamans have taken over an instrument originally used by their assistants. Possibly the drums fell into disuse because the role of music maker was taken over by the assistants, and then the shamans came to use the secondary instruments themselves whenever the assistants were not present or when they had no assistant. This would happen where shamanism suffered a decline.

In cases where the substitute instrument is not a drum, it is easy to recognize that the instrument is a substitute for the shaman's drum, but when it is another type of drum, not a frame drum, the substitute drum may come to be regarded as a variety of, or development of, an earlier shaman's drum, even in cases where it is not.

Korean Shamanism

Particular problems exist with respect to the shaman's drum in Korean shamanism because in



Chukchee shaman's drum. (Adapted from Georg Nioradze, 1925, Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern [Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder])

Korea the female shaman, the *mudang,* far outnumbers and occupies a far more important place in the practice of shamanism at the present time than the *paksu,* or male shaman. Drumming has been relegated to the *kitae,* a musical specialist female shaman who assists the mudang, thus leaving her freedom in her dance. The *changgu,* the principal drum, is a large hour-glass shaped drum; the ends are sixty to ninety centimeters in diameter and are covered with hide (Huhn 1980, 26; Lee 1981, 88). Among the traditional Chinese drums, there are drums of this size, but they are barrel drums, not hourglass drums; there are hourglass drums among the traditional Japanese drums, but they are all small drums. The Korean changgu is a stationary drum, unlike the usual shaman's drum, and the kitae sits to play it. Its origin is the *damaru* of India, Tibet, and ancient Chinese Turkestan. The Korean changgu is thus not derived from the familiar shaman's drum of Siberia but is a substitute for it.

During the ceremony to honor the dead ancestors, the female shaman shakes a set of jingles called *ulsae.* This instrument consists of a metal grip with several metal mirrors, each about ten to thirtheen centimeters in diameter, suspended from each end. Jingles are a frequent adjunct to the shaman's drum in Siberia, but they are used apart from the drum. A small double-headed drum, called *puk,* consisting of a wooden frame with cow skin stretched over it, is used primarily by the male shaman while chanting. A round or oval wicker basket, *tongkoli,* is sounded when the female shaman calls out the spirits of the dead (Lee 1981, 32, 88, 91, 104). Either of these may be derived from the original shaman's drum in Korea. Finally, there is a small round drum with handle, called *soku* (small drum) or *suku* (hand drum), similar to the Japanese *uchiwa-daiko,* with a drumhead made of cowhide or sheepskin, used in instrumental groups and by dancers; it is not mentioned in the sources whether or not this drum is also a shaman's drum.

According to Mircea Eliade, the Lamaist drum of Tibet influenced the shape not only of the Siberian shaman's drum but also that of the Eskimo and Chukchee shaman's drums. The latter, however, are single-headed drums with a handle, and they resemble the *phyed rnga,* "half drum," of the "black Bon" shaman of Tibet, rather than the double-headed drum of the Buddhist lama. Furthermore, such drums have been attested to in use in the Arctic and North America, in Java, Yugoslavia, and India, and hence are not so limited in distribution that they may be traced to a single source.

There is a great difference between a single-headed drum such as the Siberian shaman's drum, which may be held easily in one hand by a dancer, even without a grip in back, and one with a handle, whether single-headed or double-headed, which may be held just as easily. The Tibetan religious dances, like the dance of the Korean female shaman, are performed to the accompaniment of an orchestra consisting of various instruments. There is a formal division of function between a dancer or group of dancers and a musician or group of musicians; thus it is less likely that the Lamaist drum represents an original shaman's drum or is derived

from it than that it originates from some independent source.

In conclusion, the frame drum has an ancient origin and is found worldwide. The single-headed frame drum originated in Siberia and was most likely associated with shamanic activity. However, the earliest representations of frame drums are from Sumer, where the association with shamanism is unclear, with the exception of some legends. The spread of the Siberian single-headed frame drum can be shown by its diffusion into North and possibly South America.

The shaman's drum functions principally to help the shaman achieve an altered state of consciousness where he can have contact with spirits. Often other instruments may be used in a shamanic ceremony, usually by the shaman's assistant. Changes have been noted in the use of the drum by the shaman, either due to a different origin or a different cultural construction placed upon it, as is the case in Korea. However, in general, the single-headed frame drum, with variations, has been associated worldwide with the practice of shamanism.

Roger Finch

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); Chepang Shamanism; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Evenki Shamanism; Finno-Ugric Shamanism; Khakass Shamanism; Korean Shamanism; Tibetan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Boulton, Laura. 1975. *Musical Instruments of World Cultures.* Tempe: Arizona State University.

Buchner, Alexander. 1972. *Folk Music Instruments.* New York: Crown.

Covell, Alan Carter. 1986. *Folk Art and Magic: Shamanism in Korea.* Seoul, Korea: Hollym Corp.

Densmore, Frances. 1927. *Handbook of the Collection of Musical Instruments.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Deva, Bigamudre Chaitanya. 1978. *Musical Instruments of India.* Calcutta: Firma KLM.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Emmons, George Thornton. 1991. *The Tlingit Indians.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Farmer, Henry George. 1997. *Studies in Oriental Music.* Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University.

Hariharan, Muthuswamy, and Gowri Kuppuswamy. 1985. *Music in Indian Art* Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan.

Howard, Joseph H. 1967. *Drums in the Americas.* New York: Oak Publications.

Hsu, Dolores M. 1984. *The Henry Eichheim Collection of Oriental Instruments.* Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California.

Huhn, Halla Pai. 1980. *Kut: Korean Shamanist Rituals.* Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym International.

Izikowitz, Karl Gustav. 1935. *Musical and Other Sound Instruments.* Goteborg: Elanders Boktruckerei.

Kim, Jeong-Hak. 1978. *The Prehistory of Korea.* Honolulu: Honolulu University Press.

Kramer, Samuel Noah. 1963. *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lee, Jung Young. 1981. *Korean Shamanist Rituals.* The Hague/New York: Mouton.

Lenormant, François. *Magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines accadiennes.* English translation, 1877. London: Samuel Bagster.

Lönnrot, Elias. 1967. *Kalevala: Das finnische Epos des Elias Lönnnot.* München: Hauser.

Rouget, Gilbert. 1985. *Music and Trance.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku and Ongaku Gakubu. 1987. *Catalog of the Musical Instrument collection of the Koizumi Fumio Memorial Archives.* Tokyo: Geijutsu Kenkyu Shinko Zaidan.

E

ECOLOGY AND SHAMANISM

Throughout the varied forms of shamanism in diverse cultures worldwide, both male and female shamans cultivate intense, intimate, and transforming relationships with local lands, animals, and life forms, and it is these relationships that are referred to when ecology and shamanism are discussed. We need to note that shamanism is not a distinctive religion that unites strikingly different shaman-healers across cultures, but rather that the term *shamanism* suggests shared patterns of expression evident in the relationships of these ecstatic practitioners with self, society, and environment. These shared expressions can be seen as simply resulting, at least in some cases, from the intimacy of interaction of small-scale societies with their environments. Similarly, a basic impulse, which might be called an ecological imagination in the human family, may cause individuals to relate to local environments in innovative and creative ways.

The forces associated with a shaman's turning into an animal, linking community identity to sacred sites, and calling together the spiritual beings that dwell in the surrounding territory mark activities strongly related to ecology. Whereas aspects of a shaman's traditional environmental knowledge such as plant, animal, and weather knowledge correspond to the empirical knowledge of scientific ecology, these activities more clearly manifest culturally constructed religious ecologies. Religious ecologies involve seeing the environment as animistic, interdependent, and formative of personal and community identities. Found within many small-scale, indigenous communities, the healing and divining arts of shamans present a range of unique individual expressions of culturally specific religious ecologies, the understanding of which demands a reexamination of animism.

As Nurit Bird-David suggested (1999), the concept of animism needs to be revisited for what it has to tell of the strikingly relational character of environmental knowledge evident in shamanism. Knowing spirit presences in the local environment, for example, is not simply a subjective experience that draws shamans away, or alienates them, from their community. Rather, power presences within the environment are understood as persons with whom one establishes relationships entailing privileges and obligations similar to personhood within the human community. As spirit persons, these presences take form in imaginative performances, express desires, undertake willful actions, and are capable of communication. Shamanic rituals are distinctive occasions in which communities talk with the more-than-human persons in the cosmos. Moreover, a shaman's ecstatic performance brings to life his or her knowledge of the world in which a logic of interactive need and relatedness draws together these communities of beings. A shaman's rituals often interrelate the powerful persons of the bush with the village community in order to transform situations of need such as illness, loss, and anxiety.

Shamans also function within the social and psychological boundaries of their societies. This is evident, for example, in their use of kinship terms to describe their relationships with spirits in all the cosmological realms. They develop symbolic expressions of their visionary encounters within the context of culturally constructed cosmologies, cosmologies that interrelate local bioregions with the shamans' inner psychological experiences of spirit persons. This mutually reflexive and creative flow between shamans, their communities, and the powerful persons of the cosmos, then, activates an animistic epistemology, a relational knowing as if between dis-

tinct persons, and a religious ecology that stresses the interrelationship of community, local environment, and the larger cosmos.

This investigation of shamanism and ecology focuses on the ways in which shamans function in terms of three aspects of life: the external environment, for example, of mountains, rivers, and biodiversity; an inner experiential landscape that resonates with the animate world surrounding the human community; and a realized, or functional, cosmology that weaves together the outer environment of other-than-human persons and the shaman's inner psychic world. As will be evident in the examples below, the external environment, the inner psychic world of the shaman, and the generative significance of a people's cosmology cannot be neatly separated out from one another for analysis. Rather, they mutually inform and implicate one another in the holistic lifeways of shamanic cultures, even though they can be identified as distinct dimensions of shamanism (Grim 2001, xxxiii-xxxix).

In his now classic study of the fishing and reindeer-herding Evenki peoples of the Central Siberian Plateau, Arkadii Anisimov (1963) described the shaman's tent and ritual as a "fencing" of Evenki country, so as to protect it from the harmful spirit attacks of Underworld beings and of neighboring shamans. In effect, the ritual configures zones of symbolic activities that manifest the Evenki cosmology of a tripartite world. The shaman's tent is in the middle region, the earth, environment of humans, with an eastern gallery as the celestial realm and a western gallery as the Underworld. The cosmological symbolism of the realms is evident to the Evenki. Thus, the eastern gallery has living green-leafed larch trees that are turned upside down with their roots on top as if anchored in the celestial world. Wooden plaques present spirit images of reindeer and pike symbolically swimming in the Milky Way as river, plaques that are planted in the ground as guardians of this celestial region. Dead larch trees in the western gallery have their roots pointing down to the netherworld with wooden images of spirit birds and ancestral figures that guard the path to the departed. This western gallery, moreover, has multiple wooden board images of eelpouts, elk, stags, salmon trout, and larch trees with birds on top, all arranged in the form of a fish weir to capture any dangerous wolf spirits sent by neighboring shamans to attack the Evenki during the shaman's ritual.

The shaman's tent set on the human earth level has a central larch tree, a fire at its base, and a raft-seat for the shaman with wooden-plaque images of salmon flanked by attending representations of knives, spears, and fish other than pike. In this setting of the external earth environment, the shaman invokes personal forces associated with becoming an animal and undertakes therapeutic journeys to heal members of the community who are ill. Along with healing symbolism, the shaman marshals considerable military might in the form of spirit-animal legions to oppose dangerous intruders into the external environment of the Evenki.

The shaman may symbolically move through all three realms during his ritual performance while he sits on the raft drumming and invoking his spirits. As these animal spirits appear, the shaman ritually places them in the wooden images, thus empowering them to guard the land and the people. When his major animal spirit, or *khargi,* appears, the shaman increasingly identifies with this powerful and intimate spirit presence. Traveling to the celestial regions and the Underworld as his khargi, the shaman repeatedly returns to the local region with healing for the patient. In the same way, he returns with stories of his encounters with spirits and deities of the other regions. His stories and ritual performances evoke even more bird, mammal, and fish spirit-watchmen, who increasingly form a stockade, or fencing, that reaches through the air and across mountains and ridges on behalf of the people and land. These guardian spirits reside in rivers and local bodies of water to guard the people. As long as the shaman lives, these spirit forces stand guard over the land and the people. Should the shaman die, a cultural anxiety arises until a new shaman can reestablish this protective spiritual fencing. The animistic knowledge of the Evenki shaman, therefore, draws on a complex religious ecology that connects animal symbolism, military guardedness, and healing journeys so as to protect the people in their earth environment.

Understanding the ways in which shamans place spirit beings in the environment in conjunction with their personal inner, psychic visions and journeys has opened remarkable new insights into shamanism and ecology. Helpful

in this effort has been the work of Juha Pentikäinen in describing the cognitive mapping of the cosmos within, as is accomplished by mature shamans. Typically this inner topography of mental states corresponds to the external environment. This correspondence is often made manifest in shamans' rituals using layered symbolisms drawing associations between their initiating call experiences, local landforms, and body parts of assisting animals. The topographic sophistication and beauty of these inner mappings are often embodied in shamanic rituals. These ritual enactments of interior states are often the means for dialogue with the powerful beings of the land. One classic expression of this mapping of the inner landscape, with the external environment into a shaman's ritual, can be found in the narratives of the Lakota *wicasa wakan,* or shaman, Nicholas Black Elk.

Black Elk's great vision at the age of nine was told to John Neihardt in 1931, when Black Elk was sixty-eight. The clarity of his narration of the sequence of visionary events suggests the indelible nature of the vision. Black Elk's acute mapping of his inner, visionary topography connects directly to the local geography of the Black Hills, which are sacred to the Lakota. In one section of his vision Black Elk described receiving a daybreak star herb. He recalled the two male spirits who came to him, saying:

> "Behold the center of the earth for we are taking you there." As I looked I could see great mountains with rocks and forests on them. I could see all colors of light flashing out of the mountains toward the four quarters. Then they took me on top of a high mountain where I could see all over the earth. Then they told me to take courage for they were taking me to the center of the earth. . . .
>
> Two men came and stood right in front of us and the west black spirit said: "Behold them, for you shall depend upon them." Then as we stood there the daybreak star stood between the two men from the east. . . . They had an herb in their hands and they gave it to me saying: "Behold this; with this on earth you shall undertake anything and accomplish it." As they presented the herb to me they told me to drop it on earth and when it hit the earth it took root and grew and flowered. You could see a ray of light coming from the flower, reaching the heavens, and all the creatures of the universe saw this light. (DeMallie 1984, 134)

Black Elk eventually narrated his experiences to a shaman, Black Road, who assisted him in reenacting his vision for his people. As Black Elk further pondered his visionary experiences, he undertook a traditional Lakota vision quest, during which he received a vision from the Thunderers causing him to join with other *heyoka,* sacred clown, visionaries. Having expanded his spiritual knowledge, Black Elk was culturally and spiritually equipped to begin mapping his experience of being at the center of the world, and to understand the placement of the daybreak star herb in both his inner visionary world and the local Lakota lands.

Finding the daybreak star herb entailed more than Black Elk's simply searching for the place where he had dropped the herb from his vision into the northern plains of the Missouri River. Rather, locating the herb meant aligning his own visionary experiences of personal centering with the Lakota spiritual world of wakan beings, or power persons. Cognitive awareness of his vision, its purpose, and the Great Plains location of the actual herb joined with a deeply affective, felt understanding of the interrelation of these components as a relational epistemology. Black Elk described it in these words:

> One day I invited One Side to come over and eat with me. I told him I had seen an herb in my dream and we should go out and look for it. . . . That morning we got on our horses and went out in search of this herb. We got on top of a big hill and saw a place and knew this was in the vicinity of the place that I had seen in my vision. We sat down and began to sing the song I had sung in the first vision: "In a sacred manner they are sending voices to you," etc. When we finished singing this song, down toward the west I could see magpies, crows, chicken hawks and eagles swarming around a certain place. I looked over to One Side and said: "Friend, right there is the herb." (DeMallie 1984, 235)

The affirmation by the creatures circling around the herb linked place, plant, and Black Elk's vision experiences. The birds signaled both this cognitive awareness and deeply affec-

tive knowledge by which Black Elk had mapped his vision onto the land. These modes of sensual and intellectual knowing enabled Black Elk to connect his inner visionary landscape with his Lakota people's land as well as with the invisible and powerful wakan realm, so as to be able to respond to the human world of need. This mapping of the visionary daybreak star herb with the actual plant was the final preparation for Black Elk to begin his work as a healer and adviser to his people.

These examples manifest a realized, or functional, cosmology in which the story, or understanding transmitted in oral narratives of the all-pervasive powers of the cosmos, is woven both into the local environment and into the daily activities and material culture of the community. Shamans exemplify, but are not necessarily the sole religious figures associated with, the realization of cosmological power. The sophistication and skill with which shamans activate these therapeutic and inspirational relationships with more-than-human forces is amplified and expanded throughout the diverse ethnography on shamanism. A prominent characteristic in many cultural settings is the manner in which shamans become cosmic persons aligned with the powerful persons of their visions and dreams. In these roles shamans are believed capable of traveling in cosmic realms, of sustaining social order and environmental balance, and of penetrating into hidden personal, social and cosmic realms.

In her studies of the Wana people of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, Jane Atkinson focused on the shamanic drumming ceremony called *mabolong,* at which the shaman calls an extraordinary crowd of spirit presences. Conversing with these powerful persons, the shaman speaks in esoteric and ordinary language styles that both conceal secrets of these presences and subtly reveal relationships that empower the shaman. Atkinson describes the profound interrelationship of person, environment, and cosmos according to Wana shamanship:

> The person, like the cosmos, possesses hidden as well as accessible dimensions. What is more, the hidden aspects of the person interact with the hidden aspects of the world beyond the person. Shamans alone can mediate that interaction. Because the well-being of a person is dependent on the behavior of others, both spirits and humans through their actions can intentionally or unintentionally disrupt one's state of health. A person's well-being rests on a fragile assemblage of hidden elements: when these elements are concentrated in their proper places, the person thrives; when they are dispersed, the person grows weak and sick. In this sense the person and the polity are homologous. Like a person, the Wana homeland prospered when "knowledge," "power," and "wealth" were concentrated at their source, but when these elements departed for the "end of the earth," this prosperity declined. Only when these elements are reassembled at their origin will the homeland recover, like a patient whose soul parts have been restored. (Atkinson 1989, 119)

Thus, Wana shamans model a remarkable cosmological gaze in their sensitivity to the local environment. Their thaumaturgical display of cosmological power evokes the collective spirit elements from the "ends of the earth" in order to restore individual, community, and environmental harmony. This activation of cosmological forces is also evident in healing by Temiar spirit mediums of Central Malaysia.

In her work, Marina Roseman (1991) described the ways in which the soul of a flower, bird, animal, or mountain in the rainforest detaches from its outward form and appears to the roaming head-soul of a dreaming Temiar spirit medium. Gifting the human dreamer with a song, the spirit guide sets in motion the potential for the healer to identify illness agents that also come to individuals from the rainforest environment as detached, disorderly spiritual elements. It is the healer's task to move the cosmos back into harmony by performing dream-songs that transmit the cool, spiritual liquid called *kahyek,* which combines the inner force of foliage, rivers, rain, and dew. For the Temiar, singing embodies this transformative process, clearly demonstrating how healers align themselves with culturally determined cosmological forces to respond to individual, community, and environmental needs.

Describing a similar act of alignment, within a totally different cultural setting, Johannes Wilbert (1993) wrote of the *wishiratu,* Warao shamans of the Orinoco River delta in Guiana. These shamans work with fire, tobacco, magnificently crafted rattles, and quartz crystals

maintaining the light, *mehokohi,* in the chests of the living by traveling the spiritual roads of Warao cosmology to negotiate with the powerful spirits. The Warao sense of a "participatory universe" provides the context in which their shamans weave their own inner revelatory experiences with the warp and weft of cultural lifeway and local environment.

John A. Grim

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); Celtic Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Evenki Shamanism; Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance; Indonesian Shamanism; Lakota Shamanism

References and further reading:

Anisimov, Arkadii. 1963. "Cosmological Concepts of the Peoples of the North." Pp. 85–92 in *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Edited by Henry N. Michael. Toronto: Arctic Institute of North America.

Atkinson, Jane Monnig. 1989. *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanship.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam, ed. 1990. *Shamanism: Soviet Studies of Traditional Religion in Siberia and Central Asia.* Armonk, NY, and London: M. E. Sharpe.

Bird-David, Nurit. 1999. "'Animism' Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology." *Current Anthropology* 40, Supplement, February: S67–S91.

DeMallie, Raymond, ed. 1984. *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Grim, John A. 1983. *The Shaman: Patterns of Religious Healing among the Ojibway Indians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

———, ed. 2001. *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Interbeing of Community and Cosmos.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for the Harvard Divinity School Center for the Study of World Religions.

Humphrey, Caroline, with Urunge Onon. 1996. *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Daur Mongols.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley. 2001. *Shamans through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge.* New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/ Putnam.

Pentikäinen, Juha, ed. 1996. *Shamanism and Northern Ecology.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Roseman, Marina. 1991. *Healing Sounds from the Malaysian Rainforest: Temiar Music and Medicine.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Vitebsky, Piers. 1995. *Shamanism.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Wilbert, Johannes. 1993. *Mystic Endowment: Religious Ethnography of the Warao Indians.* Harvard University Press for the Harvard Divinity School Center for the Study of World Religions.

ENTHEOGENS (PSYCHEDELIC DRUGS) AND SHAMANISM

The term *entheogen* was initially proposed to free the study of shamanism and comparative religion from the pejorative connotations associated with terms like *hallucinogen* and *psychedelic.* Introduced in 1979, it is now widely accepted, both within professional disciplines and in common usage, as a more appropriate term than those words that imply that the visionary religious experience that results from the ingestion of the substance is illusory or otherwise inauthentic (Ott 1993, 104). Entheogens are "vision-producing drugs that figure in shamanic or religious rites" (Ruck et al. 1979, 146). Combining the ancient Greek adjective *entheos* (inspired, animate with deity) and the verbal root in *genesis* (becoming), it signifies "something that causes the divine to reside within one." The ingestion of entheogens makes the celebrant consubstantial with the deity, providing a communion and shared existence mediating between the human and the Divine. The word's strong spiritual implications make it a useful and accurate term for describing the historical-cultural role of such sacred foods in the study of religions. *Entheobotany* investigates a culture's use of psychoactive plants within a sacred context. It relies upon aspects of anthropology, ethnology, psychology, philosophy, folklore and mythology studies, theology, and interdisciplinary methodologies.

An entheogen is any substance that, when ingested, catalyzes or generates an altered state

of consciousness deemed to have spiritual significance. Like shamanism itself, entheogenic spirituality is dependent upon, and defined by, this induction of altered states of consciousness. Altered states of consciousness are often considered indispensable to such typical shamanic practices as diagnosis, curing, soul retrieval, and communication with ancestor and nature spirits (Winkelman 2000). In myth, they are an integral element in the basic story of the hero or heroine who founds the pathways of communication between the human and the divine, and they are viewed as validating the community's spiritual life (Schultes and Hofmann 1979).

Richard Rudgley and others have noted that, to the degree that present cultures do not value altered states of consciousness, they are aberrations, "out of step with the entire record of human experience" (Rudgley 1993, 172). As a product of just such an aberrant culture, modern scholarship has largely ignored the significance of altered states of consciousness and the means by which they are accessed, often dismissing them instead as the result of primitive spiritual instincts or mental illness (Harner 1973).

Although the present sociopolitical environment has marginalized the central role of entheogenic substances in the study of religion and culture, this situation has begun to change. Much of the shift in attitude can be traced, ironically, to the same popular "psychedelic" movement, beginning in the 1950s, which fed a prejudice *against* these substances in academic and medical research. It has been pointed out, however, that members of the first generation of academics to take serious account of the role of entheogens were taking their university training during the 1960s (Devereux 1997).

The academic study of the entheogens is a comparatively recent phenomenon, as is recognition of them as a basic formative influence in the shaping of cultures (Schultes and Hofmann 1979). It is now widely accepted that entheogens represent one of the most direct, powerful, reliable, and ancient means of inducing "authentic" shamanic altered states of consciousness. Entheogens may, in fact, be the only reliable way of inducing the often extreme alteration of consciousness commonly associated with ecstatic shamanic states.

When the entheogenic sacrament is taken, mythopoetic traditions are relived and reinfused with profound immediacy and power. The entire congregation becomes sacralized, making its members worthy to be in the presence of Divinity, and of the subsequent gnostic vision that validates the culture's theology.

Entheogenic epiphany is commonly described as a state where all distinctions and boundaries between the individual and the metaphysical realm dissolve into a mystical and consubstantial communion with the Divine. Thus, this ecstatic experience is interpreted as a pure and primal Consciousness, which brings the individual into direct contact with the root of being. Shamanic practices ascribe highest importance to the regular access to such transcendental states; this point of contact with divine influence ensures the undisturbed continuation of natural cycles and protects against the potential dangers of unappeased or neglected gods or spirits. The entheogenic experience, though inexplicable in mundane language, is often considered more real and vibrant than ordinary consciousness (Schultes and Hofmann 1979).

Since shaman, entheogen, and deity come to share a common identity, all three become consubstantial, with both the human and the god or gods acquiring attributes of the ingested botanical agent that brought them together. (Ruck and Staples 1995). Weston La Barre (1972) concluded that the ecstasy-driven shamanic Ur-religion followed a cultural programming that inclined it to pursue the entheogenic effects of plants. Eliade's early opinion, retracted shortly before his death, that these plants represented a late and decadent form of shamanism was a profound error (Ott 1993), contributing to decades of academic marginalization.

The Entheogenic Roots of Religion

With the emergence of Neanderthal culture about 60,000 years ago, we find evidence of the specialized knowledge of medicinal plants linked to the burial of an apparent shaman figure at the Shanidar cave in Iraq. It seems clear that our rapidly evolving ancestors, at the very origin of the species, developed shamanic religious and ritual structures around chemically altered states of consciousness. The very impetus for human religiosity may well have originated in the awe felt by these earliest humans

after initial "accidental" ingestion of entheogenic foodstuffs (Wasson et al. 1986; La Barre 1972; Schultes and Hofmann 1979; McKenna 1992; Winkelman 1996). The fact that cross-culturally the use of entheogens declines as social and political complexity increases (Dobkin de Rios 1984; Winkelman 1996) supports the hypothesis that entheogens were an important, and perhaps even necessary, primal fundament for the development of shamanism.

Recognition of the powerful spiritual forces that seemed to reside within these special plants would inevitably have become fundamental knowledge for the group. The gifted visionaries most adept at eliciting and enduring the experience would be enlisted as what we now call the shamans, and entrusted with establishing and managing the pathways of communication, appeasing and attempting to control the spiritual forces through ritual enactments and proscriptions. Experiences of contact gave rise to various myths, and further experimentation produced a sophisticated tradition of entheobotanical lore. Such a scenario would have been repeated innumerable times, with traditions sometimes diffusing rapidly, while elsewhere remaining isolated.

Archaeological evidence suggests that entheogenic plants have been employed by humans since the most remote antiquity. All around the globe, evidence of prehistoric and shamanic use of entheogenic plants has been uncovered, from the 4,000-year-old mescal beans *(Sophora segundiflora)* found along the Rio Grande river basin and the cache of ancient peyote cacti *(Lophophora williamsii)* found in Texas to the mushroom stones (and related ceramics) of Mesoamerica, China, and Paleolithic Old Europe and the so-called mead-drinking Venus of Laussel, dating from the Upper Paleolithic.

Some of the earliest and most striking indications of the shamanic use of entheogens comes from the petroglyphs of the Tassili plateau in the southern Algerian desert, dating from between about 20,000 to 7,000 years ago. One is explicitly a shamanic figure with the face of a bee and mushrooms sprouting all over his body, indicating his consubstantiality with the spirit of the fungal entheogen. Another portrays individuals running with mushrooms in their hands.

A shamanic figure with the face of a bee and mushrooms sprouting all over his body. Tassili Plateau, Algeria. (Courtesy of Kathleen Harrison)

Still other examples of rock art identifying the painter with the entheogen occur in the Americas, such as the Panther Cave site in Texas, where the humanoid figures are clearly botanical, each having a cactus body with a foliaged arm, bearing thorn apple (*Datura*) fruits. In Siberia, where *Amanita muscaria* is still known and shamanically used in the twenty-first century, Bronze Age petroglyphs depict mushrooms and mushroom-spirits. Similarly archaic figures have been found elsewhere in Siberia, Scandinavia, Denmark, and around the world (Devereux 1997). Linguistic evidence for Siberian mushroom inebriation goes back at least 7,000 years (Wasson et al. 1986). In addition to the common "mushroom-stones" of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica, figurines of shamans occur portrayed beneath the canopy of their fungal entheogen. Cross-culturally the artistic expression of shamanic visionary experience associated with entheogens is common.

Male Figure with Dog, 200 B.C.E.–500 C.E. Mexico, Nayarit. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Proctor Stafford Collection)

Although this evidence is geographically scattered, there is a growing body of compelling data indicating that entheogens were an integral aspect of ancient rituals of shamanism, as they are in many primal cultures today. The cultural and ritual forms observed today probably resemble closely those of tens of thousands of years ago, and it is likely these entheogenic ritual forms have persisted in some places into the present without significant interruption. On the basis of Wasson's findings, La Barre concluded that the entheogenic mushroom cults of the proto-Indo-European, Uralic, and Paleo-Siberian peoples were of sufficient antiquity to make Old and New World traditions ethnographically related. Hence he argued for the "very great antiquity of man's ritual utilization of plants with psychotomimetic properties" (La Barre 1972, 270).

Though the importance of foods and dietary changes is widely accepted in contemporary evolutionary theory, the specific biochemical mechanisms of genetic mutation remain unknown, as does the evolutionary role of psychoactive substances. These unique plants, in fact, may have played a significant role in human evolution, both physically, in offering selective advantages such as strength, endurance, and improved visual acuity, and due to their marked effects on cognition, which probably lent important stimulus to the emergence of the human capacity for abstract reasoning, symbolic thought, and language, as well as stimulating the religious capacities that distinguish our species (Dobkin de Rios 1984; Devereux 1997; McKenna 1992).

Anthropologically, humans are "tricksters." That is, we are the animal characterized by the "tricks" it plays, with minor technological advances leading to major selective advantages. These technological tricks are a product of what is called abstraction reasoning, and our success as a species has resulted from accumulating and improving these tricks. It has been suggested that the intentional, continuing, and long-term use of these plant teachers is precisely the kind of trick that might account for the scientifically baffling sudden evolution of the protohuman neocortex between about one and two million years ago (McKenna 1992).

It is possible, too, that the human capacity for ecstatic integrative experience may have evolved in furtherance of the procreative sex drive. The mystical trance is often experienced as an orgasmic union with the cosmos, and it is important to note that psychoactive plants are commonly considered effective aphrodisiacs and are often used as such. If the transcendent emotions evolved to augment such a fundamental and primal instinct, the close similarity of sexual and entheogenic states suggests an extremely archaic cooperation of plants and humans in coevolution. Such speculation is supported by the fact that humans are capable of endogenously producing entheogenic compounds such as DMT (dimethyltryptamine) and have evolved very specific receptor sites, which enable plant-based neurotransmitters to induce liminal states.

Speculation and unanswered questions aside, it is clear that entheogens have played a far more significant role in the evolution of human cultures than has been generally recognized (Schultes and Hofmann 1979).

From a scientific perspective, it is important to consider that although there are comparatively few species of entheogenic plants, they manufacture a host of rare and unique chemicals, which, in turn, have profound effects on the human nervous system and neurochemistry. The effects that occur are remarkably universal, regardless of cultural conditioning. For instance, without knowledge of its effects on indigenous peoples, urban subjects under the influence of entheogens often report experiences that closely parallel well-known themes of shamanic experience. The cross-cultural similarity of experiences, as well as the interpretations of entheogenic states, reflects a commonality of underlying biological mechanisms (Winkelman 1996).

The Sociocultural Role of Entheogens

Erika Bourguignon performed a cross-cultural study of altered states in 1973, and from a sample of 488, found that altered states of consciousness were institutionalized within a spiritual framework in 90 percent of these societies (Bourguignon 1973). Anthropologist Marlene Dobkin de Rios discussed the shamanic use of "hallucinogens" in eleven different cultures and found that similar traits emerged. She found that psychoactive substances were typically used in the following ways: magico-religiously, within a ceremonial context, to contact and celebrate spiritual forces, to diagnose or treat an illness, for divination, and to promote social solidarity (Dobkin de Rios 1984).

Some of the shamanic cultures that have placed a central emphasis on entheogens, even into modern times, include Siberian and Central Asian tribes, such as the Koryak, Chukchi, Ostyak, and Kamchadal; the Huichol of central Mexico; the cultures of Lower Mexico, Amazonia, and Peru; the ancestral Bwiti cult of west-central Africa; and the Native cultures of North America.

Many other examples of intact entheobotanical traditions exist, while many more have been lost to the passage of time, or obscured due to the effects of heightened social and political organization as well as ongoing persecution. Also, it is common for cultures to adopt surrogates (such as alcoholic "spirits") in the traditional role of the entheogen, the sacrament then becoming known to only a small minority, or lost completely. In such cases, artistic or mythological elements often preserve some distinguishable traces of the plant god. Even where ritual inebriation is generally shunned, as among certain Pueblo Indians, the shamans still exhibit a close spiritual tie with the plant that is used in their sacrament; a case in point is the relationship of Zuni rain priests with *Datura stramonium* (La Barre 1972).

Because hunter-gatherers tend not to ritualize or socialize the use of entheogens to the same degree observed in agricultural societies, some investigators have argued that psychoactive plants emerge into culture along with an agricultural economy. However, the fact that shamanic religion is more developed among hunter-gatherers supports the conclusion that such plants have always been used to broker personal relationships with spirits, even though agriculturalists attach a greater ritual and social significance to the entheogenic experience. Hence, the "great period of ritual entheogens" is the Neolithic, which corresponds with the beginning of agriculture (Wilson 1999, 9–10). The rituals temporarily recreate a more primal connection with nature in its chthonic and chaotic fullness, a connection that is needed in the new situation. With agriculture both a literal and psychical chasm opens between "culture" and "chaos," and this dichotomy becomes the primary existential anxiety demanding the full attention of the community's religious impulses. As the vitality of the chthonic lapses from consciousness, the loss continues to be felt, and it is expressed to some degree in all great and small "redemptive" religions that evolved in settled agricultural cultures (Wilson 1999). The entheogenic origins of these religions may be considered in terms of an impulse to revisit the more balanced spiritual consciousness of a preagricultural "golden age," and specifically the need to reconnect with the primal root of all creation. Thus entheogenic experience becomes the personal touchstone of contact with natural forces (La Barre 1972).

The shift of the focus of anxiety from that present in a hunting ecology, dependent as it is on the fortunes of the hunt, to that found in a settled agricultural life, dependent on the vagaries of weather, started in the Neolithic; this shift resulted in a concomitant change from a more archaic form of shamanism to religions with defined priestly roles. It is this change that can help account for the later accretions that

have obscured most of the archaic, shamanic elements of what became the advanced agricultural civilizations (La Barre 1972).

The earliest and most historically significant mythological and religious traditions prominently feature magical foods such as the Mesopotamian "herb of immortality," the Vedic soma (and Avestan *haoma*), as well as the Chinese *ling chih,* "fungus of immortality," the nectar and ambrosia that fed the gods of ancient Greece, and the eye-opening Judeo-Christian "forbidden fruit" of the Garden of Eden.

Just as the entheogen figures mythopoetically as the object of the hero's quest, which as a recurrent theme is itself derived from the tales about the culture's founding shamans (Ruck and Staples 1995), it functions as well as the agent in initiation, where the role of the hero and "primordial shaman" is reenacted on a personal level: The individual achieves full membership in the sacred community by partaking of the entheogenic sacrament (La Barre 1972). Self-sacrifice, in the form of preparatory ordeals such as periods of prolonged fasting, special diets, difficult pilgrimages, sexual abstention, exposure to extremes of heat or cold, sleep deprivation, and flagellation, is often ritualized as the prerequisite or circumstance for the ingestion of the sacred food. Generally such sacrifice is considered the means for attaining the ritual purity necessary to elicit the desired experience from the plant spirit.

Such trials are especially common in the context of initiations or prolonged vision quests, where the subject may experience an ecstatic death and rebirth (often described in terms of dismemberment and reintegration). The ecstatic death can be understood as an extension and result of approaching literal death through starvation, dehydration, exhaustion, or the like. Although entheogens are often taken as "medicine" to relieve pain and confer uncommon strength and stamina, they are also used (and in heroic doses) as the catalyst of a culminating trial in the candidate's initiation or petition. Indeed, the entheogen may be required to make the supreme ordeal physically bearable. Among both the earlier hunter-gatherers and the subsequent agricultural peoples, entheogenic plants have always been revered and feared. Such respect is demonstrated by their exalted status in mythology and by the secrecy and taboos that often surround their use. Thus, the seriousness and danger attributed to these plants have always been a defining characteristic. They have a frightening and uncanny aura, which contributes to their powerful potential as catalysts of personal and communal integration (Schultes and Hofmann 1979).

Perhaps most often the entheogen assumes the role of a "plant teacher," revealing previously unknown or inaccessible information and offering a reliable means of inducing trance states for common shamanic tasks such as healing, resolving conflict, finding lost objects, and otherwise accessing information by nonordinary (i.e., "psychic" or telepathic) means. Lacking organic, pathological models for understanding disease, the shaman uses entheogens as the ultimate medicine, and although other remedies may be known and employed, these "plants of the gods" are ascribed a superior sacred status as panaceas.

Often confronted with difficult hermeneutic dilemmas, students of shamanism have long recognized that entheogenic and other altered states of consciousness—being inherently "mystical" experiences—are not easily described by means of common language. Many reports support the assertion that entheogenic altered states of consciousness and peak religious experiences are identical. Thus, "being intoxicated with God" is indeed a very accurate description not only of entheogenic states, but also of mystical experience, as well as shamanic ecstasy.

Mark Hoffman

Carl A. P. Ruck

See also: Archaeology of Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Classical World Shamanism; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Huichol Shamanism; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Peyote Ritual Use

References and further reading:

Bourguignon, Erika, ed. 1973. *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change.* Columbus: Ohio University Press.

Devereux, Paul. 1997. *The Long Trip: A Prehistory of Psychedelia.* New York: Penguin Books.

Dobkin de Rios, Marlene. 1984. *Hallucinogens: Cross-Cultural Perspectives.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Harner, Michael J., ed. 1973. *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* New York: Oxford University Press.

La Barre, Weston. 1972. "Hallucinogens and the Shamanic Origins of Religion." Pp. 261–278 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual use of Hallucinogens.* Edited by Peter T. Furst. Rev. ed. New York: Praeger.

McKenna, Terence. 1992. *Food of the Gods: The Search for the Original Tree of Knowledge.* New York: Bantam Books.

Ott, Jonathan. 1993. *Pharmacotheon: Entheogenic Drugs, their Plant Sources and History.* Kennewick, WA: Natural Products Company.

Ruck, Carl A. P., et al. 1979. "Entheogens." *Journal of Psychedelic Drugs* 11, nos. 1–2: 145–146.

Ruck, Carl A. P., and (Blaise) Danny Staples. 1995. *The World of Classical Myth: Gods and Goddesses, Heroes and Heroines.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

Rudgley, Richard. 1993. *Essential Substances: A Cultural History of Intoxicants in Society.* New York: Kodansha International.

———. 1999. *The Lost Civilizations of the Stone Age.* New York: Free Press.

Schultes, Richard E., and Albert Hofmann. 1979. *Plants of the Gods: Their Sacred, Healing and Hallucinogenic Powers.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Wasson, Gordon R. 1968. *Soma: Divine Mushroom of Immortality.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Wasson, Gordon R., et al. 1986. *Persephone's Quest: Entheogens and the Origins of Religion.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Wilson, Peter L. 1999. *Ploughing the Clouds: The Search for Irish Soma.* San Francisco: City Lights Books.

Winkelman, Michael. 1996. "Psychointegrator Plants: Their Roles in Human Culture, Consciousness and Health." *Yearbook of Cross-Cultural Medicine and Psychotherapy* 1995: 9–53.

———. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

ENTOPTIC IMAGES

Entoptic images are luminous, scintillating, geometric visual percepts that are perceived in an early, or "light," stage of altered consciousness. They are also known, somewhat confusingly, as phosphenes and form constants. Some writers prefer to reserve the term *phosphenes* for comparable percepts that are generated within the eye itself, as, for example, by pressure on the eyeball. By contrast, *entoptic* means "within the optic system" and may thus include phosphenes and geometric percepts that are wired into the optic nerve or the visual cortex. *Form constant* refers to the cross-cultural nature of the geometric percepts: Their forms are universally constant.

Entoptic forms are perceived independently of an external light source. They include bright dots that may appear as clouds or as chains, zigzags, nested catenary curves, grid patterns, jagged sun-burst forms, and sets of parallel lines. All the forms are visible with the eyes open or closed; when the eyes are open the forms are projected onto veridical percepts, partially obliterating them. They also flicker, change from one form to another, and expand through the field of vision until they pass beyond the periphery. Initially, subjects find the array of entoptic images bewildering, but practice makes it possible to discern the individual forms.

Although the existence of entoptic images was known in the nineteenth century, some of the best work on them was done in the 1920s by Heinrich Klüver (1966). He and other researchers found that the percepts could be induced by a wide range of stimulants, including ingestion of psychotropic substances, electrical stimulation of the brain, pathological conditions, including migraine (the so-called fortification illusion is well known to migraine sufferers), sensory deprivation, pain, and aural and physical rhythmic driving. The means of induction is related to emotional circumstances: Entoptic percepts induced by psychotropes are far more emotionally charged that those produced by, say, clinical electrical stimulation.

As subjects move into deeper, more autistic altered states of consciousness, they try to make sense of their entoptic percepts. They interpret them as images of emotionally charged objects or items prominent in their mythical system. This stage has been designated stage two and called construal. In stage three, deep altered states, entoptic images become peripheral in the visionary field, or integrated with true hallucinations of animals, monsters, therianthropic fig-

ures, and so forth. Such iconic hallucinations are not in themselves entoptic, though they may have entoptic elements within them; they do not derive from the actual wiring of the brain. At this stage, emotions may be ecstatic or charged with fear (whence good or bad "trips").

Later, a number of researchers discerned formal parallels between entoptic percepts and images that were believed to be shamanistic in origin. Among these writers were Max Knoll, Joseph Eichmeier, and Oskar Höfer. It was, however, Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff who first explored, rather than simply noting, a possible association between the images of stage one and shamanistic visions. Working with the Tukano and other shamanistic people of South America, he found that they painted on their bodies, bark-cloth, ceramics, and houses formalized patterns that they themselves said they saw in *yajé*-induced altered states of consciousness. Set side by side, the patterns painted by the Tukano were clearly homologous with the entoptic forms that Knoll and others had identified. Reichel-Dolmatoff concluded that the Tukano were painting entoptic images. He also found that the Tukano ascribed meanings to the forms: For instance, parallel chains of small dots were said to be the Milky Way, the destination of shamanistic flight, while wavy parallel lines were said to be the "thoughts of the Sun-Father" (1978, 88). A spiral was said to symbolize incest and the threat of pollution. The Tukano told Reichel-Dolmatoff that this design element derived from the imprint left in the sand by the lower end of a ritual trumpet, an instrument of great importance in Tukano religion, involved in the maintenance of exogamic rules and male supremacy. It was this formal similarity that led them to identify their entoptic percept.

These few instances exemplify two key points. All shamans who enter altered states of consciousness have the potential to see the same geometric entoptic images because they are "wired into" the human nervous system. Communities tend to focus on certain forms and to ignore others. The meanings that they ascribe to each of the selected forms are also culturally specific; it would not, for example, be possible for an outsider to guess the meaning that the Tukano ascribed to the spiral, one of the most common entoptic forms, the one that leads into the deepest levels of altered states. The forms are universal, but the meanings are contingent. The Tukano serve as a useful example, but clearly other shamanistic communities could readily be cited.

The insights of Knoll, Reichel-Dolmatoff, and others were taken up by rock art researchers with mixed results. Critics of the rock art work have pointed out that the presence of a single spiral does not necessarily mean a shamanistic art. The researchers have rightly responded that no one proposes such a simplistic inference. To clarify the debate, they have distinguished between two kinds of context: those rock arts for which there is some ethnographic suggestion that the people who made the images were shamanistic, and those for which there is no ethnography. Often, as in the case of southern African San rock art, associated images of ethnographically well-documented San shamanistic trance dancers suggest that the geometrics (usually somewhat rare) incorporated into true hallucinations of the spirit realm were probably entoptic. Where there is no ethnography at all, researchers should be circumspect. They need to find out how many design elements parallel entoptic forms; one or two elements will not be persuasive, but a wide range could be more significant. Even then, researchers should examine other images to see if any are comparable with stage three hallucinations before suggesting a shamanistic context. Some of the most successful research on entoptic elements in rock art has been conducted in southern Africa and North America, where there is abundant ethnography to suggest that the arts are shamanistic.

J. D. Lewis-Williams

See also: !Kung Healing, Ritual, and Possession; Art and Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Rock Art and Shamanism; Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives

References and further reading:

Eichmeier, Joseph, and Oskar Höfer. 1974. *Endogene Bildmuster.* Munich: Urban and Schwarzenberg.

Hedges, Kenneth. 1976. "Southern California Rock Art as Shamanistic Art." *American Indian Rock Art* 2: 126–138.

Klüver, Heinrich. [1928] 1966. Reprint. *Mescal and Mechanisms of Hallucinations.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Knoll, Max. 1958. "Anregung geometrischer Figuren und anderer subjektiver Lichtmuster in Elektrischen Feldern." *Zeitschrift für Psychologie* 17: 110–126.

Lewis-Williams, J. David. 1995. "Seeing and Construing: The Making and 'Meaning' of a Southern African Rock Art Motif." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5: 3–23.

Lewis-Williams, J. David, and Thomas A. Dowson. 1988. "Signs of All Times: Entoptic Phenomena in Upper Palaeolithic Art." *Current Anthropology* 29: 201–245.

Oster, Gerald. 1970. "Phosphenes." *Scientific American* 222: 83–87.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Geraldo. 1978. *Beyond the Milky Way: Hallucinatory Imagery of the Tukano Indians.* Los Angeles: UCLA Latin America Center.

Whitley, David S. 2000. *The Art of the Shaman: Rock Art of California.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

ETHNOCENTRISM AND SHAMANISM

Ethnocentrism refers to the tendency to see, interpret, and, especially, judge other cultures in terms of one's own culture and cultural suppositions. In its most commonly applied understanding, it refers to the belief that one's own culture is superior to other cultures, leading to grotesque misunderstandings of the behaviors of others, intellectual distortions of what they believe, and even violent persecutions of others for their beliefs and practices. Ethnocentrism in all its forms has influenced the various ways outsiders have viewed and reacted to shamanism.

As described originally in what has been considered its classic form, in Siberia and Central Asia, shamanism refers to a complex of beliefs and practices revolving around an ecstatic magico-religious specialist, or shaman, in a small, close-knit community (prototypically though not exclusively a community that lives by hunting and gathering), of the kind found among the Tungus (Evenki), Chuckchi, Buryat, Yakut (Sakha), and other Siberian tribes (Shirokogoroff 1982; Vitebsky 2001). The shamanic candidate suffers a profound personal crisis (the calling); after recovering, the candidate is considered a shaman and performs dramatic rituals for the community. These rituals may include mystifying feats and the shaman's entering trance, sometimes by ingesting hallucinogenic plants, and always associated with drumming. In trance, the shaman's soul travels to upper and lower worlds and battles spirits and retrieves lost souls in order to heal individuals or ensure the community's well-being (e.g., by enabling successful hunting). The shaman may also summon spirits to help in the spiritual quest. Other magico-religious complexes that resemble Siberian shamanism to varying degrees have been identified throughout the Americas, South and Southeast Asia, and other areas (Townsend 1999, 429–433; Vitebsky 2001, 26–51). All of these forms of shamanism have provoked ethnocentric reactions, but two kinds of reaction stand out in the literature: the various reactions of the state (notably the Soviet and Western colonial governments, with their respective ideological and religious foundations) and the reactions of scholars (especially those scholars shaped by western European and American culture).

Ethnocentric States, Their Ideologies or Religions, and Shamanism

Most of the areas of classical Siberian and Asian shamanism came under Soviet Communist rule in 1917, and by the late 1920s the regime had instigated a widespread campaign to eliminate shamanism from that huge region. According to the Soviets' Marxist-based ideology, all religions promoted backwardness and a "false ideology," a cover or facade for some form of domination over the people, and thus constituted a major obstacle to the Soviet's socialist agenda. Since shamanism did not have any churches or temples that the Soviet state could destroy, shamans themselves became the focus of the persecution. Moreover, since shamans were so essential to their tribal communities and their people believed that they held spiritual powers, the Soviets considered them particularly threatening and branded them "exploiters" and "enemies of the people." Typically, the shamans' ritual paraphernalia were destroyed, and they were exiled to labor camps, tortured, or killed, as in one dramatic account of shamans being dropped from helicopters and told to fly (Vitebsky 2001, 136). As part of

the campaign, local representatives of the League of Militant Godless gathered information on shamans, spread anti-shaman propaganda, and tried to replace shamanism with the Lenin-Stalin Cult, in which Lenin and Stalin were portrayed as all-powerful solar deities who could defeat all evils (Bodley 1982, 116).

Earlier in North America after the American Civil War (1861–1865), the U.S. government launched a similarly ethnocentric campaign of cultural genocide against the Indians and their shamanic beliefs and practices. Initially aiming to "pacify" and to "civilize the savage," so the argument went, the government confined Indians to reservations en masse and pressured them to practice Euro-American customs, including Christianity, in place of their shamanic religions. Because the Euro-Americans in the big cities at the time continued to view the Indians as savages, lesser beings on an evolutionary scale who could not know what was good and right, they came to believe that the Indians had to be forced to learn. By 1889, President Harrison declared an urgent policy of forced acculturation (forced adoption of American culture). Indians were to be rigorously forced to abandon their own beliefs and practices, and completely reeducated, which, it was declared, would ensure a better life for them and for the many pioneers who wanted their land (Kehoe 1989, 14–15, 28–30). Indian children were removed from their homes, put up for adoption by Euro-American families, or placed in brutal boarding schools, often run by the U.S. Army and especially designed to change the culture of the children (see photos). Laws forbade "pagan" Indian ceremonies, as the Indian Bureau feared they would inhibit the spread of Christian beliefs and values. Among the Washo Indians, for instance, shamanism was practically eradicated by the 1890s during the forced acculturation of American Indian children (Bodley 1982, 117; Handelman 1967, 447–448).

Earlier still, in Central and South America, zealous sixteenth century Catholic missionaries tied to the Spanish colonial invasion viewed and judged shamanism from their own European cultural framework, which was founded on Catholic cosmology, notions of good and evil spirits, and prominent beliefs at the time in Europe about "witches," "witchcraft," and making pacts with the Devil. Consequently, when they encountered Indian shamans who spoke of spells and spirits and used hallucinogens in their rituals to see and communicate with these spirits, the missionaries concluded that the whole practice was a manifestation of the Devil—their Christian Devil, that is! But the Indians claimed that many of the beings they contacted were "helper spirits," who had helped them in their own personal spiritual transformations and given them the ability to heal. Nevertheless, the missionaries could neither understand nor accept the Indians' own and very different interpretations of their shamanic practices. In the missionaries' ethnocentric view, the communication with spirits through shamanic trance and soul voyages could only refer to "talking with the devil" (Vitebsky 2001, 130–131).

Supported by the missionaries' perspective, the Spanish crown sought to manage the diverse indigenous populations by unifying them around the Catholic worldview and faith (Quezada 1991, 38). But this was a difficult task. By the mid-seventeenth century, for instance, the Franciscan bishop of Quito, Ecuador, Peña Montenegro, was writing in his instruction manual for missionaries that the major obstacle to the spread of the gospels was still those Indian sorcerers and magicians (i.e., shamans): "They resist with diabolical fervor so that the light of truth shall not discredit their fabulous acts" (cited in Taussig 1984, 96–97). Yet, he added, their beliefs and actions were understandable: "Utilizing his malign astuteness, it was easy for the devil to set up his tyrannical empire amongst them, for they are people, brutish and ignorant, whom it is easy to deceive" (cited in Taussig 1984, 97).

Not surprisingly, the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition prescribed the kinds of beliefs and practices that must be punished, such as the following recorded for New Spain (Mexico) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: healing the sick through contact with supernatural beings; using hallucinogens to achieve a magical trance and intentionally contacting supernatural beings; using prayers and idolatrous imagery in curing ceremonies; and using magical divinations for the diagnosis and prognosis of illnesses (Quezada 1991, 52). All of these were fundamental to shamanic Indian *curanderos* (healers) in the region.

Ethnocentric reactions to shamanism were hardly limited to Christian missionaries and

Having just arrived at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, Chiricahua Apache children pose for a photo in 1886 (above). The institution attempted to eliminate traditional Native American culture, as demonstrated in the picture below, taken four months later, of the same group of children. (John N. Choate/Corbis)

the Soviet, American, and Western European states. Representatives of Buddhist, Hindu, Confucianist, Daoist, and Shinto traditions all encountered shamanic communities in the areas into which they spread and also persecuted them, or else strongly pressured them to assimilate or syncretize (merge elements) with their religions. One result was the development of hybrid forms of shamanism throughout South and Southeast Asia, some more Buddhist in character, as in Nepal and among Tibet's *Bonpo* shamans, some more Hindu, as among the Sora, nestled in Hindu-dominated areas of India. In Mongolia, Lamaist Buddhist missionaries from the Tibetan area declared firmly that shamanism was the old, wrong way of seeing things and attacked the shamans and their practices. In Indonesia and Malaysia, shamanism was viewed as an abnormal religion, not only by Christian missionaries allied to the colonial European states but also by Islamic leaders among the merchant class (Vitebsky 2001, 38–41, 135).

Ethnocentric Scholars and Shamanism

Scholars have also drawn on fundamental assumptions from their own cultures and scientific paradigms to analyze shamans and interpret shamanic phenomena. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for instance, theories of cultural evolution characterized culture and religion as evolving from the most primitive forms to the most advanced forms, the culture and religion of the theorist always being considered the most advanced. Such theories dominated European and American thought, and many scholars at the time imposed such models of cultural evolution onto their studies, like a template. In this way, for example, several scholars "found" *animism* (a belief in souls in all things, including inanimate objects), which they formulated as a characteristic of the most primitive forms of religion, in the shamanism they studied, when in fact it was not there. Note, for example, Shirokogoroff (1982, 53–54, 393) on I. A. Lopatin's imposed evolutionist rendering of Goldi shamanism and Siikala (1978, 20) on J. Stadling's interpretation of animism as evidence of the "most primitive religious thinking" of humanity in shamanism. Ethnocentric analyses of shamanism by Robert R. Marrett, James Frazer, Marcel Mauss, and other evolutionists "found" magic, and the "primitive mentality" they associated with it, in shamanic beliefs and rituals (e.g., Langdon 1992, 7–9).

In a similar vein, scholars have been seen as imposing their own cultural frameworks when they have characterized the shaman's trance and visionary experiences as psychopathological. Russian ethnographer Waldemar Bogoraz, for instance, called the Siberian Chuckchi shamans he studied mentally deranged or crazy, as did psychoanalytically trained American anthropologists such as Alfred Kroeber, Ralph Linton, George Devereux, and Anthony F. C. Wallace (Townsend 1999, 454–455). Silverman's (1967) diagnosis of shamans as schizophrenic was particularly influential and echoed Kroeber's earlier argument that shamanic societies simply reward their neurotics and psychotics with a socially sanctioned role of healer or ritual specialist that relies on their shifting states of consciousness.

However, psychologist Richard Noll (1989) challenged Silverman's schizophrenia model of shamanism and a similar one by Soviet scholars, arguing that ethnocentrism was behind them. When Noll (1983) actually compared the records of shamans from forty-two cultures with the diagnostic criteria for schizophrenia in the standard diagnostic manual of mental disorders (DSM-III, *The Diagnostic and Statistic Manual of Mental Disorders*-III), he found glaring phenomenological differences, which Silverman and the Soviets had bypassed in their analyses. Simply, unlike schizophrenics and other psychotics, who are helpless victims of their states and visions, the shamans *control* their states, entering and leaving at will; *control* the spirits that appear to them; and do it all for a social function, which is hardly true of schizophrenics (450–454). What must really be behind their "false and misleading" use of the term schizophrenia, Noll argued, is their psychoanalytic or Marxist-Leninist devaluation of religion and religious experience. Thus, Noll concluded, their schizophrenia model "is in reality a Western (and Soviet) ethnocentric distortion based on the misapplication of psychiatric/medical schemata to experiences encountered in ASC [altered states of consciousness]" (48).

Noll emphasized that the shaman's psyche must be seen as stable because the shaman is in

control. But perhaps a more fundamental consideration is whether the culture has, in a sense, "told" the shaman how to act, how to experience and recount the experiences. That is, are the forms of shamanic behaviors and experiences modeled by the shaman's culture (in which case they function as symbols) or do they depend on the mental state of the individual shaman (in which case they can be seen as symptoms)? If there are cultural beliefs about how the shamanic experience should be, the shaman would have been imbued with these beliefs long before having any shamanic experiences, and thus the shaman's experience would potentially have been shaped by them (Langdon 1992, 6). The case of the Guajiro Indians of Venezuela and Colombia is particularly revealing. The Guajiro have specific cultural beliefs about the traits of the ideal shaman, and these traits coincide, generally, with the Western cultural representation of hysteria. Consequently, Westerners readily misjudge the Guajiro shaman's behaviors as reflecting hysteria instead of Guajiro culture (Perrin 1992).

A third area easily subject to ethnocentric evaluation is the shaman's use of what appear to be simply conjurers' tricks during séances, and particularly during healing. For instance, Siberian shamans have been observed cutting off their own heads, opening and closing their own or their patients' bodies, mysteriously creating complex soundscapes of animal spirit calls everywhere and seemingly out of the blue, and, as most often reported the world over, sucking out disease-causing objects from their patients, after having secretly inserted them in their mouths before the "magical surgery" (Siikala 1978, 113–114, 135–136; Taussig 1998, 227–228). Such tricks of the trade suggest to many scholars that shamans are simply exploitative charlatans. But at the same time, ethnographers have frequently reported that the same shamans really did believe in the healing, and that they sought other shamans when ill and claimed they were healed, despite knowing full well that tricks were involved (e.g., Taussig 1998, 225, 228).

Don Handelman actually asked a Washo Indian shaman of western Nevada about the healing tricks he had observed in the shaman's work, and the shaman explained that the tricks were like the other paraphernalia and really beside the point: "I use them only to gain attention of the sick person, nothing more" (Handelman 1967, 457). This is akin to Sergei Shirokogoroff's argument that the tricks he and others observed among Siberian shamans served to establish a necessary kind of hypnotic rapport that engendered the healing results (1982, 330–334). But perhaps more directly to the point is the case of the Kwakiutl Indians of British Colombia and the healing tricks of their shamans. According to the Kwakiutl, the "tricks" are actually techniques for directing the spirits, who, they believe, mimic the shaman's moves. When the shaman is sucking on a patient, the spirits are also sucking, and when he removes the disease-causing object (which he has palmed), the spirits remove the *real* cause of the disease. That's why, amongst the Kwakiutl, a shaman would consult another shaman when ill. He believes the techniques, if precisely executed, ensure the spirits' proper curative actions. Thus, in the context of a shaman's own system, the "tricks" may well be part of the shaman's healing techniques and integral to beliefs about inducing spirits to heal, and not at all manifestations of charlatanism, as those who look at the phenomena from an ethnocentric perspective assume (Taussig 1998, 235–236).

Patric V. Giesler

See also: Central and South American Shamanism; Colonialism and Shamanism; Curanderismo; Healing and Shamanism; History of the Study of Shamanism; Museum Collections; Psychopathology and Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Trance, Shamanic; Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives

References and further reading:

Bodley, John H. 1982. *Victims of Progress.* 2d ed. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing.

Brown, Michael Fobes. 1989. "Dark Side of the Shaman: The Traditional Healer's Art Has Its Perils." *Natural History,* November, 8–10.

Handelman, Don. 1967. "The Development of a Washo Shaman." *Ethnology* 6, no. 4: 444–464.

Kehoe, Alice Beck. 1989. *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization.* Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

———. 2000. *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Langdon, E. Jean Matteson. 1992. "Introduction: Shamanism and Anthropology." Pp. 1–21 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Noll, Richard. 1983. "Shamanism and Schizophrenia: A State-Specific Approach to the 'Schizophrenia Metaphor' of Shamanic States." *American Ethnologist* 10: 443–459.
———. 1989. "What Has Really Been Learned About Shamanism?" *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 21, no. 1: 47–50.
Perrin, Michel. 1992. "The Body of the Guajiro Shaman." Pp. 103–125 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Quezada, Noemi. 1991. "The Inquisition's Repression of *Curanderos.*" Pp. 37–57 in *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World.* Edited by Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.
Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1978. *The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman.* Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
Silverman, Julian. 1967. "Shamanism and Acute Schizophrenia." *American Anthropologist* 69: 21–31.
Taussig, Michael. 1984. "History as Sorcery." *Representations* 7: 87–109.
———. 1998. "Viscerality, Faith, and Skepticism: Another Theory of Magic." Pp. 221–256 in *In Near Ruins: Cultural Theory at the End of the Century.* Edited by Nicholas B. Dirks. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Townsend, Joan B. 1999. "Shamanism." Pp. 429–469 in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook.* Edited by Stephen D. Glazier. Westport, CT: Praeger.
Vitebsky, Piers. 2001. *Shamanism.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. First American edition, Boston, Little, Brown, 1995.

EXORCISM

See Demonic Possession and Exorcism; Extraction

EXTRACTION

Extraction is the practice of removing a spiritual intrusion from a person and neutralizing it. The basic idea behind this practice is that the intrusion causes psychological or physical illness, and removing the intrusion effects a cure in the patient.

Extraction is a very old practice and, though not limited to cultures in which shamanism plays a strong role, is frequently found in shamanic practices worldwide. The idea that evil spirits are the source of personal or communal disease predates the germ theory by several millennia. Given primitive cultures' animistic worldview, which sees every object, animal, and person as possessing an animating spirit, removing intruding powers is a logical means of effecting healing. The theory of possession by evil spirits or demons, and the possibility of exorcising them, is a direct descendant of these earlier concepts of disease-causing, intruding spirits.

The presence of malevolent spirits in itself is not enough to account for illness; conditions must be conducive to the evil gaining enough strength to cause harm. Many folk practices and rituals attempt to preserve the strength of individuals and communities. Rites of propitiation have the dual purpose of appeasing a deity and maintaining the ritual benefactors' vigorous immunity to disease and disaster. Charms and rituals are deemed a success as long as the warder remains well. Lack of success is attributed to not performing the ritual properly, the presence of exceptionally strong evil spirits or demons, or just plain bad luck. Vulnerability to illness may also result from failure to observe taboos, being targeted by a practitioner of black magic, or physical changes such as childbirth, menses, battle wounds, or overexposure to the elements. Anything that contributes to physical or spiritual weakness makes holes in a person's spirit, and harmful intruding powers take residence in these holes.

Regardless of the cause, when a normally healthy person takes ill, the shaman or local

wise one steps forward to effect a cure. The cure involves removing the spirit causing the disease, neutralizing or destroying it so that it cannot infect anyone else, and perhaps carrying out a practice to restore the affected individual to health.

The form of the extraction itself varies. All or part of the community might be involved, or only the shaman and his or her apprentice. The extraction might be removed by sucking it out, pulling it out with the hand or with a sacred object, or scaring it away with noise, threats, and smoke. Other means of removing an extraction have been practiced, but these are the most common.

Before attempting removal of the evil spirit, the shaman prepares by calling on guardian and helping spirits to assist in diagnosing the cause of the affected person's disease. The shaman's spirit helpers allow the shaman to locate the intrusion and remove it. Extracting intrusive powers is considered to be very dangerous, as the intrusion can enter the shaman's body and cause sickness. Extractions are usually not attempted unless the shaman is feeling very powerful.

Once the intrusion is identified and localized to a part of the body, the ritual of extraction begins. Using drums, rattles, or other percussive instruments to enter the shamanic trance state, the shaman focuses on the intrusion and grabs it. Once removed, the invading evil spirit may be burned, hurled into water, put into a piece of raw meat, or otherwise transferred to a neutralizing medium. The medium containing the intrusion is typically destroyed. If the intrusion is thrown into a fire or body of water, however, it is considered to be neutralized. Again, specifics of the practice vary; those listed are the most common.

After removal of the intrusion, the affected person may need to undergo some rite or complete an activity to restore his or her strength. The shaman then gives the patient a prescription for recovery, perhaps eating special foods, drinking herbal beverages, ritual cleansings, or some other practice specified by the shaman's helping spirits. Frequently a power animal or soul retrieval will be performed to fill the spiritual gap created when the intrusion has been removed.

Note that extraction is practiced today by contemporary urban shamans as well as by traditional folk healers around the world. Modern shamans understand that there is both a physical reason for the malady as well as a spiritual one and recommend treating the illness conventionally as well as shamanically. Because Western scientists proved a link between psychological imbalances and susceptibility to disease, the concept that a ritual aimed at restoring health will strengthen the body's ability to heal is gaining wider acceptance in the medical community.

Trisha Lepp

See also: Demonic Possession and Exorcism; Healing and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Achterberg, Jeanne. 1985. *Imagery in Healing: Shamanism and Modern Medicine.* Boston: Shambhala.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Frazer, James G. 1981. *The Golden Bough: The Roots of Religion and Folklore.* New York: Random House.

Harner, Michael. 1990. *The Way of the Shaman.* New York: Harper Collins.

F

FIRE AND HEARTH

Heat and fire are magical attributes in both primitive and more advanced societies. Pyrolatreia, or fire worship, is common in many cultures throughout the world. Shamanic concepts of fire are related to mythological and religious perceptions of fire as a worldwide symbol of the invisible life force that strives to return to heaven by consuming earthly substance. Fire is constantly in motion, moves like a living being, "eats" through the process of combustion, and throws off light and heat, which are necessary for human survival. Associations of fire with the sun and sun worship are common. Ritual use of fire as a focal point, for purification and meditation, and as a symbol of deity is still practiced today.

The shamanic concept of fire sees energy, a force of transformation, and the power to cleanse. Many shamans work exclusively during the night, so fire is a practical part of the ceremony, providing light, heat, and a focus for group work. Fire is a source of shamanic power and mystic force.

Magico-religious power is conceived of as hot or burning in many cultures. Australian sorcerers and sorceresses have so much inner fire that they are not allowed to burn anything. Hindus describe powerful divinities as "possessing fire," "burning," or "very hot." In the Solomon Islands, someone with a great deal of personal power (mana) is considered to be burning.

Heat and fire may be seen as internal powers that a shaman must cultivate to remain strong. On the Dobu Island of New Guinea, magic is associated with heat and fire; sorcerers keep their body "dry" and "burning" by eating spicy foods and drinking salt water. The Dobu also believe that fire originated from an old woman's vagina, and magical techniques are divided between the sexes. In India, yogic practice includes the concept of *tapas,* inner heat, which is cultivated through ascetic practices or magic. Tapas is a creative force, one a shaman would conceive of as power. South American shamans use fire and heat as a means to access ecstatic states.

The power to handle fire is considered proof of individual shamanic and personal power. The Chukchee shamans would drum to "heat" their bodies, that is, to build magical power, and then cut themselves open, swallow coals, or touch hot iron during competitive demonstrations of their powers. Many shamans practice fire tricks, such as handling hot coals, as a means of proving the depth of their trance state and to indicate their power through mastery of fire. Being burned or demonstrating insensitivity to fire by handling it may be initiations in themselves or proof that an initiatory test has been passed.

The Ojibwa shamans are fire handlers who are unhurt by touching burning coals. Zuni shamans specialize in fire tricks, including swallowing coals, fire walking, touching heated metal without being burned, and most dramatically, burning a man to ashes, minutes before he is resurrected and appears at another ceremony far away. Fijian shamans are able to walk over burning coals and white-hot stones. The Fijian shaman can give this power over fire to the whole tribe. Siberian shamans are believed to swallow burning coals.

Fire and smoke are a means to transport the spirit to other worlds. The Buryat, Chukchee, and Koryak of North Asia believed that burning the body allowed the spirit to rise skyward, carried by the smoke. The spirits of people struck by lightening, as well as those who died a heroic death, were also believed to pass into the sky realm. Burning the body to liberate the

A shaman leaps onto a pile of burning twigs, ca. 1901–1933. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

soul and transform the deceased into spirit is a common funerary practice throughout the world. Burnt offerings of various kinds also reflect beliefs about the ability of fire, and its resultant smoke, to carry prayers to heaven.

A shaman seeking access to the spirit world may ride a column of smoke or fire while in a trance state. Use of fire or smoke as a means of ascent can be found in Eskimo, Melanesian, and ancient Iranian cultures. In Melanesia, flames that leap into the sky are but one of many paths for accessing the Upper World. Urban shamanic practitioners may use fire or smoke as a "road" to the Upper World.

The Maori art of *poi,* twirling balls on the ends of strings, has evolved into fire twirling, an activity that appears in contemporary urban rave subcultures. Some modern fire twirlers acknowledge the shamanic origins of fire handling and describe the state of mind achieved through fire twirling as ecstatic. Fire twirling and other techno-shamanic practices are areas ripe for study.

Trisha Lepp

References and further reading:

Bonwick, James. 1976. Reprint. *Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions.* New York: Arno Press. Original edition, London: Griffith, Faran, 1894.

Diószegi, Vīs, and Mihály Hoppál. 1996. *Folk Beliefs and Shamanistic Traditions in Siberia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Frazer, James. 1981. Reprint. *The Golden Bough.* 2 vols. New York: Random House. Original edition, 1890.

Hoppál, Mihály. 2000. *Studies on Mythology and Uralic Shamanism.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

FOREST

See Trees

GENDER IN SHAMANISM

Gender is a set of cultural meanings pertaining to the differences and similarities between women and men as they are lived and interpreted within specific historical and geographical contexts. The social construction of gender combines an understanding of what is possible, proper, or perverse in gender-linked behavior with a set of values. It is taught, performed, and deeply enmeshed in power relations (Butler 1990).

In North America gender is primarily determined by the physical characteristics of the external genitalia. Whenever a hermaphroditic or intersexed baby is born in a hospital, physicians automatically perform surgery in order to correct the infant's sexual ambiguity. As a result of such medical interventions, many people understand sex as signifying gender, and anatomical sex is used as a metaphor for the construction of sexual and gender identities. In this way gender identity is assumed to be biologically based and somehow "natural." That is, someone can "feel like a woman," or "feel like a man" (Bolin 1996).

Hupa female shaman, ca. 1923. (Library of Congress)

Societies that exist outside of, or on the edges of, Western biomedical systems and monotheistic religions hold quite different views. They construct multiple nonstigmatized gender statuses for individuals by separating gender tasks and social roles from sexual morphology. Many Amerindian cultures, for example, traditionally recognized, and in some cases still recognize, four genders: woman, man, woman-man, and man-woman (Roscoe 1998). As a result, what many regard as quintessential insignias of sex in Western society have little stability either historically or comparatively when considered through the lens of gender.

Shamanism is a fluid gendered practice, a reflexive and highly contextualized discourse about femininity and masculinity, as well as a mutually constituting dialogue between women and men. For the Kulina of Brazil, while it is not necessary to become a shaman in order to be an adult man, only shamans—in their practice as masters of game animals as well as village protectors and leaders—achieve the full potential of maleness (Pollock 1993). Similarly, among the Yurok of northern California, while it is not necessary to become a shaman in order to be an adult woman, only shamans—in their practice as sucking doctors, midwives, and vil-

lage protectors—achieve the full potential of femaleness (Buckley 1992).

Shamans within the Mazatec tradition of Mexico practice within a domestic context in the areas of human reproduction and agricultural production (Munn 1973). They search, question, untie, and disentangle all of the internal origins of human misfortune. Depending upon their training and sexual orientation, they have distinctive healing behaviors and chants. Those traveling a strongly masculine path battle with external political and social causes of illness; their words flash forth with the terrible force of thunderbolts. Shamans following a more feminine path center their practice on searching for the internal psychological causes of illness and releasing them. These gender differences have emerged in the context of family shamanism. Here spouses commonly shamanize together as a team within a family setting. Over the years children learn how to experience and talk about healing by picking up a combination of same-gender and opposite-gender symbols, rituals, and bodily responses. Although this choice is wide open, only a few boys actually end up following a purely feminine healing path and only a few girls end up following a purely masculine path. While some women work with masculine spiritual energies, or powers, most embody feminine sources of energy. Likewise males can work with either feminine or masculine powers. But the most powerful shamans of all combine parts of each of these gendered traditions.

A relationship of dominance and subordination between nation-states and the indigenous people living within these states has been symbolically constructed and analytically described along the sexual divide. Relations between men and women are often used to express power relationships. Worldwide, an educated elite consisting of either males or male-identified women rules the hegemonic state (Scott 1999). In this environment indigenous peoples and most especially their religious leaders and healers, shamans, are seen as uncivilized outsiders who might threaten the state's authority. To control them, they are gendered "feminine" and incorporated as subordinates.

Many shamans directly confront this attempt at subordinating them. Instead of accepting a purely feminine role, they describe human beings as containing a combination of masculine and feminine energies and aspects including possession of a female and a male soul, as well as membership in both a matriclan and a patriclan. They often work with both masculine and feminine forms of energy, sometimes even shape-shifting into beings of the opposite gender. The gender crossing, bending, and blending of these ritual specialists during shamanic séances and other community-wide rituals enables them to manipulate potent masculine and feminine cosmic powers. Though women shamans are nurturing, they can also be brave and powerful when they help with a difficult birth or take on the warrior's role in healing.

This flexibility of gender among shamans has important implications for understanding how gender-variant identities are contextually situated within a broader system of meanings associated with femaleness and maleness worldwide. Femininity and masculinity are not necessarily opposite ends of a single sex or gender spectrum, with women on one side, men on the other, and shamans in between. Rather femininity and masculinity are terms of an unstable difference/similarity, interlocking, though contradictory, aspects or modalities of personhood. People following shamanic paths in many societies include feminine and masculine characteristics within their performances. When individuals are initiated into these traditions, they are trained to avoid choosing, negating, or destroying either of the binary pairs. Instead, they are encouraged in an ironic manipulation of both sides of the polarity during which the contradictions rarely resolve, even dialectally, into larger wholes. Where this kind of interplay occurs, the genders are viewed as complementary rather than hierarchical.

Shamanism offers a context in which the outlines of self and other, female and male, define one another through interaction. Social identity becomes multiple, shifting, constantly being created, erased, and re-created in interaction between self and other. One can view oneself, or can oneself be viewed, as bounded and essential, boundless and contextual, or in fluid transition between these poles. And shamanic performance itself can be viewed as a type of serious play involving the tension of holding incompatible things together because they are both necessary and in some sense both true.

In Chile most Mapuche shamans are biologically female. As midwives and mothers, they

are conceived as "givers of life," who obtain powers from the moon in order to bring fertility to land, animals, and people. Even though they identify themselves as women, they, unlike most local women, are household heads whose families perform domestic chores for them. These women shamans make their own decisions independently from their men, traveling as they please and influencing community decisions. During public rituals they use feminine integrative symbols and actions as well as masculine exorcising or warring symbols and actions. Female symbols, like women, are called on to nurture, heal the body, and integrate the self. Male symbols, like men, are called on to exorcise, defeat, and kill the outside other. Shamans in this tradition dramatically weave together these seemingly incommensurable nurturing and warrior themes, and in so doing embody multiple genders during their performance of healing (Bacigalupo 1998).

Because of this dramatic gendering, radically shifting during public performances, it has been suggested that the figure of the shaman is neither masculine nor feminine but rather a mediator between the sexes, or a "third gender" (Saladin d'Anglure 1992). Although this idea is intriguing, at least at first, it represents a static structuralist description of what is in fact an extremely fluid situation. The concept of third-gender persons was created to describe people with distinct gender identities separate from women and men. They are labeled cross-gendered because their gender and sex do not match up with the Euro-American woman/man binary system.

It is not membership within any one gender category per se but rather the transformation of gender, or frequent gender switching, bending, blending, or reversing that is directly linked with the process of coming closer to the sacred. The theme of gender reversals and mediation frequently occurs in mythology and rituals, but the significance attached to it varies greatly, depending on the form of the reversal, the context, and the specific gender culture. Some of the most diverse variations on the theme of gender flexibility are reflected in beliefs about shamans, animal spirits, and the manipulation of their sexual organs and energies.

Messages about gender within shamanic rituals range from the enforcement of difference to the encouragement of ambiguity and the acceptance of partial or total transformation. One code through which these messages are made manifest is transvestitism, or cross-dressing. In Siberia, during the early years of the twentieth century, shamans often wore women's clothing during their séances, whether or not they were transgendered or what were called locally "soft men" in their everyday lives. Some male Chukchi shamans in northeastern Siberia identified with their female spirits so strongly that they dressed all of the time as women, did women's work, and used the special language spoken only by women. Others combined male with female features or acted out a female role without cross-dressing (Bogoras 1904–1909).

Across the Bering Strait in Alaska, an Eskimo shaman by the name of Asatchq performed a birthing ritual. While someone drummed, he rubbed his belly until it swelled then, removing his pants, he knelt in the traditional birthing position and pulled blood from between his legs, followed by his shamanic icon. In Siberia Sakha shamans of both sexes are also said to have been able to give birth. Beginning at puberty, a shaman's training entailed birthing a raven or loon, which instantly flew away. In the second year the shaman birthed a pike that swam away. And in the third and final year of training, a truly great shaman gave birth to a bear or a wolf (Balzer 1996).

Birth together with death provides key actions, symbols, and metaphors within shamanic systems, traditions, and cultures. In many societies shamans are said "to be born" or "to die" into the profession and in their subsequent practices they may assist at actual births and actual deaths. Mircea Eliade (1989) and other scholars following him have focused on illness, death, dismemberment, and skeletalization leading to rebirth as a shaman. Since men cannot physically give birth, this shamanic path, emphasizing death and culminating in rebirth, is masculine in both symbolism and practice. Among the Tukano of the Amazon basin, for example, the journey of initiation into shamanism centers on the penetration of the cosmic uterus that ends in orgasm, followed by the woman-free birth of a neophyte masculine shaman (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971). Other indigenous societies that exist outside of, or on the edges of, Western biomedical and religious cultures create multiple non-stigmatized gender statuses for individuals who do not behave ac-

cording to the biological sex ascribed to them at birth. In a number of these traditions, gender is united at the highest cosmic level with the image of a dual or a co-gendered creator deity or culture hero who combines the perspective, occupation, and outward appearances of both a male and a female being.

Dual Deities and Co-Gendering

In a large number of societies the highest-ranking deities consist of a feminine-masculine pair. This singular but nevertheless bipolar dual deity is manifested as a fluid shifting cosmic ordering force permeating all areas of the universe. Among the Mixtecs of Oaxaca, Mexico, for example, there are two sets of divine couples: a creator pair as well as a younger pair, both named One Deer after their day of birth. These younger gods are an unfolding of the initial aged gods who went on to produce numerous progeny. Likewise, in ancient Nahua (Aztec) mythology the creator deity Ometeotl is not singular but dual. This deity consists of a female-male who resided at the Place of Duality (Ometeotl), located in the twelfth and thirteenth levels of the sky. They fought, breaking their dishes, and from each and every shard a new dual divinity sprang up. Another dual deity, Oxomoco and Cipatonal, created two calendars: one of 260 days that is linked to the feminine gestation cycle and a masculine agricultural calendar of 360 days with five extra days added to adjust it to the astronomical calendar. These deities and their calendars are complementary rather than hierarchical (Marcos 2000, 95–96).

In K'iche' Mayan culture past and present, the primordial couple, Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, are believed to have performed a divinatory sortilege at the time of human creation. The two were described in the Popol Vuh, commonly considered the Mayan Bible, as a midwife and a matchmaker. In this shamanic tradition, as it is still practiced today in highland Guatemala, husbands and wives are trained together as shamans by a shaman couple. Among the central lessons they are taught is how to recognize both cosmic co-gendering and their own co-gendered nature. In other words, they learn how to properly balance the feminine and masculine dimensions both within their own bodies and in the cosmos. For example, the left side of everyone's body is female, and the right side is male. During their training and initiation, shamans are encouraged to behave in both feminine and masculine ways, and from time to time to take on the social role of the opposite sex. After their first initiation they might also then undergo more specialized training and initiation separately in what are considered gender-exclusive healing specialties: women as midwives and men as bonesetters (Tedlock 1992).

Warao women, living in the Orinoco Delta of Venezuela, specialize in treating the nicotine seizures of their husbands and other male relatives who use large doses of tobacco as a hallucinogen (Wilbert 1972). As a result of this role they are considered to be important shamans. They cure the convulsions their male relatives suffer during shamanic séances by asking the tobacco spirits that reside in men's chests to release them. Their healing role is modeled on the behavior of the original shamans, a married couple who on the death of the man's parents began to fast and after eight days of smoking strong tobacco ascended together to the zenith. There they went into the House of Tobacco Smoke, where the man began to transform himself into his guardian spirit, the swallow-tailed kite. While he was shape-shifting, however, he suffered a nicotine seizure and nearly died. His wife instantly transformed herself into a frigate bird; rustling her wings and blowing over his rigid body, she soothed and healed him. The tobacco spirit then gave her the job of healing seizures and initiated her as a shaman. From then on she filled the role of a shape- and gender-shifting shaman.

Here, as in many other Amazonian societies, healing is performed in terms of gender complementarities. Women specialize in treating illnesses brought on by odoriferous contagion, while men specialize in treating illnesses caused by spirit aggression and object intrusion. Once the contagions or foreign objects invade the body they expand, creating fetid gas and producing clinical symptoms affecting both the physical organs and the soul of the particular region of the body.

In the Kodi district of Suba, Indonesia, there are also many double-gendered shamanic deities. The distant, rather otiose Creator figure is referred to as the Mother Binder of the Forelock, Father Smelter of the Crown. The house-

pillar deity, who controls human childbearing and health, is called Great Mother, Great Father. The clan deity who lives in the large banyan tree growing in the center of each village is Elder Mother, Ancient Father. Shamans who often cross gender boundaries during their performances address this co-gendered deity, who presides over ceremonial feasts and enforces ancestral law. Although Kodi has no permanent or semipermanent liminal figures, such as the transvestite shamans of Siberia, their healers may assume a gender-ambiguous role for a short period when it is necessary to concentrate power (Hoskins 1990).

Barbara Tedlock

See also: Costume, Shaman; Indonesian Shamanism; Mapuche Shamanism; Mayan Shamanism; Offerings and Sacrifice in Shamanism; Priestesses of Eurasia; Siberian Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism; Transvestism in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bacigalupo, Ana Mariella. 1998. "The Exorcising Sounds of Warfare: Shamanic Healing and the Struggle to Remain Mapuche." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 9, no. 5: 123–143.

Balzer, Marjorie. 1996. "Sacred Genders in Siberia: Shamans, Bear Festivals, and Androgyny." Pp. 164–182 in *Gender Reversals and Gender Cultures.* Edited by Sabria Petra Ramet. London: Routledge.

Bogoras, Waldemar. 1904–1909. *The Chukchee.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vols. 7 and 11. Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert.

Bolin, Anne. 1996. "Transcending and Transgendering: Male-to-Female Transsexuals, Dichotomy and Diversity." Pp. 447–485 in *Third Sex, Third Gender.* Edited by Gilbert Herdt. New York: Zone Books.

Buckley, Thomas. 1992. "Yurok Doctors and the Concept of Shamanism." Pp. 117–161 in *California Indian Shamanism.* Edited by Lowell John Bean. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York: Routledge.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Hoskins, Janet. 1990. "Doubling Deities, Descent, and Personhood: An Exploration of Kodi Gender Categories." Pp. 273–306 in *Power and Difference.* Edited by J. M. Atkinson and S. Errington. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Marcos, Sylvia. 2000. "Embodied Religious Thought: Gender Categories in Mesoamerica." Pp. 93–114 in *Gender/Bodies/Religions.* Edited by Sylvia Marcos. Cuernavaca, Mexico: Aler Publications.

Munn, Henry. 1973. "The Mushrooms of Language." Pp. 86–122 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by M. J. Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pollock, Donald. 1993. "Culina Shamanism: Gender, Power, and Knowledge." Pp. 25–40 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. Jean Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1971. *Amazonian Cosmos: The Sexual and Religious Symbolism of the Tukano Indians.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Roscoe, Will. 1998. *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard. 1992. "La 'troisième' sexe." *Ethnologie* 23: 836–844.

Scott, Joan. 1999. *Gender and the Politics of History.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Tedlock, Barbara. 1992. *Time and the Highland Maya.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Wilbert, Johannes. 1972. "Tobacco and Shamanistic Ecstasy among the Warao of Venezuela." Pp. 55–83 in *Flesh of the Gods.* Edited by Peter T. Furst. New York: Praeger.

H

HEALING AND SHAMANISM

The question of whether shamans can heal their clients can be answered satisfactorily only if one looks carefully at the meaning of healing, and then uses the insights of postmodern philosophy to shed light on the nature of what shamans do. If healing is recognized as bounded within an experiential domain of suffering, then shamans are capable of healing their clients, providing relief from the chaos caused by illness, repairing personhood, and offering new models of meaningful identity. Shamans do not cure disease; they seek to construct a life world in which disease has lost its meaning.

Health and Healing

To heal is to restore health. If, following the 1948 charter of the World Health Organization, "health" is taken in its widest sense to mean "complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity," then healing is rarely accomplished, no matter what type of practitioner seeks to achieve it. Shamans are no more likely than are specialists of any other medical or religious system to effect physiological, psychological, and social changes so comprehensive that any patient could ever be considered completely healed. Chronic poverty, a major cause of ill health throughout much of the world, remains untouched by most forms of medical intervention, and it is also left unaddressed by shamans. In the industrial West, death rates from all infectious diseases fell throughout the last century with no obvious contribution from medical science. As Richard Lewontin noted, "complex social changes, resulting in increases in the real earning of the great mass of people, reflected in part in their far better nutrition, . . . really lie at the basis of our increased longevity and our decreased death rate from infectious disease" (1991, 41). Many forms of ill health are masked by the medicalization of their origins, which often lie not only in poverty, but also in its closely associated conditions of malnutrition, overpopulation, ecological degradation, unfair land tenure systems, institutionalized gender disparities, racism, exploitive wage labor, political oppression, and corruption. Likewise, the medicalization of symptoms may lead to situations where, for example, chronic hunger is treated with tranquilizers or vitamin injections, whose magical status lends them power no more likely to cure underlying causes than would a shaman's intervention.

If, however, healing is taken less comprehensively, in subjective terms of whether a person, a family, or a community feels better after some specific activity or intervention is performed, then there is a circumscribed area in which the outcomes of shamanic healing can be identified. To explore this domain, it is useful to recall the distinction commonly drawn in medical anthropology between disease and illness, with its corollary distinction between curing and healing. The biomedical locus of disease as an explanatory concept is the human body, delimited by anatomy that focuses on pathology (Foucault 1994). As defined by Arthur Kleinman, disease refers to biological or psychological malfunctioning, while illness refers to the patient's experiences and perceptions, including social responses to disease. Illness "is created by personal, social, and cultural reactions to disease," and so has a biographical significance as well as a physiological significance (1980, 72). In this model, curing is primarily a process of clinical intervention in the pathophysiological realm applied most successfully to acute conditions such as infectious disease, and healing fo-

cuses on less precise states of illness, including a wide range of psychosomatic complaints, social problems expressed in the soma, emotional problems, and undiagnosed or undifferentiated disorders. Conditions medically diagnosed as congenital, degenerative, or terminal may fail to be either cured or healed.

This model recognizes that one can have a disease without having an accompanying illness, and can also be cured of a disease without being healed of it. Although healing is often seen as secondary to curing, a more radical application of the distinction between the two suggests that a patient could be healed of an affliction without being cured: In such a case, the integrity of a patient as a social person would be restored, even if a pathological state might remain untreated in the patient's body. It is precisely in this sense that shamans, and other religious specialists, as well as practitioners of "traditional" or "alternative" medicines, may be capable of treating diverse conditions that more rigorously scientific types of medicine do not cure. A tacit recognition of this premise underlies much popular usage of the concept *healing,* as the term frequently implies spiritual, miraculous, or psychic means, and may be seen as involving occult or divine forces at work, although such transcendental speculations lie beyond the scope of this essay.

Scientific Approaches to Healing

At the other end of the spectrum from supernatural explanations lie attempts to study healing scientifically. Many of these attempts focus on the placebo effect, whose precise mechanisms remain difficult to document. Placebos—substances or procedures without specific activity for the condition being evaluated—have been found effective in producing relief from cough, headache, anxiety, hypertension, pain, and depression, among other conditions, and have also been documented to produce toxic side effects, all of which results can also, by extension, be attributed to shaman rituals. Some of these results may, however, be attributable to a reporting bias, and a recent meta-analysis (Hrobjartsson and Gotzsche 2001) has shown that in studies in which treatments are compared not just with placebos but also with no treatment at all, participants given no treatment improve at about the same rate as participants given placebos.

Nevertheless, the work that has been done to explain the success of the placebo effect may have value in promoting an understanding of the effect of shamanic healing. Howard Brody suggested a model of conditions that may be most conducive to the success of the placebo effect: (1) the patient is provided with an explanation of her illness that is consistent with her preexisting view of the world; (2) a group of individuals assuming socially sanctioned roles is available to provide emotional support for the patient; and (3) the healing intervention leads to the patient's acquiring a sense of mastery and control over the illness (1977, 122). These three conditions are met by many forms of shamanic healing, particularly in those traditional societies that have long had well-defined roles for shamans.

Other, more biologically reductionist approaches to shamanic healing seek explanation in various neuroendocrine mechanisms. Much of this approach is based on the stimulation of pain-controlling endogenous opiates by various quasi-shamanic practices such as self-inflicted wounds or the use of psychotropic drugs. Such studies have ordinarily examined practitioners rather than patients, and most often have been based on neopractitioners, that is, practitioners who are devoid of traditional cultural contexts. In the absence of rigorous, double-blinded case-controlled trials, these hypotheses remain on or beyond the periphery of science.

Shamanic Healing

Throughout much of the world, the capacity to heal was traditionally seen as resulting either from power of office, as by priests or kings, or by a sacred commission or special gift. Both of these traditions were combined in the role of shaman, whose position within the social system of most cultures was well defined, a result of apprenticeship and rigorous training, but who nevertheless frequently claimed a special calling to the profession, often with a privileged relation to particular spirits. This relation was often manifested by suffering illnesses attributed to those spirits before agreeing to become a shaman. Anne Fadiman (1997, 21), for example, reported that Hmong epileptics often became shamans, since their seizures offered evidence of their power to perceive things other people could not see and were a means for fa-

cilitating their entry into trance. Crucially, as Joan Halifax put it, "that they have been ill themselves gives them an intuitive sympathy for the suffering of others and lends them emotional credibility as healers" (1982). She explored this phenomenon in depth, drawing on the myth of the centaur Chiron, who, although greatest of healers and teacher of Aesculepius (who became the god of medicine and healing), was unable to heal himself of the wound given by Hercules's poisoned arrow.

Shaman healing rituals traditionally rely on oral texts, chants or songs telling stories of the creation and of the relations between humans and spirits. Shamans recite myths of the origins of worldly disorder and histories of malevolent forces, stories that explain why people suffer, grow old, and die. They tell of extraordinary events and exceptional healers, list symptoms attributable to different agents of affliction, identify where those agents may be found, and explain how they may be placated. The relationship of these myths to healing was first examined by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his 1949 article "The Effectiveness of Symbols," (Lévi-Strauss, 1963), in which he drew specific parallels with the process of abreaction in Freudian psychoanalysis. Lévi-Strauss concluded that by a shaman's recital, "conflicts and resistances are resolved . . . because this knowledge makes possible a specific experience, in the course of which conflicts materialize in an order and on a level permitting their free development and leading to their resolution" (198). This helps to explain why so many healing rituals of shamans involve symbolic activities, such as gestures of binding, burying, sucking, or blowing.

Healing rituals personally observed by the author in Nepal (Maskarinec 1995) often illustrated the activities of repairing or postponing fate and setting up barriers to protect the patient. Two of these rituals incorporated explicit acts of raising the patient heavenward, in cases in which astrological difficulties needed repair. In one, the shaman moved the patient's foot step by step up a small model of a pole ladder. In the second, relatives and neighbors lifted the patient as she crouched atop winnowing trays. To reinforce the sense that the patient was being conveyed into the heavens, the shaman might suspend models of the sun and moon from the roof beam, along with a plant shoot. The patient was lifted up to them. Once elevated, the patient bit the plant shoot. The recital took the form of a dialogue between the shaman and the patient, with the shaman speaking both parts:

> "Did you eat the green fodder, the cold water?"
> "Ate it!"
> "Did you see the nine suns, the nine moons?"
> "Saw them!"
> "Did you cross the seven difficult passes, the seven crevasses?"
> "Crossed them!"
> "If you go to the sky, I'll pull you back by your feet!
> "If you go to deep earth, I'll pull you back by your top-knot!" (Maskarinec)

Moving the patient physically is paralleled symbolically by soul retrieval rituals, common in many shamanic practices. When a patient's vital forces have been fragmented, they may need to be recalled, or, if they are recalcitrant, shamans may need to search for them. Retrieving lost souls is the symbolic converse of healing by extraction, in which shamans "remove" quasi-physical objects from their patients, things that have been inserted by witches or other malevolent forces. Shamans may also work as exorcists, casting out spirits that adversely affect their clients, including, on occasion, ones that they have themselves dispatched, as shamans recognize that if they can heal, they can also cause illness. For example, Nepali shamans may dispatch the souls of the dead to drum up business:

> Wake up, dead souls, those who died at the right time, wake up!
> Those who died at the wrong time, deceased dead souls, wake up!
> Wake up, dead souls, wake up!
> Go to the east, go to the west!
> Go to the north, go to the south!
> You, go in the middle of the night,
> entering towns, whoever you fancy, strike!
> Go, dead souls, go! (Maskarinec 1998, 349)

Shamanic healing often acknowledges the claims of the person who is seen as causing the illness, illness becoming an index of social relationships. Some sources, such as dead ancestors, may need to be placated and bribed; still

others, such as witches or other shamans, must be threatened and punished. Negotiating on a patient's behalf with dead relatives who remain troubled by unresolved family issues and social dilemmas is another form of shamanic intervention (Vitebsky 1993), one in which the social aspects of shamanic healing are made clear, particularly its useful contribution toward healing grieving.

Discourse and Language

As Lévi-Strauss also observed, "physical integrity cannot withstand the dissolution of the social personality," opening an additional explanation for shamanic healing; it can be seen as a form of logotherapy, a therapy that works by restoring meaning, originally developed by Viktor Frankl. It uses cosmogony to recreate a meaningful world, reintegrating the patient with her society. Creation myths frequently play significant roles in shaman healing rituals, the words not only giving shape and purpose to the rituals, but fundamentally establishing new orders in the world. Reversing a psychoanalytic observation of Julia Kristeva (1989, 11), one can say that the discourse itself forms and transforms the subject. The discourse of cosmological knowledge is communicated to the shaman through his spiritual connections when he is in trance, as though he were truly an "other," thus converting him into a specialist who can actively intervene in the world by taking responsibility for it. A shaman affirms by his recitations not only his mastery of esoteric material but also of the topics—the spirits and their properties as healing or harming agents—that it contains. This cosmological and theoretical knowledge is shared with the audience, giving them hope of possible relief from misfortune.

Through a dialectic of unity and difference, of fragmentation and integration, shamans reconstruct an orderly world, connecting cosmology with healthy social relations and personal well-being. Shamans replace the chaotic, unbalanced, inexpressible suffering of a patient with orderly, balanced, grammatical, and eloquently expressible states. Reading the *Golden Bough,* Wittgenstein noted, "In magical healing one *indicates* to an illness that it should leave the patient." (1979, 6e; italics in original) A shaman does more. With her words, which are her power and her tools, she creates both the illness and the disease, creates the body of the patient, and creates the world in which her patient experiences relief. A shaman's language does not attempt to describe how things are. It determines how the world will be. Words shape and give substance to the accidents of the external world. The right words create the world anew, curing the victims of a stale, deteriorated world; healing is thus an aesthetic endeavor. A shaman, to heal, battles entropy, resisting the inevitable accelerating descent of the world into chaos.

Ritual language, with its powerful figures of speech, creates maps for transforming reality; Ruth Murray Underhill noted for the Papagos, "The describing of a desired event in the magic of beautiful speech was to them the means by which to make that event take place" (1938, 6). Gary Witherspoon noted the same for Navajo theories of language: "The symbol was not created as a means of representing reality; on the contrary, reality was created or transformed as a manifestation of symbolic form. In the Navajo view of the world, language is not a mirror of reality; reality is a mirror of language" (1977, 34). Shaman texts are structured presentations of life, not representations of life or references to it; their recitations are ideal dramas that open for intervention the shapes and boundaries of the human condition. A shaman healing text, like a musical composition, cannot represent anything other than itself, and nothing can improve on the power of the words themselves. Concentrated at the shape-giving boundaries of action, healing texts embrace an aesthetic of completion, integration, purity, and balance, reshaping the imbalances and fragmentation that characterize illness (Desjarlais 1992).

Hegel may have been talking about the same phenomenon when he said "sound releases the Ideal from its entanglement in matter" (Hegel 1975, 88). The metaphysical understanding behind Hegel's words, however, is very different from the shamanic worldview. If one were to accept, as Hegel plainly did, Plato's metaphysical premise that language represents things in a primary world, the world of the Ideal, and that tropes—a further remove from that reality—are just "figures of speech," then shamanic healing is an irrelevancy. Shamans implicitly deny this fundamental principle of Western metaphysics, rejecting Plato's transcendental signi-

fied beneath the world of daily life. Shamans use language to constitute reality, not to denote or to imitate it. Shamanic language is not a mirror of the world, not even of an ideal world, but a set of technical devices to give form to a new world, an experiential life world in which the words of a correctly recited formula will alleviate corporal suffering, because they give form to pain, to the sufferer, to the cause of the pain, to the entire world in which the sufferer experiences pain. Instead of a denotative theory of language in which words signify the world, shamanic speech presupposes a generative theory of words creating the world, and therefore posits that healing is not just a possibility, but a necessity in order to create a world.

The Sacrifice

Every shamanic healing ritual concludes with either a sacrifice, usually a blood offering, demanded by the familiar spirits with which shamans work, or minimally a temporary substitute postponing that offering. Acknowledging the violence of illness as a disruption of order, the new reality constructed by the shaman must be cemented by a parallel act of violence, perhaps reflecting an intuition similar to that of Jacques Lacan, that violence "is situated at the root of formalization" (Nakazawa 1986, 122; Lacan 1968). These words conclude one shaman healing text:

> For my patient, I have provided complete protection,
> I have provided safety, I have provided protection,
> I've distanced the crises, distanced the obstructions,
> life joined to life, breath joined to breath,
> blood joined to blood, flesh joined to flesh,
> body joined to body, breath joined to breath.
> (Maskarinec, forthcoming)

The sacrifice completes the negotiations with those unseen forces who have been blamed for the illness, whether witches, dead humans, or spirits of various types. It compels those forces to acknowledge the shaman's power over life and death. Therapeutically, the sacrificed animal's flesh and blood not only provide a substitute for those of the patient, they concretely bridge the space opened between myth and reality, reuniting the unseen with the present and offering tangible social evidence that shamans continue to have meaningful power over this world of suffering.

Gregory G. Maskarinec

See also: African Traditional Medicine; American Indian Medicine Societies; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Ethnocentrism and Shamanism; Extraction; Hmong Shamanism; Huichol Shamanism; Hypnosis and Shamanism; Igbo Shamanism; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Mayan Shamanism; Nepalese Shamans; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Psychology of Shamanism

References and further reading:

Brody, Howard. 1977. *Placebos and the Philosophy of Medicine.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Desjarlais, Robert R. 1992. *Body and Emotion: The Aesthetics of Illness and Healing in the Nepal Himalayas.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fadiman, Anne. 1997. *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Favret-Saada, Jeanne. 1980. *Deadly Words: Witchcraft in the Bocage.* Translated from the French by Catherine Cullen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Originally published as *Les mots, la mort, les sorts,* 1977.

Foucault, Michel. 1994. Reprint. *The Birth of the Clinic. An Archaeology of Medical Perception.* Translated from the French by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Vintage Books. Original edition in English, 1973, New York: Pantheon. Originally published as *Naissance de la clinique. Une archéologie du régard médical,* 1963.

Halifax, Joan. 1982. *Shaman: The Wounded Healer.* New York: Crossroads.

Hegel, G. W. F. 1975. *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art.* Translated from the German by T. M. Knox, Oxford: Clarendon Press. Originally published 1835.

Hrobjartsson, Asbjorn, and Peter C. Gotzsche. 2001. "Is the Placebo Powerless? An Analysis of Clinical Trials Comparing Placebo with No Treatment." *New England Journal of Medicine* 344, no. 21: 1594–1602.

Kleinman, Arthur. 1980. *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kristeva, Julia. 1989. *Language: The Unknown.* Translated from the French by Anne M. Menke. New York: Columbia University Press. Originally published as *Le langue, cet inconnu,* 1981.

Lacan, Jacques. 1968. *The Language of the Self.* Translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. Originally published as *Fonction et champ de la parole et du langue en psychanalyse,* 1956.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1963. "The Effectiveness of Symbols." Pp. 186–206 in *Structural Anthropology.* Translated from the French by C. Jacobson and B. G. Schoepf. New York: Basic Books. Originally published in 1949.

Lewontin, Richard. 1991. *Biology as Ideology.* New York: Harper Collins.

Maskarinec, Gregory. 1995. *The Rulings of the Night: An Ethnography of Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

———. 1998. *Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. Forthcoming. *Two Generations of Shaman Recitals from Western Nepal.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Nakazawa, Shinichi. 1986. "The Zero Logic of Disease—A Critique of Violence." *Monumenta Serindica* (Anthropological and Linguistic Studies of the Kathmandu Valley and the Gandaki Area in Nepal. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa) 15: 117–166.

Oppitz, Michael. 1993. "Wie heilt der Heiler? Schamanische Praxis im Himalaya. Pyschotherapie" [How Does the Healer Heal? Shamanic Practice in the Himalayas. Psychotherapy]. *Psychosomatik Medizische Psychologie* 43: 387–395.

Spiro, Howard. 1998. *The Power of Hope.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Underhill, Ruth Murray. 1938. *Singing for Power: The Song Magic of the Papago Indians of Southern Arizona.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Vitebsky, Piers. 1993. *Dialogues with the Dead: The Discussion of Mortality among the Sora of Eastern India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Witherspoon, Gary. 1977. *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1979. *Remarks on Frazer's Golden Bough.* Retford, UK: Brymill Press.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF SHAMANISM

Studies on shamanism as a scholarly concept date back to the late nineteenth century, when this neologism came into current use. The word *shaman,* used for a type of religious specialist first encountered among the Tungus of Siberia, had been progressively extended to similar specialists all over the world, starting in the mid-nineteenth century (Mikhailowski 1894).

However, sources on Tungus and other Siberian forms of shamanism go back to long before that time: to the account of his exile in Siberia by the Russian archbishop Avvakum (1672–1675) (Narby and Huxley 2001, 18–20). Travel accounts written by western Europeans in the eighteenth century introduced this word to literature, but the understanding of the word *shaman* remained confined to intellectual circles in Europe and Siberian specialists. The first two accounts were written in German (Isbrants Ides, ambassador of Russia to China, 1692–1695, translated into French in 1699, and English in 1706), and in Dutch (Nicolas Witsen, 1692). Their choice of the term *shaman* from among other Siberian terms for this figure resulted in making the term standard and Tungus shamanism paradigmatic. Its extension and recognition by early ethnographers as a legitimate term—more than one century later—to define similar ritualists encountered in other parts of the world was mainly due to its being a native term from the language of a shamanic society.

The term *shaman* came to be used liberally in literature to replace a series of European terms deemed unsatisfactory (sorcerer, diviner, healer, magician, juggler, and the like). It was used with no reference to a well-established definition and rather served as a term that could be all-encompassing: A shaman could be both sorcerer and healer, with no contradiction

between these two activities. Similarly, the term *shamanism* came into use without being delineated as a particular scholarly concept nor associated with definite methods. It was designed to support the term *shaman* as a general scholarly concept and enjoyed the same extension. Nowadays both terms are used to refer retrospectively to a still wider range of cases, which were given other names before.

Throughout the three-century-long history of scholarship in the area, shamanism has been approached by academic disciplines as different as the history of religion, psychology, medicine, art, and, more recently, anthropology. It has also been the topic of many kinds of more or less extrascientific approaches, for it is a matter where subjective considerations are apt to interfere. The very fact that it has become an object of popular interest in the framework of Western countercultural movements since the 1960s has entailed a large variety of uses of the word far beyond the boundaries of usual applications and specialized studies. On the whole, shamanism has given rise to an enormous amount of writing.

Several trends can be distinguished, at some risk of simplification. Debates have focused mainly on the extent to which shamanism should be seen as a religion (and thus a sociocultural institution) and the extent to which it should be understood as an inherent human property, to be understood in terms of the field of psychology. These two approaches appear to be derived from Western ideological positions, which have led to a full range of divergent valuations in the course of time. In what follows, names and dates are given for the most significant contributions, whether or not those works have been listed in the already lengthy References.

A Cultural Phenomenon: Devilish, Backward, Romantic

The first trend is the one taken up by missionaries and a majority of early travelers who all, as Western people, looked at shamans with Christian eyes. They acknowledged the shaman as a religious character, but in the devil's service and not in God's. As evidence for this conclusion they brought forward the "wild and extravagant", animal-like attire and behavior of shamans during their rituals and their claims to foretell and influence the future—an offense to God's will. Such arguments were used late into the nineteenth century to convert shamanistic peoples to Christianity, in order to further the process of their integration into the Russian Empire.

Another view emerged in the eighteenth century under the influence of Enlightenment ideas: Far from coming within the realm of religion, shamans were seen as quacks who make use of their fellows' gullibility. While competing as an interpretation with the religious one, this view led to similar conclusions. In their comments from a distance, rationalist philosophers argued that shamanism was to be eradicated, if not in the name of monotheist transcendence against the devil, then in the name of reason against obscurantism, of culture against nature. In all respects shamanism was seen as potentially subversive and a hindrance to the progress of humankind. On one hand, this trend encouraged explorers to stay in the field for long periods of time and to carry out the most accurate and wide-ranging observations possible, which produced a large set of excellent descriptions (such as those of D. G. Messerschmidt, describing his travels 1720–1727; J. G. Gmelin, travels 1733–1744, published 1751–1752; John Bell 1763; S. Krasheninnikov 1764; J. G. Georgi 1776–1780; Pallas 1776). On the other hand, it led some of them (especially Gmelin) to focus on unmasking the shamans' presumably misleading tricks—which, of course, made both shamans and their audiences suspicious of foreigners and led to many shamans choosing to practice in secret.

Then, in the context of the romantic reaction against the Enlightenment, other philosophers (mainly the German Johann Gottfried Herder) praised shamans as "noble savages," and exalted their magic art. Gloria Flaherty (1992) brought this trend to light by gathering favorable comments on shamanism (mostly called by other names) from writings by the French philosopher Denis Diderot, Herder, the German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and others. At that time, their ideas remained confined to urban intellectual circles and were rarely featured in firsthand descriptions. Only a few Russian fieldworkers, belonging to the group of Siberian regionalists under the leadership of G. N. Potanin, expressed romantic views in their records. (See Narby and Huxley

2001 for documents from many of these observers and philosophers.)

A Psychological Phenomenon

A majority of field observers—mainly scientists and administrators following the colonization process—were rather inclined to reflect realities in their records. These testified to changes in shamanic practice under the impact of and as a reaction to colonization: Nervous and mental troubles increased, and so did rites to heal them. In addition to their usual healing function, healing rites also developed as a means of symbolic protection of traditional life at both individual and collective levels: They were better tolerated than all other traditional rituals by colonial authorities who were eager to spread their own law and faith. As a consequence, more and more individuals resorted to "shamanizing" for themselves. Be that as it may, this context gave rise to a full range of psychological approaches to shamanism.

Thus, the study of shamans and shamanism passed from the realm of religion to that of psychology as it was becoming widely used in the late nineteenth century. One reason was that sociology did not characterize shamanism as a religion, since it is marked by a highly personalized practice with neither clergy nor doctrine: What exists is only "a certain kind of people filling religious and social functions" (Van Gennep 1903, 51). In addition, shamanism is often found mixed with popular practices attached to world religions (Aigle, Brac de la Perrière, and Chaumeil 2000), so that such questions arose as, "Does shamanism fit any type of belief or is it independent of any belief?" The other reason lay in the fact that this failure of sociology to classify shamanism as a religion fitted in with field observers' statements about the therapeutic function of shamanism on the one hand and with the growing influence of psychoanalysis on the other hand. Under the influence of the latter, debates about "the certain kind of people," as Van Gennep described them, calmed down: Far from being heroic or charismatic, shamanizing was declared psychopathological. The healing power of shamanic rites was therefore seen as intended for the shamans themselves as well as for the audience.

This interpretation predominated throughout the first half of the twentieth century, in the field and elsewhere. The work of Waldemar Bogoras (1904–1910), popularized by Marie Antoinette Czaplicka (1914), established a connection between shamanism and "arctic hysteria" on the basis of external similarities—a trend that culminated with Åke Ohlmarks (1939), who classified types of shamanism according to the degree of shamans' psychopathology. A majority of scholars then adopted a similar position, whatever the cultural area concerned (Ackerknecht 1943), with a few of them retracting afterwards, while still focusing on the shaman's personality as the source for shamanic behavior (Kroeber 1940). The most extreme position was that put forward by George Devereux (1961), who branded the shaman "a severe neurotic or psychotic," who is never cured but whose contact with the supernatural world provides him with continual self-therapy. Discussions about the shaman's personality and mental state during ritual continued far into the 1970s and 1980s, mainly in the United States (Silverman 1967; Bourguignon 1973; Hippler 1976; Noll 1983)—without mainstream psychology ever taking them up. As early as 1935, however, Sergei Shirokogoroff had emphasized in his famous *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus* that shamans must be physically and mentally strong to cope with their duties, although there were also weak personalities among those he met.

It is worth stressing that, in the middle of the twentieth century and later, anthropologists deserted the debate on the shamans' psychology. A majority of them pursued monographic field studies more or less based on the idea that shamanism is an all-inclusive system in each society (Lewis 2003). But others declared the concept of shamanism irrelevant and useless (Geertz 1966; Taussig 1987).

Idealization and Universalization

At the same time, however, shamanism started to become popular with the general public. It was still assigned to the sphere of psychology and seen as a matter of individual subjectivity, but approaches took a new turn in the frame of a complex trend that emerged from the counterculture movement born in the early 1960s in California. This trend eventually came to idealize shamanism and in fact recreate it. Several

factors played a role in this reversal of values. In the first place, two writers, whose work intellectual and artistic circles extolled, had an important influence. In works of ethnographic fiction, Carlos Castaneda exalted the use of hallucinogens by sorcerers as a source for enriching spiritual life, which contributed to interesting members of the drug culture in shamanism (Furst 1972; Harner 1973).

Then, the English translation of the most famous book ever written on shamanism, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1964), published by Mircea Eliade in French in 1951, enhanced interest in the use of shamanism as part of personal spirituality by offering a "purer" model of shamanism, free from any psychotropic conditioning, primary in all respects. This book attempted to reconcile religious and psychological views of shamanism: It was the shaman's success at curing himself that enabled him to heal other people, and his "ecstasy" (understood as a kind of journey to heaven) is the religious experience par excellence. The word "ecstasy"—perceived as direct contact with the Divine—made the idea attractive to those Christians who were contesting what they saw as a too strict clerical hierarchy at that time.

Eliade's book was also a mystical essay, in which shamanism was understood as potentially universal (in the line of Jung and Campbell) and in fact elitist. Eliade saw the shaman, in addition to being a rebel against all kinds of established powers, as a forerunner of a full range of creative or innovative specialties—a return to romanticist views. Alice Kehoe (1996) criticized, under the ascription of "primitivism," such an idealization of shamanism by Eliade and one of his best-known followers, Åke Hultkrantz. Be that as it may, the view ascribing "the beginnings of art" to shamanism, first expressed by Andreas Lommel (1967), valid for all kinds of art (for theater, according to Schechner 1976), has been widespread up to the present in general public and artistic circles. It is worth emphasizing that it has been the popular success of Eliade's book that has gradually imposed it as a reference on anyone who writes on shamanism. It is seen both as an impressive scholarly work and as one contested because of its weak scientific value (distortion of data, comparison between elements taken out of context and not based on actual fieldwork by the author, and the like). It is translated into many non-European languages and popular in formerly shamanistic societies.

Interest in shamanism has developed in several directions, marked by postmodernist thinking and the New Age trend. It has given rise to Western forms of Neo-Shamanism, the most influential of which was founded in 1985 by Michael Harner in California: the Center, then Foundation, for Shamanic Studies. It is meant to spread Core Shamanism, a creation of Harner from common elements of various shamanic traditions, therefore supposed to be universal and accessible to Westerners. The message is intended for everybody: There is a spirit world or "nonordinary" reality that can be accessed through the "shamanic state of consciousness"—Harner's designation of what others call an "altered," "alternate," or "modified" state of consciousness, which corresponds to Eliade's "ecstasy" or "trance." Core shamanism proclaims itself as leaderless. It has been introduced in the form of fee-paying courses in urban areas, in Europe and in the United States, as well as in formerly shamanist societies in the Americas, Asia, and Russia (Funk and Kharitonova 1999; Townsend 2001; a depiction of the training by a trainee is given in Jakobsen 1999). The definition of shamanism in terms of a state of consciousness encourages the idea that shamanism is universal, ahistoric, and culture-free. To supporters of this view, shamanism may be found everywhere and at all times, in modern cities as well as in prehistoric rock art (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998; comments in Francfort and Hamayon 2002) or in Celtic culture (Noel 1997; Jones 1998). It epitomizes primordial spirituality, including in the first place that of the West.

References to shamanism have diversified in the last two decades of the twentieth century, more often in the shape of limited individual initiatives than in an organized framework, and are marked by the disappearance of the shaman's figure as a common feature. Initially focused on therapy, practices may evolve towards performing arts, expected to put body and soul in harmony (Kim and Hoppál 1995). Ideas may evolve towards "deep" or "spiritual ecology," based on the sense of nature and the general "interconnectedness" inherent in shamanism (Stuckrad 2002). Other purposes emerge: musical innovation (Howard 2002);

"mystic or ecstatic tourism," based on the notion of "experiential" shamanism (advertising abounds in the journal *Shaman's Drum*); acquisition of "powers" or tools of "conscious business," "leadership coaching," and so on. As to financial objectives, although they are now widespread in Asiatic neoshamanic practices, they seem to have only recently emerged in the West, as suggested by Merete Demant Jakobsen, quoting from a leaflet: "Shamanic Finance is: Integrating Money with Spirit" (1999, 203).

Most of the approaches born during the last three decades have the effect of making practice interfere with scholarly study and abolishes the distance of the researcher from the object of research required by classical scientific approaches. Moreover, the present disparity of understandings deters any attempt at a general theory of shamanism.

Roberte Hamayon

See also: Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Ethnocentrism and Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Paganism in Europe; Psychology of Shamanism; Psychopathology and Shamanism; Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives

References and further reading:

Ackerknecht, E. H. 1943. "Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine and Primitive Culture." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 14: 30–67.

Aigle, Denise, B. Brac de la Perrière, and J.-P. Chaumeil, eds. 2000. *La Politique des esprits: Chamanismes et religions universalistes.* Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie.

Atkinson, Jane Monnig. 1992. "Shamanisms today." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 307–330.

Bourguignon, Erika, ed. 1973. *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness and Social Change.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Clottes, Jean, and David Lewis-Williams. 1998. *The Shamans of Prehistory.* Translated from the French by Sophie Hawkes. New York: Abrams. Original French publication, Editions du Seuil 1996.

Devereux, George. 1961. "Shamans as Neurotics." *American Anthropologist* 63, no. 5: 1088–1093.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Flaherty, Gloria. 1992. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Francfort, Henri-Paul, and Roberte Hamayon, eds., with the collaboration of Paul Bahn. 2002. *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses.* Bibliotheca Shamanistica 10. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Funk, D., and V. Kharitonova, eds. 1999. *Proceedings of the International Congress: Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices.* Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 5. Moscow: Institut etnologii i antropologii, RAN (Russian Academy of Sciences).

Furst, Peter T. ed. 1972. *The Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* New York: Praeger.

Geertz, Clifford. 1966. "Religion as a Cultural System. Pp. 1–46 in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion.* Edited by M. Banton. London: Tavistock.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1998. "Ecstasy or the West-Dreamt Shaman." Pp. 175–187 in *Tribal Epistemologies.* Edited by Helmut Wautischer. Averbury Series in Philosophy. Aldershot, Brookfield: Ashgate.

Harner, Michael, ed. 1973. *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* London: Oxford University Press.

Hippler, A. E. 1976. "Shamans, Curers and Personality: Suggestions toward a Theoretical Model." In *Culture—Bound Syndromes, Ethnopsychiatry and Alternative Therapies.* Edited by W. Lebra. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Hoppál, Mihály, and Otto von Sadovsky, eds. 1989. *Shamanism, Past and Present.* Budapest, Fullerton, Los Angeles: Istor books.

Howard, Keith. 2002. "Shaman Music, Drumming, and Into the 'New Age.'" *Shaman* 10, nos. 1 and 2: 59–81.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1973. "A Definition of Shamanism." *Temenos* 9: 25–37.

Humphrey, Caroline, N. Thomas, and C. Humphrey, eds. 1993. *Shamanism, History and the State.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Jakobsen, Merete Demant. 1999. *Shamanism. Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to*

the Mystery of Spirits and Healing. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Jones, Leslie Ellen. 1998. *Druid, Shaman, Priest: Metaphors of Celtic Paganism.* Enfield: Hisarlik.

Kehoe, Alice. 1996. "Eliade and Hultkrantz. The European Primitivism Tradition." *American Indian Quarterly* 20, nos. 3–4: 377–392.

Kim, Tae-gon, and Mihály Hoppál, eds. 1995. *Shamanism in Performing Arts.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kroeber, Alfred Louis. 1940. "Psychotic Factors in Shamanism." *Character and Personality* 8: 204–215.

Lewis, Ioan M. 2003. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 3d ed. London: Routledge. Originally published, Baltimore: Schapera Penguin, 1971.

Lommel, Andreas. 1967. *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art.* Trans. from German. New York, Toronto: McGraw-Hill. Originally published 1965.

Mikhailowski, V. M. 1894. "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia." Trans. from Russian. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 24: 62–100. Originally published 1892: Vol. 1: 126–158.

Mitrani, Philippe. 1992. "A Critical Overview of the Psychiatric Approaches to Shamanism." *Diogenes* 158: 145–164. Originally published 1982.

Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley. 2001. *Shamans through Time.* New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam.

Noel, Daniel C. 1997. *The Soul of Shamanism: Western Fantasies, Imaginal Realities.* New York: Continuum.

Noll, Richard. 1983. "Shamanism and Schizophrenia." *American Anthropologist* 10: 443–461.

Ohlmarks, Åke. 1939. *Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus* [Studies on the Problem of Shamanism]. Copenhagen: Lund.

Schechner, Richard. 1976. "From Ritual to Theater and Back." Pp. 196–222 in *Ritual, Play and Performance.* Edited by R. Schechner. New York: Seabury Press.

Shaman. An International Journal for Shamanistic Research. Szeged: Molnar and Kelemen Oriental Publishers. Started 1993.

Shaman's Drum. A Journal of Experiential Shamanism and Spiritual Healing. Quarterly, since 1985. Ashland, OR: Cross-Cultural Shamanism Network.

Silverman, J. 1967. "Shamans and Acute Schizophrenia." *American Anthropologist* 69: 21–31.

Stuckrad, Kocku von. 2002. "Reenchanting Nature: Modern Western Shamanism and Nineteenth-Century Thought." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70, no. 4: 771–799.

Taussig, Michael. 1987. *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Townsend, Joan B. 2001. "Modern Non-Traditional and Invented Shamanism." Pp. 257–264 in *Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic.* Edited by Juha Pentikäinen. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Van Gennep, Arnold. 1903. "De l'emploi du mot 'chamanisme.'" *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 47: 51–57.

HORSES

Horses are used in shamanism as totems, spirit guides, and medicine. The power of the horse is its tireless ability to cover long distances, a trait that was probably envied by our prehistoric ancestors, who also had to journey for miles in order to survive. Horses were also a source of meat, and there is a tendency among primordial people to view animals that provide essential protein with reverence. Cave paintings of primitive horses certainly depict the fatness of horses as a quality worth recording for posterity.

In prehistoric times, shamans probably practiced propitiation rituals designed to appease the spirits of animals needed for survival. Horses were originally game animals, whose spirits had to return in the form of new horses to continue being available for hunting and eating. As the human relationship to the horse changed, the symbolic meanings ascribed to the horse changed as well.

Horses are domesticated animals and have been helpers to humankind for millennia, par-

ticularly as a means of transportation. As a result, the concept of travel, especially for preindustrial societies, is strongly associated with horses. This association with travel is reflected in the symbolic horse in cultures that practice shamanism. Because the shaman enters into a trance state and is believed to travel to other worlds, an ally that can assist in these often perilous journeys is valued.

Horses have figured prominently in many cultures' mythologies. The sun god's chariot in Hindu and Greek mythology is pulled across the sky by teams of fiery horses. Pegasus of the Greeks, Sleipnir of ancient Nordic culture, Mohammed's horse Alborak, and many others reflect the mystical connotations associated with horses. The winged horse symbolized the ability to fly into heaven, or to the Underworld, and horses with multiple sets of legs mirrored the number of pallbearers' legs as they carried the coffin to the grave. Shamanic concepts of the horse reflected these cultural beliefs.

Horses carry connotations of freedom and independence, as well as devotion. Not only is the domesticated horse used to preserve the integrity of the family farm and take the traveler safely on long journeys, the horse is also capable of surviving alone in the wild. Because a horse can live without the support of human beings, the fact that horses allow themselves to be used as beasts of burden is often seen as an act of loyalty. Small wonder that many nomadic Arabic cultures kept their horses in the tent with the rest of the family.

Sacrifice of a horse is an enormous offering due to its value. Horses were sacrificed both literally and symbolically in association with many shamanic rituals. The Buryat consecrated the horse stick used in shamanic ceremonies with the blood of sacrificed animals during shamanic initiations. This practice was believed to make the horse stick "real." The Buryats also sacrificed horses themselves, placing the horse skin and skull on a tall pole as an offering of propitiation to the deities. Other Siberian groups, such as the Yakut, had similar practices. The Altaian shaman both sacrificed the horse and conducted the slain animal's soul to God. Horse sacrifice was practiced in Vedic India to enable the shaman to achieve direct contact with Bai Ulgan or another god.

The association of horses with flight relates to the concept of shamanic journeying, initiatory experiences, and movement through ecstatic states of consciousness. This makes the horse the perfect companion for shamanic work. Many of the objects and symbols used in shamanic practices are referred to as the shaman's "horse." The rune Eh in Sami culture, which resembles the letter M in the English alphabet, is called the shaman's horse because the shaman can "ride" it into the other worlds. Drums, or the beat of drums, are described as the shaman's horse as well for the same reason—the beat conveys the shaman safely through the Otherworld. The Buryat horse stick becomes a real horse in nonordinary reality that is ridden as part of the shaman's ecstatic journey.

Mongolian shamans conceive of personal psychic energy as a windhorse, and this aspect of self is developed through balanced living and religious practices. Destructive actions and bad thoughts deplete windhorse, making the concept similar to Tibetan Buddhists' idea of karma. The Buryat also believe that reincarnating *ami* souls (body souls) are sent out on spirit horses to inhabit the newborn by the goddess Umai.

The result of humanity's long time admiration of horses and dependence on them for work, transportation, and artistic inspiration is the horse's appearance as both symbol and magical agent in shamanic practices throughout the world.

Trisha Lepp

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); Buryat Shamanism; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Sakha Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Andrews, Ted. 2001. *Animal Speak: The Spiritual and Magical Powers of Creatures Great and Small.* Saint Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Sarangerel (Stewart, Julie Ann). 2000. *Riding Windhorses: A Journey into the Heart of Mongolian Shamanism.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

Walker, Barbara. 1988. *The Woman's Dictionary of Symbols and Sacred Objects.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.

HYPNOSIS AND SHAMANISM

Hypnosis and hypnotic phenomena are integral aspects of certain shamanic practices. The use of hypnotic methods can be identified in ancient shamanistic traditions from around the world, long before hypnosis was formally introduced into modern Western society (e.g., Teitelbaum 1978; Bowers 1976). This close relationship between shamanism and hypnosis can be clearly observed in at least two areas of the shamanic complex. First, both shamanism in its healing rituals and hypnosis in its therapeutic encounter rely essentially on the skillful manipulation of the patient's imagination in order to achieve the desired therapeutic benefits. Accordingly, shamanic healing and clinical hypnosis can be jointly defined as the "masterful presentation of ideas [by the hypnotist or shaman] in order to manipulate images in the subject or client, all for the purpose of causing deliberate physiological and/or psychological responses to take place" (Overton 1998, 167). The second aspect shared by both shamanism and hypnosis is the representative use of the same dissociative state of consciousness, which in shamanism is referred to as the shamanic journey, or ecstatic flight, and in hypnosis is called the hypnotic trance, or simply trance. Neurophysiological and empirical evidence support the view that the shamanic journey achieved without the use of hallucinogenic substances, that is, with the aid of musical instrumentation, chanting, and similar phenomena, elicits the same electroencephalographic profile as the hypnotic trance state. In addition, experiential phenomena characteristic of the shaman's ecstatic flight, such as shapeshifting, contact with imaginal agents, and the like, can likewise be achieved in hypnotic trance (see Overton 1998, 2000).

The role of trance and imagination in hypnosis is not always self-evident from the definitions of hypnosis that have been given, which vary greatly. Hypnosis has been defined as "any effective communication" (Grinder and Bandler 1981, 2), "a state of mind in which suggestions are acted upon much more powerfully than is possible under normal circumstances" (Alman and Lambrou 1990, 7), and "ideas evoking responses" (Bierman 1995, 65). Each of these definitions illustrates differing views on the relationship between hypnosis and trance, an association that is often not clearly understood, although the latter is frequently implicitly viewed as equivalent to the former. However, although the use of trance with patients is central to the manner in which hypnotherapy is currently practiced, this was not always the case, nor do all practitioners understand it to be an essential element.

From its initial stages to its present-day usage, hypnosis in the West has undergone a series of identifiable transformations in its development. These transformations reveal the relationship between hypnosis and trance, the role that imagination plays in the therapeutic process, and some key intrinsic aspects of hypnosis that pertain to its relationship with shamanism. In the West, hypnosis, or mesmerism, as it was once called, can be directly traced to Anton Mesmer, who in 1776 promoted the idea that a general magnetic fluid pervaded all of nature, including living organisms, and that disease resulted when this magnetic fluid was unevenly distributed within the body. The proximity of a magnetized substance was employed to reestablish the flow of magnetic fluid in the body and therefore restore the organism to health. Although the hypnotic procedure took place without a formal trance induction process, healing was accomplished by the successful manipulation of the patient's expectation of the effects of imagined magnetic forces. So powerful were the images of the effects of these illusory forces, that these therapeutic interventions were often accompanied by violent convulsions on the part of the patient.

The second phase in the development of hypnosis centered on the techniques promoted by a disciple of Mesmer, the Marquis de Puysegur. Puysegur insisted that the healing power to realign the magnetic fluids in the patient's body resided not in the magnets themselves, but rather in the magnetizer, who by mere willpower redirected the magnetic flow and promoted healing. Puysegur was the first hypnotist known to induce a trance in his patients, a state that he referred to as somnambulism. Thus, this phase in the development of hypnosis is distinguished by the use of (still imaginary) directed forces, combined with the introduction of the somnambulist, or the patient in a trance state. Puysegur's techniques inspired several healing methods involving

hand passes (so-called laying on of the hands) and light touching in key areas of the body.

The next stage in the evolution of hypnosis began in 1819 with Abbé Faria, who developed the fixed-gaze method, in which he required subjects to fix their attention on an object in order to induce trance, after which he would offer healing suggestions to complete the intervention. Faria believed that the capacity for healing resided, not in the magnetizer's powers, but rather in the patient's trance state. Despite the publication of his results, his discoveries sparked little attention and remained unknown for some time.

In 1849, several decades later, and independently of Faria's findings, Dr. James Braid also discovered that when patients experienced a period of focused attention on a light, they became more suggestible. He coined the term *hypnosis* to refer to the sleeplike state patients entered when they stared at the light for extended periods. As with Abbé Faria, Braid's discovery that patients became more susceptible to the images elicited by his suggestions when in hypnosis than otherwise led him to conclude that the therapeutic process depended, not on the effect of any magnetic substance, but rather on the hypnotic state of the patient. Furthermore, Braid concluded that patients' suggestibility was measured by their capacity to enter the hypnotic state. With the advances of both Abbé Faria and James Braid, hypnosis passed into what has been called the trance stage, during which trance alone, without the manipulation of imagined magnetic forces, became understood as the basis for the healing intervention.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Hippolyte Bernheim and Auguste-Ambroise Liebault in France had fully determined that hypnosis is the result of psychological forces within the subject and not physical or any other kind of forces existing outside the subject. In 1958, after a two-year study, the American Medical Association accepted hypnosis as a viable clinical procedure. Currently, the term *hypnosis* has become exceedingly controversial, difficult to define and therefore to delimit. It is still often applied indiscriminately to the method of intervention called hypnotherapy, the hypnotic trance state, and the psychological and cognitive phenomena commonly elicited during trance, as well as to the means of inducing the trance state itself.

What is important to note about hypnosis and can clearly be seen in its history is the central role that the individual's imagination, in the form of beliefs, suggested images, and expectations, plays in the hypnotic encounter, with or without the use of trance. In 1784, for example, at the request of the king of France, Benjamin Franklin led a commission to investigate the scientific validity of Mesmer's magnetic claims. The result of the royal commission's findings were that "imagination without magnetism produces convulsions, and that magnetism without imagination produces nothing" (cited in Bowers 1976, 8). Nevertheless, trance currently plays a central role in hypnotherapy, as in this state the suggestions of the hypnotist are thought to have magnified effects compared to those that similar manipulations would accomplish in a "normal," or "waking," state of consciousness. In any case, the patient's expectation, which is a cognitive-affective state resulting from the combination of the imagined outcome of an event or procedure together with anticipation associated with that imagining, is at work not only within the hypnotic trance, but also in each aspect of any given therapeutic encounter. This is the case even prior to the formal intervention procedure. The psychophysiological effect of the impact of imagination plus anticipation is an ordinary occurrence in the history of medicine and is commonly reflected in the phenomenon often derisively referred to as the placebo effect (e.g., Bierman 1995; Overton 1998). The placebo effect can be defined as the beneficial physiological or psychological response that occurs as a result of the patient's expectation alone, despite the ingestion of an inert substance or the use of an intervention that could be expected to have no effect. The placebo effect is the bane of the pharmacological industry, its power being so pervasive that every new drug or treatment must demonstrate that its efficacy is greater than that of a placebo (Harrington 1997). Furthermore, "its effectiveness has been attested to, without exception, for more than two millennia" (Shapiro and Shapiro 1997, 1). Hypnosis exemplifies the psychophysiological power of the human imagination, arguably the same power also at work during the placebo effect. Indeed, for Steve Bierman, the placebo effect is "the cardinal fact" of hypnosis (Bierman 1995, 67). The relationship between the placebo ef-

fect and hypnosis is most evident during the earliest stages of the history of hypnosis, when it relied exclusively on the magnetizer's manipulation of the patient's expectation.

The counterpart of a placebo is often referred to as a *nocebo,* that is, an inert substance or otherwise nonfunctional intervention that produces negative physiological responses based on the patient's fatalistic expectations. "Voodoo death," in which the witch doctor or other shamanistic figure's curse leads to the demise of the victim, is often presented as the classic example of the nocebo effect. The first scientific investigation of Voodoo death was undertaken by the physiologist Walter Cannon (1942), who described this shamanistic phenomenon as the "fatal power of the imagination working through unmitigated terror" (cited in Benson 1996, 41). Thus, the relationship between Voodoo death and hypnosis is easy to discern: "Voodoo death is hypnodeath" (Overton 1998, 159). Whether positive (placebo) or negative (nocebo), the imagined outcome of the patient's expectation can often be so compelling to the individual's physiology that the resulting imagining becomes, to a lesser or greater extent, enacted in the form of healing or ailment.

From the perspective of clinical hypnosis Bierman emphasized that placebo, that is, hypnosis without trance, and trancework indeed represent opposite ends of the "technique spectrum" (Bierman 1995, 67). It is also here where we can clearly find one of the common denominators between shamanic healing and hypnosis. In the shamanic healing encounter, the patient's imagination is excited and exercised while observing the actions, in the form of physical behaviors and verbal descriptions of the shaman who, in trance, is mentally traveling in the supernatural realm. The reason for the "shamanic journey" or "ecstatic flight" in shamanic traditions lies in the etiology of disease in the shamanic paradigm, according to which pathology is often attributed to supernatural causes in the form of illicit interference, such as soul loss, witchcraft, or sorcery. Thus, the shaman must ecstatically, that is, in the form of an out-of-the-body experience, enter the supernatural realm to either obtain the knowledge to heal or to intervene in that dimension on behalf on the patient.

The role reversal between hypnosis and shamanism in the use of trance is an interesting one. For the hypnotherapist, the patient's trance magnifies the therapeutic effect of the mental images elicited by the hypnotherapist's words. For the shaman, the vividness of the experiences he describes when journeying plays powerfully on the patient's imagination, heavily conditioned by culturally acquired expectations. In hypnotherapy, following the development of the Western model, the ability of the healer to heal resides in the mind of the patient, because disease is understood to originate within an individual. For this reason, it is there, in the patient's mental realm, that the healer must endeavor to find a solution to the malady. Ultimately, both shamanic healing and hypnotherapy rely on the power of the human imagination to both create vivid and dynamic images, and to respond to such imagery, psychologically and physiologically, often in dramatic and enduring ways (Overton 1998).

Aside from the essential role that imagination plays in both shamanism and hypnosis, another area in which they are similar is in the nature of the trance experience itself. From a neurophysiological standpoint, the pattern of brain wave activity created during a hypnotic trance experience is practically identical to that created during a similar recording of shamanic journeys. In addition, the phenomenology of the shamanic journey can readily be replicated in any suggestible subject during hypnotic trance (Overton 1998, 2000). Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that both the shamanic journey and the hypnotic trance correspond to the same state of the mind-brain and are simply social and cultural adaptations of the same psychobiological phenomena. As the author concluded, where shamanic healing and clinical hypnotherapy principally differ "is in the fact that they are each cultural adaptations fundamentally rooted in opposing epistemological polarities" (Overton 1998, 167). In other words, for "the Westerner, knowledge resides in this reality, thus so should the clinician's consciousness"; on the other hand, "for a member of a shamanic culture, knowledge resides in non-ordinary reality, and so should the shaman's spirit" (Overton 1998, 167). Inherent to both healing methodologies is the fundamental use of the patient's imagination in order to achieve the desired responses, be they psychological, or physiological, or both.

James A. Overton

See also: Healing and Shamanism; Psychology of Shamanism; Spirits and Souls; Transformation

References and further reading:

Achterberg, J. 1985. *Imagery in Healing: Shamanism and Modern Medicine.* Boston: Shambhala.

———. 1987. "The Shaman: Master Healer in the Imaginary Realm." Pp. 103–124 in *Shamanism.* Edited by Shirley Nicholson. Wheaton, IL: The Theosophical Publishing House.

Alman, Brian M., and Peter Lambrou. 1990. *Self-Hypnosis: The Complete Manual for Health and Self-Change.* New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Benson, Herbert. 1996. *Timeless Healing.* New York: Scribner.

Bierman, Steve. 1995. "Medical Hypnosis." *Advances: The Journal of Mind-Body Health* 11, no. 3.

Bowers, K. 1976. *Hypnosis for the Seriously Curious.* Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Boyne, Gil. 1989. *Transforming Therapy.* Glendale, CA: Westwood Publishing Company.

Cannon, Walter B. 1942. "Voodoo Death." *American Anthropologist* 44: 169–181.

Eliade, M. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Grinder, John, and Richard Bandler. 1981. *Trance-Formations. Neuro-Linguistic Programming and the Structure of Hypnosis.* Moab, UT: Real People Press.

Halifax, Joan. 1982. *Shaman: The Wounded Healer.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Harrington, A. 1997. "Introduction." In *The Placebo Effect: An Interdisciplinary Exploration.* Cambridge: MA: Harvard University Press.

Maxfield, Melinda. 1990. *Effects of Rhythmic Drumming on EEG and Subjective Experience.* Unpublished diss., Institute of Transpersonal Psychology, Menlo Park, CA.

Overton, James A. 1998. "Shamanism and Clinical Hypnosis: A Brief Comparative Analysis." *Shaman* 6, no 2: 151–170.

———. 2000. "Neurocognitive Foundations of the Shamanic Perspective: A Brief Exploration into the Role of Imagination in Cognition and in the Creation of Experience." *Shaman* 8, no 1: 35–88.

Shapiro, A., and E. Shapiro. 1997. *The Powerful Placebo: From Ancient Priest to Modern Physician.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Teitelbaum, Myron. 1978. *Hypnosis Induction Technics.* Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Wall, Steve. 1995. *Shadowcatchers.* New York: HarperPerennial.

Walsh, Roger N. 1990. *The Spirit of Shamanism.* Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher.

Yapko, Michael. 1990. *Trancework: An Introduction to the Practice of Clinical Hypnosis.* New York: Brunner/Mazel.

INITIATION

The process of becoming a shaman combines an initial ecstatic or revelatory experience with a lengthy period of training to gain command of "techniques of ecstasy" (Eliade 1989, 13–14). The initial blow—sickness, dreams, fainting fits, fright, or lightning strike—constitutes a physical and psychological ordeal that sends the soul of the candidate on a journey. Recurrently, this spiritual crisis portends a drama of death and dismemberment of the physical body before renewal of the vital organs and rebirth. "A man must die before he becomes a shaman," said the Akawaio of Amazonia (Wavell, Butt, and Epton 1966, 49; see also Eliade 1989, 83). The new shaman's power to heal is proved by "successful mastery of the grounds of affliction" (Lewis 1989, 70). Initiation, the long process of acquiring that mastery, is paradigmatic, often reenacting the mythical exploits of the first shaman (Sullivan 1988, 390, 395). The new shaman's primary ecstatic experiences recall a primordial time of unity before communication between heaven and earth was severed; the initiate is the privileged individual who renews that link as his soul travels to the Otherworld in the service of the community (Eliade 1989, 144).

In his classic comparative study, Mircea Eliade regarded the typical death and resurrection sequence as similar in morphology to other rites of passage, whether tribal or secret society initiations (1989, 64–65). Such rituals were lacking in Siberia and Central Asia, the preeminent centers of shamanic practice in the strict sense. But across North America rites for admission to secret societies could be difficult to distinguish from shamanic initiation. In Australia, although medicine men had a separate class of rites from the general tribal initiations, they dealt in secret knowledge of the cosmology in which the wider initiation was embedded, particularly with respect to the Rainbow Snake (Elkin 1977, 22–24). Numerous accounts from South America explicitly compare the treatment of novice shamans to that of menstruating girls at initiation (see, for example, Sullivan 1988, 824, note 37). Among the Ju/'hoansi (pronounce Zhun-twasi), who provide perhaps the most convincing African case of strict shamanic practice, Richard Katz reported in 1982 that half of all men and a third of women might learn techniques of ecstasy. Here, training for getting and controlling *n/om* (pronounced *n-ts-om,* roughly) potency to achieve !*aia* (pronounced *kia*), the healing trance, was scarcely formalized. Yet Katz remarked that the ceremonial preparation of girls for getting n/om was the same as for menarche or marriage—all were dangerous, transitional forms of n/om initiation (1982, 171). In other Bushman groups, the trickster-creator god governed both puberty initiation and trance activity (Guenther 1999, 112).

Death and Dismemberment

Danger and power threaten to engulf the candidate in the first uncontrolled encounter with the spirits. The cosmos is thrown into reverse. Animals hunt and eat man—such as the bear or walrus who tore and devoured the Inuit apprentice *angakkoq* (singular; plural, *angakkut*); people run wild—such as the prospective Tungus clan shamans who fed on "animals . . . caught directly with their teeth" (Shirokogoroff 1982, 350). The Buryat initiate's body would lie lifeless and untouched seven days and nights while ancestral spirits carried off his soul and cut up and cooked his flesh "to teach him the art of shamanizing" (Ksenofontov, cited by Eliade 1989, 43–44). All over Siberia, as the candidate lay sick or "dead," the soul witnessed limbs disjointed on iron hooks, blood drunk by

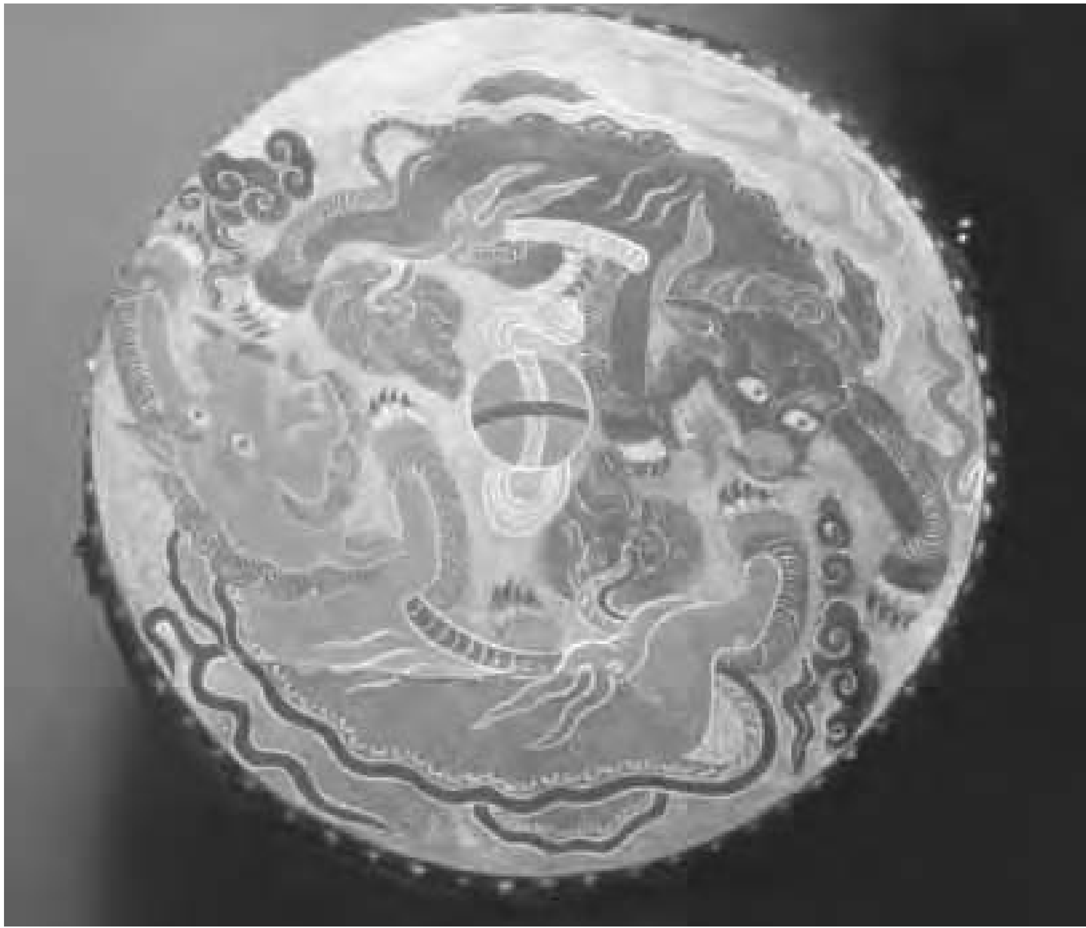
the spirits (souls of dead shamans), eyes torn from their sockets, flesh cut and pierced with arrows. Similarly savage accounts of the experience of shamanic dismemberment recur worldwide. In Australia, Adolphus Elkin reported the Mandjindja initiate being killed by "two totemic heroes," cut open from neck to groin, his organs removed (1977, 21); an Unmatjera medicine man had tiny crystal *atnongara* stones thrown at him with a spear-thrower, right through his chest and head, and his insides were then cut out (Spencer and Gillen 1904, 480–481). Whereas Siberian and Australian novices saw their bodies dismantled by shaman ancestors, an Inuit apprentice had his soul extracted from his eyes, brains, and intestines by an old angakkoq. After arduous preparation, he performed a mental exercise of contemplation of his own skeleton; this reduction to the bones freed him from "the perishable and transient flesh and blood" (Rasmussen 1929, 114). Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff told of the "skeletonization" of South American Desana initiates, before they could be reborn from the bones (1997, 123, 147). Elsewhere in the Americas, initiates watched, in ecstasy, their own destruction, and then reconstitution, their worlds, like their bodies, being "reordered and refashioned" (Sullivan 1988, 400).

Renewal and replacement of body parts by magical substances or the organs of the spirits themselves is a persistent motif. In the Arctic, candidates might be reforged with metal, while the eviscerated Australian medicine men were packed with rock crystals, or "snakes," the crystals being given the same name as the Rainbow Serpent (Eliade 1989, 132; Elkin 1977, 21–22, 33, 93). Crystals also feature typically in South American initiation, whether introduced into the body, or being carried as "*organs removed* to the outside" (Baer and Snell 1974, 69; cited by Sullivan 1988, 418). In this new condition of heightened sensory perception, the shaman's body, like the world itself, is turned inside out, newly revealed.

In the first experience of n/om, the Ju/'hoansi novice is shot by the teacher with arrows of n/om, pricking the neck, belly, and spine (Katz 1982, 46, 168). Like long thorns, these arrows stick out of the *gebesi*—the pit of the stomach, liver, and spleen—so that the abdomen is transfixed with arrows in all directions, according to old healer Kxao ≠Oah (pronounced Kau Dwa) (Katz 1982, 214). The shamanic rock art that alone remains to us of the lost Bushman cultures of southern Africa depicts such prostrate arrow-pierced figures of trancers (Garlake 1995, 130, 143–144). The same images of humans stuck with arrows are seen in cave art of the Franco-Cantabrian Upper Paleolithic, attesting to the antiquity of such experience. Among the Ju/'hoansi, the dance to powerful singing and rhythmic clapping activates the spiritual energy of n/om. The healers have said that it "heats up" with their movements, describing the searing pain as n/om boils in the gebesi, vaporizes, and rises up the spine. The first extraordinary pain of "drinking" n/om brings intense fear, the fear of death. For the heart to be open to boiling n/om, to enter into the trance state of !aia, one must be willing to die (Katz 1982, 45). Another old healer, /Ui, spoke of death: "Your heart stops. You're dead. Your thoughts are nothing. You breathe with difficulty. You see things, num things, you see spirits killing people. You smell burning, rotten flesh. Then you heal, you pull sickness out. You heal, heal, heal. Then you live. Your eyeballs clear and you see people clearly" (Katz 1982, 45).

New Powers of Vision

To "see" the spirits, to have contact with the dead, as Eliade said, means *being dead oneself* (1989, 84). To attain their dreams and visions of the spirit world, initiates undergo a terrifying metaphysical journey. Again, narratives from all continents bear marked similarities. The narratives tell of souls from Siberia to South America carried off by great birds of prey—eagles, vultures or mythical bird-spirits. Their magical flight lands on a giant tree where souls may nest and ripen—such as the great fir tree of the Yakut—or undergo ordeals, as with the Tree of Trials of the Mataco. Other modes of travel on a vertical axis encompass lightning, rainbows, ladders and ropes to the sky, or descent through graves or cave passages to the Underworld. The drum was the vehicle in Siberia, described by the Yukaghir as the "lake" into which the shaman dove to descend to the kingdom of the shades, described by the Yakut and Mongols as the shaman's "horse" ascending to spirits in the sky (Jochelson 1908, 59).



A Mongol shaman's decorated drum, from a traveling nomad artifact show, 1989. (Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Such explorations map a mythical geography of the primordial cosmos at the time of creation (Sullivan 1988, 410–412). In the texts of Amazonian Desana initiation collected by Reichel-Dolmatoff, the initiate's journey is symbolized on a vertical dimension by ecstatic birdlike flight into the clouds, likened to the soaring of the harpy eagle, and on a horizontal dimension by travel between the mouth and headwaters of rivers (1997, 123–124). In mythic time, rivers were the outstretched bodies of anacondas who originally carried people to settle on the banks. In several parts of Australia, medicine men received their power from the Rainbow Serpent or a water snake, which could also be seen in the sky. In a Forest River region initiation, an old doctor took the candidate, reduced to the size of a baby in a bag, mounting to the sky by climbing the Rainbow Serpent as if a rope, throwing the initiate into the sky and "killing" him (Elkin 1977, 22). Alternatively, initiates from South Australia might be put into a waterhole, to be swallowed whole and regurgitated by the mythical snake living there (1977, 20). Bushman cultures likewise have described the soul's travel in trance as climbing to the sky, God's place, by threads or ropes, or else as immersion underwater. The ancient rock paintings of the Matopos in Zimbabwe show ladders to the sky in the form of giant snakes (Garlake 1995, 131). In South Africa, snakes or "rain animals" are frequently found in depictions of trance states. In 1873, one of the last Maluti Bushmen was asked to interpret such paintings from the Drakensberg. He spoke of the trancers as men who lived un-

derwater, taming elands and snakes. They were people "spoilt" by the dance. Their noses bled, they would fall down and die, but Cagn, the Mantis-Trickster, gave "charms" to raise them again, in which there was burnt snake powder.

Traversing these new domains, the initiate gains a mystical ability to "see," where "seeing" is a total experience involving all senses (Sullivan 1988, 423). *Qaumaneq,* the mystical enlightenment of the Inuit angakkoq, was described to Rasmussen as a mysterious light in the shaman's body, inside his head, "a luminous fire which enables him to . . . see through darkness and perceive things and coming events which are hidden from others; thus they look into the future and into the secrets of others" (1929, 112). This sense came upon the candidate after days spent in solitude, invoking the spirits. The hut he was in suddenly rises; he saw far ahead of him, through mountains, as if the earth were a flat plain, to the end of the earth: "Nothing is hidden from him any longer; not only can he see things far, far away, but he can also discover souls, stolen souls" (1929, 113). When he first went to the master for instruction, an Iglulik Inuit novice said that he desired to see. Ju/'hoansi healers have spoken of "seeing properly" when in trance, allowing them to locate and "pull out" sickness (Katz 1982, 105). Though totally blind, Kxao ≠Oah could see in !aia. God kept his eyeballs in a little cloth bag, and brought them down from heaven when he danced: "as the singing gets strong, he puts the eyeballs into my sockets, and they stay there and I heal. And when the women stop singing and separate out, he removes the eyeballs, puts them back in the cloth bag, and takes them up to heaven" (Katz 1982, 216).

Relations with Spirits

Critical to learning how to work with the comings and goings of souls is some dialogue with the spirits. In the guise of shaman ancestors, animals, plants, or magical substances, these beings may appear at first to molest and attack, but ultimately, with the initiate's spiritual progress, they become helpers and guides. For the Chukchee, communication with the spirits was through beating the drum and singing. An extra whalebone drumstick was provided for the use of the spirits who approached. Hours of drumming and singing to attain the necessary endurance for performance was a large part of the novice's training. Sustained by the spirits, he should show no signs of fatigue (Bogoras 1904–1909, 424–425). Among the Bushmen, Katz reported that relations with the spirits remained confrontational. Once a Ju/'hoansi novice has become an owner of n/om, able to see and travel in !aia, healing becomes possible. The process is one of seeing which spirit is troubling a person, and negotiating with that spirit to leave. Experienced healers engage in struggle as equals with the gods or spirits of the dead; they can "bargain with them, insult them, even battle with them" (Katz 1982, 112). Friendly overtures and appeals turn to an interchange of screamed profanities and menacing gestures. Those at the dance hear the healer's side of the dialogue in response to the spiritual opponent (Katz 1982, 113).

Such dramatic, even histrionic conversations, reproduced in chanting, form part of the repertoire of shamanic curing all over the world. By contrast with the Ju/'hoansi, however, in many communities the messages relayed through the shaman request propitiation for offenses against the spirit world. The primary role of an Inuit angakkoq was to police the taboos that preserved the community from fear of revenge by souls of the animals they had killed. As the Iglulik told Rasmussen, "The greatest peril of life lies in the fact that human food consists entirely of souls" (1929, 56). An Iglulik séance took the form of a public confessional, as the angakkoq asked his helping spirits to divulge to him what taboos had been violated, until the patient owned up to specific breaches and could be purged of transgressions (1929, 133–134).

The mythic and dream narratives of initiation direct the candidates in the proper relations with the spirits who are to be their teachers, and whom they will be able to summon. A future Samoyed shaman fell ill with smallpox; carried into the middle of a sea, he was addressed by his own Sickness, telling him that the Lords of the Water would give him the gift of shamanizing. Guided to the Underworld by an ermine and a mouse, he was shown seven torn tents. In one, he found the inhabitants of the Underworld, men of the Great Sickness (syphilis), who tore out his heart and threw it into a pot. In other tents were the Lord of Madness, the Lords of all the nervous disorders,

and evil shamans. Thus he learned the various diseases tormenting mankind (Eliade 1989, 39). In Yakut narratives, once the candidate's soul had matured, parts of the body were shared out to the evil spirits of disease, one piece to each of the diseases the new shaman would be able to cure (Eliade 1989, 36, 38). The East Greenlander Sanimuinak told how he summoned his first spirit, or *tartok.* He went to a mountain facing the sunrise, with two great stones laid over a deep cleft. Rubbing the upper stone against the lower, he heard a voice out of the cleft and recoiled in terror. The next day, grinding the stones, he was seized with horrible pains at the sound of the voice, but on the next, he overcame his terror to command the spirit to come up. The stones lifted and a "sea monster armed with claw-like shears emerged, looking toward the sunrise" (Holm 1914, 298ff.; cited by Jakobsen 1999, 53).

In all these accounts, fasting and solitude aided the capacity to contact the spirits. The secluded Akawaio novice imbibed a special tree-bark infusion and vomited it out, so that the Spirit of the Bark entered the body. This enabled the shaman to rise into the sky, by a ladder or a tree. Along that same ladder other helper-spirits descended into the shaman's body. The novice learned to ascend a mountain where tobacco grows on a tree that propagates all fruit and vegetables. A spirit gave tobacco to the shaman. Then the tobacco spirit made the novice's own spirit small enough to fly out through the cracks in the house to the spirit realms. Tobacco spirit also brought down spirits of mountain birds to help the shaman. In particular, *kumalak*-bird spirits assisted the tobacco spirit in lifting the shaman's soul with their songs (Butt Colson 1977, 51–52). At each stage, a spirit helped the shaman to rise and gain more spiritual help at the next stage.

In the initiate's state of extreme vulnerability during the initial trauma and subsequent training period, strict taboos on food intake and sexual contact can be seen as protective precautions. An experienced shaman may be on hand to supervise such practical aspects of routine. However, often the master is a shaman who has died, or, if living, may be spiritually, not physically present. The master's prime role is to act as a spiritual guide "through unfamiliar supernatural terrain" (Sullivan 1988, 398). In Desana traditions, an apprentice shaman spends months or even years in building knowledge of plants and animals, cosmology, myths, and genealogies, as well as ritual procedures. He is also introduced to the hallucinogens that will carry him to the Otherworld. Once he has demonstrated his commitment to observing the rules of abstinence required of shamans, his master will take him, with perhaps two or three other experienced shamans, to a remote part of the forest. There, for months in isolation, the small group live on nothing but a little manioc, ingesting large quantities of drugs, spending "most of the time in their hammocks, their prostrate emaciated bodies convulsed, their faces contorted, their hoarse voices chanting endlessly to the rhythm of their gourd rattles" (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1997, 123). In this skeletal condition, the initiate falls into deep trance under the influence of a narcotic cocktail. The master-shaman "systematically administers a sequence of specifically prepared drugs," modifying dosage and admixture. The initiate's work in trance is to become aware of his own reactions to these psychotropics (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1997, 147).

Contemporary master shamans may assist initiates in their dealings with helper-spirits ultimately by establishing a lineage of communication with the original and most powerful mythical shaman (Sullivan 1988, 399). In Martin Gusinde's remarkable account of the initiation of a Yamana *yékamuš* (shaman), hallucinatory contact with the spirits of dead yékamuš came through severe physical deprivation. Painted each day with a white mash, the initiate had to sit in a conical hut in a prescribed position, unable to move or touch the walls, completely silent, barely eating, drinking, or sleeping. Once bonds were established with ancient shamans as spiritual helpers, the novice was instructed by living experienced shamans and the ancient ones. His progress was seen as every day he rubbed his cheeks with white clay and wood-shavings. As he grew wiser, the rubbing revealed a softer, finer skin, visible only to yékamuš. The rubbing continued until, exquisitely painful to touch, a third layer of skin—shiny, tender, and beautiful—was exposed (Gusinde 1936, 1307–1310; cited by Sullivan 1988, 393–395).

By contrast with these South American accounts of severe and closely supervised ordeals, the Ju/'hoansi do not draw on spiritual assis-

tance in learning to drink n/om. Help and support from teachers, family, and friends is practical in the here and now. In Bushman culture, learning to heal is "a normal aspect of socialization" (Katz 1982, 44). Teachers carefully regulate the numbers of "arrows" and intensity of n/om they shoot into students; if fear escalates at the approach of !aia, the teacher may make the student stop dancing to "cool down" boiling n/om. Physical contact between the students and those supporting them at the dance is extensive. They are "carried," physically, emotionally, and psychologically (Katz 1982, 46–47). Teachers may supervise dietary taboos for novices, while women students take care not to activate n/om during pregnancy (1982, 171–172).

Metaphors of Sexual and Reproductive Potencies: Gender Ambiguity

Of the variety of imagery symbolizing the metamorphosis of the new shaman from one state into another, pregnancy and fetal development are central motifs. Desana metaphysics utilizes a complex chain of interlinked models, including insemination and growth in the womb, the growth of plants, and transformative processes of cooking and pottery firing. These are accompanied by the changing neurophysiological sensations of the advancing narcotic trance (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1997, 147). Sexual metaphors permeate the manipulation of substances and props used in Desana initiation. The initial snuff-taking, using the phallic harpy eagle bone, has a connotation of insemination (1997, 128). The gourd rattles, which are viewed as wombs, contain tiny sharp quartz particles seen as semen, and they generate smoke or sparks when shaken for hours, this being an act of uterine creation (1997, 129). The types of firewood that effect transformation through heat include the "shrimp" tree, whitish with red veins, of phallic association, and the "bat" tree, referring to blood-sucking bats, which exudes red latex. Together, they mix semen and female blood. Added to these principles is the *puikerogë* tree whose bark, used in making straps of women's food baskets, has a "peculiar, pungent odour which men compare with menstrual or estrous smells" (1997, 135). Drug-induced optical and physiological sensations are described in terms of the erotic effects of a beautiful woman, a passion that has to be controlled (1997, 135–136, 140). Two metaphors represent the shamanic rebirth, one as penetrative passage through a hexagonal door of the river headwaters (1997, 144), the other conflating imagery of a fired pot and food cooked in a vessel. The pot is decorated with a zigzag motif seen around the waists of Desana women, their wombs identified as vessels for "cooking" the child within. The name of the design refers to the clitoris, that most gender-ambivalent sexual organ (1997, 146).

Mastery of combined female and male potencies, as seen in the Desana sequence repeatedly balancing "male" and "female" principles, underlies shamanic transformation. This is evident in overtly sexual unions with spirit teachers who grant powers to new shamans of the opposite sex. In Siberia, the *ayami* (tutelary spirit who chooses the shaman) of a Goldi shaman was a beautiful woman who had taught his ancestors to be shamans, and would teach him. He was to become her husband, or else she threatened to kill him. "When the *ayami* is within me, it is she who speaks through my mouth" said the shaman, " . . .When I am . . . drinking pig's blood [forbidden to all but the shaman], it is not I . . ., it is my *ayami* alone" (Sternberg 1925, cited by Eliade 1989, 73). Similar accounts of celestial "marriages" come from the Yakut, Buryat, and Teleut (Eliade 1989, 74–5). The ascent of the Teleut shaman was portrayed as a struggle with his new wife, who tried to detain him to make love in "seventh heaven" (Eliade 1989, 76). Among the Akawaio, the *kumalak* bird, whose *malik* spirit songs are the wings on which the shaman rises, becomes his wife during the séance, and is called "clairvoyant woman." She can make a child with him, who grows up to help the shaman in his work (Wavell, Butt and Epton 1966, 55–56). Other more awesome female spirits governed shamanic powers: The Mother of the Sea, keeper of all sea creatures, was the terrible adversary of the Greenland angakkoq (Jakobsen 1999, 70); while the Mother of the Caribou was the source of qaumaneq, "enlightenment," for the Iglulik (Rasmussen 1929, 113). In the Samoyed narrative of the journey to the Underworld, the shaman encountered two naked women covered in reindeer hair. Each was pregnant, one with the sacrificial

reindeer, the other with those that would aid and feed humans. Both gave him hairs to assist his shamanizing (Eliade 1989, 41).

Sexual contact with spirits is one way of expressing the shaman's non-availability, at least periodically, for terrestrial sex (Lewis 1989, 61, 63). Another way is to place the shaman into a state of taboo equivalent to that of a menstruating woman, a feature of South American initiation. A Trio shaman described his position to Peter Rivière as "like a menstruating woman, an apt simile which stresses the state of betwixt and between in which they both exist" (1969, 268). When Baniwa shamans inhale snuff to open the Sky Door, it is said to be the menstrual blood of the male culture hero Kuai (Sullivan 1988, 410). As Sullivan argued, menstruation is the "best statement of the periodic nature of incarnate human life" (1988, 266). Since this periodic flow is manifest in both men and women, both sexes "menstruate." For the Barasana, menstruation is a change of skin that makes regeneration possible. To give birth to a new generation of initiate boys in the *He* House ceremonial, men "must first be opened up and made to menstruate" (Hugh-Jones 1979, 132). The boys themselves are treated as menstruating women in seclusion (1979, 87). Not only women and initiate boys menstruate, but the sky itself undergoes a cosmic skin-change during rainy season, the "menstrual period of the sky," Romi Kumu, Woman Shaman, from whom all life and shamanic power flows (1979, 179).

Across Australia, the Rainbow Serpent, which governs both shamanic initiation and the elaborate male menstruation rites of male initiation, expresses the same principle of cyclicity and cosmic renewal (Knight 1988). In Bushman rock art from Zimbabwe and South Africa, images of trance potency and menstrual potency are conflated as means of movement to the Otherworld. Figures transformed in trance climb to the sky by the snakelike periodic flow of giant female beings (Garlake 1995, 87). The power of fusing aspects of both sexes within a single gender is characteristic of shamans worldwide. Recounting several examples of transvestitism and taboos observed by both women and shamans in Siberia, Jochelson asked, "Why is a shaman believed to become more powerful when he is changed into a woman?" (1908, 52–53). Most feared by the Chukchee was a shaman who changed sex, a "soft man" (Bogoras 1904–1909, 451–452).

Initiation might culminate in a final consecration, a public display of the new shaman's ability to deal with the spirit world, and of his or her effective healing power. This display might involve formal examination by master shamans of the candidate's knowledge of songs, myths, spirit genealogies and secret language as techniques of accessing the world beyond. The sequences of death and resurrection and the soul's journey are recapitulated. A Manchurian Tungus initiate had to tell the history of the spirits sent to him by the master; each night after the performance he climbed a specially built structure of trees and beams (Shirokogoroff 1935, 352). In an elaborate replay of his ascent, the Buryat initiate climbed a tree set into the center of a yurt (Eliade 1989, 119). Much was made of sacrifice in the Buryat ceremonies, and purification with water and blood, which should recur each new moon (1989, 116–117). Yakut and Goldi shamans were likewise consecrated with the blood of sacrificed animals (1989, 114–115). Such ritual tree-climbing coupled with anointing with blood and sacrifice also marked the Araucanian shaman's accession. The candidate appeared in company with the old women *machi,* who drummed ecstatically for her to dance. One of the older women, blindfold, cut the candidate with white quartz, and cut herself, mixing her blood with the candidate's. The new *machi* mounted the special tree-trunk structure, called the *rewe.* The older machi, climbing after, stripped from her the bloodstained fleece of a sacrificed sheep. Time alone would destroy this sacred object, hung out beside the rewe, the machi's ladder to the sky (Eliade 1989, 123–124).

Camilla Power

See also: !Kung Healing, Ritual, and Possession; Australian Aboriginal Shamanism; Buryat Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Evenki Shamanism; Kanaimà Shamanism; Rock Art and Shamanism; Sakha Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Baer, Gerhard, and Wayne W. Snell. 1974. "An Ayahuasca Ceremony among the Matsigenka (Eastern Peru)." *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie* 99, nos. 1 and 2: 63–80.

Bogoras, Waldemar. 1904–1909. *The Chukchee.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 7. Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert.

Butt Colson, Audrey. 1977. "The Akawaio Shaman." Pp. 43–65 in *Carib-speaking Indians: Culture, Society and Language.* Edited by Ellen B. Basso. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Elkin, Adolphus Peter. 1977. *Aboriginal Men of High Degree: Initiation and Sorcery in the World's Oldest Tradition.* Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions.

Garlake, Peter. 1995. *The Hunter's Vision: The Prehistoric Art of Zimbabwe.* London: British Museum Press.

Guenther, Mathias. 1999. *Tricksters and Trancers: Bushman Religion and Society.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Gusinde, Martin. 1936. "In der Medizinmannschule der Yamana-Feuerlander" (In the Medicineman's School of the Yamana-Fireland People). *Ciba Zeitschrift* (Basel) 4, no. 38: 1307–1310.

Holm, Gustav. 1914 [1887]. *Legends and Tales from Angmagsalik.* Collected by G. Holm. Meddelelser om Grønland Bd. 39. København: Rhodes.

Hugh-Jones, Stephen. 1979. *The Palm and the Pleiades: Initiation and Cosmology in Northwest Amazonia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jakobsen, Merete Demant. 1999. *Shamanism: Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing.* New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Jochelson, Waldemar. 1908. *The Koryak.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 6. Leiden and New York: Brill/Stechert.

Katz, Richard. 1982. *Boiling Energy: Community Healing among the Kalahari Kung.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Knight, Chris. 1988. "Menstrual Synchrony and the Australian Rainbow Snake." Pp. 232–255 in *Blood Magic: The Anthropology of Menstruation.* Edited by Thomas Buckley and Alma Gottlieb. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1989. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 2d ed. London: Routledge.

Rasmussen, Knud. 1929. *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos.* Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924, vol. 7. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1997. *Rainforest Shamans: Essays on the Tukano Indians of the Northwest Amazon.* Dartington, UK: Themis Books.

Rivière, Peter. 1969. *Marriage Among the Trio: A Principle of Social Organisation.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

Spencer, Baldwin, and F. J. Gillen. 1904. *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia.* London: Macmillan.

Sternberg, Leo. 1925. "Divine Election in Primitive Religion." Pp. 472–512 in *Compte-Rendu* de la XXIe Session, Pt. 2 (1924). Göteborg: Congrès International des Américanistes.

Sullivan, Lawrence E. 1988. *Icanchu's Drum: An Orientation to Meaning in South American Religions.* New York and London: Macmillan.

Wavell, Stewart, Audrey Butt, and Nina Epton. 1966. *Trances.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

"MAGIC," POWER, AND RITUAL IN SHAMANISM

Shamanism involves a religious complex characterized by trance, curing, and a belief in the possibility of cosmic flight, centering on an individual (the shaman) believed to possess superhuman powers. In shamanic ritual, there is articulation of power at several levels—psychological, social, and religious (Saladin d'Anglure 1994). The shaman appears, from this perspective, as a mediator who transcends these levels in a complex and dynamic fusion. The shaman is often able to overcome the contradictions between binary oppositions (man/woman, human/animal, human/spirit, living/dead), through playing with ambiguity, paradox, and transgression, in order to manage illness, misfortune, and other crises.

Theories of Magic and their Implications in Understanding Shamanism

Shamanic rituals have long intrigued outsider observers because they appear to use "magical" powers. The terms *magic* and *magical* have been used loosely with a variety of meanings, such as illusion or sleight of hand; the ability to change form, visibility or location, or to create something from nothing; spirit invocation and command; and inspiring awe. Nineteenth-century evolutionists such as Edward B. Tylor and James George Frazer focused on comparisons that allowed them to make what they saw as ranked distinctions in the context of a linear progression of human cognition and cosmology from "magic" to "religion" to "science."

Later, by the 1960s, anthropologists came to recognize that so-called magical power really involves processes that activate or express connections; magical power activates connections among things and projects specific forces among them. In these processes, symbols play a crucial role. In cultural context, objects and behaviors can become symbolic and have extraordinary magical power. Some symbols transcend cultural boundaries and may be universal key symbols evoking such themes as life and death (Turner 1967); for example, the color red is worn by a Korean shaman called a *mansin* in her rituals to treat unfulfilled desires for marriage and children (Kendall 1989).

Most symbols can be understood only within a specific cultural context, as recognized in magical or religious ritual. A symbol can be arbitrary, carrying a specific meaning assigned to it by its user and given to it by speech or even only through thoughts. In Niger, West Africa, for example, some Tuareg diviners wear blue, a color associated with spirits (Rasmussen 2001). Symbols can also be transformed from one ritual context to another. This is illustrated in Mayan shamanic rituals when an ordinary table is converted into "sacred" ritual space by arranging candles in proper symbolic directions for purposes of healing (Fabrega and Silver 1973). Objects used in shamanic rituals addressing deities can be used in magical ways, their power intended to motivate the natural forces, or as a defense against malignant spirits or against forces directed at a person by the malign magic of another. For example, Claude Lévi-Strauss argued that the symbols in a myth recited by a Cuna shaman are effective in their metaphoric power in facilitating a difficult birth (1963). Among the Inupiat of northern Alaska, a coil of leather ribbon about a half an inch wide with a large dull red bead bound to the end and having knots at the top and bottom, was traditionally shamanic: It was worn around the forehead when hunting, an allusion to the creator wearing a raven's beak set in the middle of the forehead (Turner 1996). Recall-

ing Frazer's classic theory of sympathetic magic, many symbols used in magical practices assert power either metaphorically, through similarity, or metonymically, through contact.

The resemblance between the thing and the cultural symbol of it may or may not be obvious, however. Thus the principles of what is called magic involve the manipulation of natural forces along a network of natural interconnections by symbolic projections of power. People can affect forces through manipulation of symbols in diverse ways according to context; for example, the use of amulets involves human efforts to increase the efficacy of natural forces along lines they would or might move on anyway, as in farming, gambling, or love magic. Among the Tuareg, a seminomadic, socially stratified Muslim people in Niger, West Africa, many Islamic scholars have shamanic mediumistic healing powers. They manipulate Qur'anic and non-Qur'anic symbols into their amulet charms according to traditional and changing social contexts. For example, one traditional amulet consists of an envelope, or "locket," filled with papers on which Qur'anic verses are written; its cover is made of metals with special powers derived from pre-Islamic beliefs: Silver symbolizes happiness; copper coagulates blood; and copper protects like a shield. A more modern amulet reflects the political violence of the recent armed separatist conflict between the Tuareg and the central government: One child was seen wearing a bullet as an amulet, made for the purpose of protecting him from his father's tragic fate of being shot to death (Rasmussen 2001).

Some scholars, such as Keith Thomas (1971), have assumed, following the earlier unilineal evolutionary views of Frazer and Tylor, that magic declines with advances in modern science. However, like science, magic uses logical principles. Magical thinking is found in all times and places (Malinowski 1948). Its powers address human questions that science cannot always explain. More recently, many scholars have recognized that magic will accommodate science, even stand as part of it (Horton 1982).

Other theories of magic take into account their possible empirical validity based upon laboratory research in parapsychology: This research has produced empirical support for some phenomena claimed by magical traditions. Studies have indicated, for example, that humans can exercise psychokinetic influence on radioactive decay, on computerized number generators, on growth rates of plants, fungi, and bacteria, and on healing in animals. Most recently, some scholars have critically deconstructed and recast magic, religion, and science as culture-bound distinctions and Western classifications, and have questioned efforts to make any system conform neatly to one or another of these categories (Jackson 1989; Tambiah 1990). Inspired in some cases by the works of Carlos Castaneda emphasizing the "separate reality" known to Yaqui Native Americans of the Mexican Highlands, they have considered magical phenomena as objectively real, whether or not they are inexplicable in terms of Western scientific knowledge (Stoller and Olkes 1987; Jackson 1989). Calling magic irrational or rational according to Western cultural formulations therefore poses complex epistemological problems that affect the understanding of shamanic ritual powers.

Shamanic Ritual and Power

Scholars of shamanism have long recognized the importance of the performance aspect of shamanic ritual powers (Bogoras 1904–1909; Rasmussen 1929). The core of shamanism, the shamanic "séance," has been variously portrayed, depending on the cultural context and perspectives of observers and participants. The term *séance,* however, reveals religious bias and problems of translation of cultures: Many early observers saw Siberian séances through Russian Orthodox eyes as the most fearsome examples of "wild frenzied truck with the devil." More recent analysts, for example the Tuvan insider-ethnographer Mongush Borakhovich Kenin-Lopsan (1987), in contrast have stressed the compelling poetry of shamanic chanting. Spirit-invoking songs help shamans enter trance, and key mythic metaphors depicting shamans as dancing, riding, and flying on drum-boats or drum-steeds to the supernatural world are taken literally, not merely as poetic images.

In her study of the *tende n goumaten* spirit possession exorcism rituals among the Tuareg of Niger, the author has drawn attention to the importance of the aesthetics of the sung poetic verses in the therapy of exorcism: Local partici-

pants stated that these songs "soothe illnesses of the heart and soul" and "distract" the possessed from their troubles (Rasmussen 1995, 130). Among the Tuareg, there are also shaman-like herbalists with special mediumistic powers called medicine women (Rasmussen 1998, 147–171), who in their healing rituals use natural and cultural substances both literally and metaphorically to refer to, but also negotiate among, sometimes opposed spheres in local ideology (Rasmussen 1998, 151). They translate and negotiate men's and women's interests in fertility, descent, and property, bridging and reconciling conflicts. Many patients, for example, come for attention and resolution of personal difficulties, or to seek medicines to become fatter or to conceive a child. In their managing of female biological fertility and the cultural and legal descent interests of men and women, and in their cooperation with Islamic scholars, medicine women comment on and reinterpret important issues in Tuareg society: matrilineal and patrilineal property institutions and pre-Islamic and official Islamic worldviews (Rasmussen 1998, 151). These worldviews become intertwined and sometimes reversed in herbalists' and diviners' ritual healing.

In their ritual uses of substances and spaces, Tuareg herbal medicine women work with the earth, ground, and clay rather than iron or other metals worked by smiths. During treatment, the Tuareg herbalist uses massage and touch, contacting not only the woman patient's stomach but also the ground in order to take the disease out of both patient and healer. The herbalist has to throw the disease away, allowing it to be absorbed by the ground, because she is heavy from the patient's illness and needs to have the ground take it off or away. The ground, which opens up during childbirth, is associated with the Old Woman of the Earth, who threatens a woman giving birth. To counteract this danger, babies should be born inside the mother's tent, on clean sand. Possessed persons are cured of spirits when they fall exhausted to the ground. Herbalists also work with trees and wood, leaves and bark; rocks and stone; and millet and other nonmeat foods (rather than animals, which are more often offered by Islamic scholars and male diviners). Mountains, rocks and stone, metal and wood, all are richly resonant with symbolism in Tuareg cosmology, mythology, and ritual. Mountains are described in myth as related to one another in kinship, like people.

Herbalist diviners transform substances and bridge domains. They combine, but also reinterpret, natural and cultural substances and spaces. They convert some natural materials into cultural materials: for example, those medicines they cook over the fire. They combine pre-Islamic and Islamic substances, actions, and spaces. They work both in the home space of villages and camps, where they heal, and in the wild, in the dried riverbeds, mountains, and deserts where they gather. The latter are all distant from homes and opposed to maternal tent, mosque, and houses. Herbalists alternate between the wild and these points of habitation. They cure in domestic spaces, but gather medicines in the wild, near stone ruins of ancestral spirits. Before they leave to gather medicines, they circle millet and sugar three times over the heads of maternal nieces and nephews. They pray before pulling leaves or bark off each tree and bush; for each tree, one offers a different prayer, because some trees produce big, important medicines and others are less important (Rasmussen 1998, 163). In local cosmology and ritual, these trees are associated with matrilineal spirits.

Herbalists carry Islamic prayer beads along on gathering expeditions; they pronounce "Bissmillah" (in the name of God), an Islamic benediction, before some trees; touch the ground three times and perform Islamic ablution motions and recite full Islamic prayers; and also write Qur'anic verses in the sand. Herbalist diviners are accompanied by young, preadolescent maternal nephews, never mature men, on their gathering expeditions. They spit *al baraka* (Islamic blessing) power on some leaves and bark before placing them in their medicine bags. They are obliged to remove bark from trees with a rock or stone, but not an ax or any tool made of metal, particularly iron; iron is believed to make medicine ineffective because iron repels spirits, and in this context medicine women seek to attract rather than repel spirits (Rasmussen 1995, 1998). Yet herbalist diviners also display devotion to Islam. Thus they stand on a boundary. They appeal to locally recognized symbols, making sometimes conflicting power sources more compatible. They evoke and commemorate, comment upon and redirect these

forces, facilitating their reinterpretation according to context.

The substances and spaces with which many shamanic ritual specialists work are associated with unpredictable and potentially destructive powers, but also with their conversion and regeneration into positive forces by the mediation of these specialists, who are able to successfully navigate opposed and dangerous social and ritual territories. Their roles take on multiple nuances and illustrate refinements that mediating roles can exhibit in cultural systems.

In the Mayan Mexican community of Zinacantan, Mexico, studied by Horacio Fabrega and Daniel Silver (1973), mediumistic healers called *h'iloletik,* usually male, received their powers through divine revelation, and practiced by combined physical and spiritual efforts, and thus could be called shamans. A new *h'ilol* usually went through a period of ambivalent status and furtive activity, during which he engaged circumspectly in curing activities but attempted to avoid public recognition of his role, which would entail onerous public duties. It is only when he had been discovered and forced to take part in public ceremonies performed by the h'iloletik that the public could be sure of his identity. Notions of cause, disease, and illness, logically separated in the Western biomedical system, were fused and condensed in shamanic rituals in Zinacantan: A patient's symptoms were seen as objectifications of spiritual and malevolent powers. Local residents said the disease traveled and entered "like smoke or wind spreads and diffuses in and around an object," in concepts analogous to force, damage, injury, and evil (Fabrega and Silver 1973, 93).

In Zinacantan, a h'ilol's specialized knowledge of bodily mechanisms or manifestations of illness is less important than his ownership of the spiritualistic power that confirms his actions in the medico-ritual sphere. He wrestles with superhuman, malevolent, and potentially life-destructive cosmic forces. It is in performing public and private ceremonies connected with the social and interpersonal affairs of patients that a h'ilol displays his powers. His mediatory ritualistic acts are designed to bind earthly humans in the everyday social world to the deliberations of ancestral and other superhuman beings, and his acts display a h'ilol's supporting and unifying functions in the culture (Fabrega and Silver 1973, 217). Rum, for example, helps the curer see: Intoxication aids his divinatory powers. Rum consumed by participants in a curing ceremony is simultaneously received by the deities, to whom it is served as a sign of respect and propitiation. Foods of ritual importance include chicken, coffee, sweet corn gruel, and Ladino bread, a round bread enjoyed in North Africa and surrounding regions. In rituals, social behavioral sequences are common and are replicated on different levels of activity throughout the system: The sequences involve formal courtesy elements such as the drinking rituals, ritual meals, feeling the pulse, fetching the curer, and the curer's gift. Proper use of ritual objects converts them into offerings to the gods: Flowers, candles, food, rum, and gifts are all received by the gods only after they are transformed by prescribed uses in rituals. Thus the ritual is a transaction in which participants offer the gods not only ritual sacrifices themselves, but also the ceremonial labor needed to convert them to divine use (Fabrega and Silver 1973, 268).

Gods were believed to be present at various stages of the ritual, summoned by the shaman's prayers and by ritual placement of rum on the table and the hearth, and before crosses. Rum was an outstanding avenue of communication and ritual power between individuals, other persons, and the gods. Ritual drinking also symbolized respect, and reflected the existing seniority relationships of participants. The patient tended to move to a position of seniority in a curing ceremony, drinking right after the h'ilol and marching directly in front of him, whatever his social standing. This may express the extraordinary position in which illness temporarily placed the patient, as the center of supportive activities from all the participants.

Among the Inupiat of northern Alaska studied by Edith Turner (1996), during traditional shamanic treatment a shaman sang to whale meat in a patient's stomach, telling it to bring the bad thing up and out, and then called and waited. The bad thing came up and up, by the power of the whale meat the patient ate, up into the skin of the abdomen, and out. The shaman had hands cupped on the patient's stomach; took it along carefully and blew it out up the smoke hole, and the patient slept for a whole day afterward, awakening hungry (Turner 1996, 174).

Turner also related stories of Inupiat doing "shaman's tricks" in the modern era, for example, doubling, such as spirit presence and actual presence (the shaman in two places at once), and other tricks hard to explain in scientific terms (Turner 1996, 132). Turner described the way an Inupiat woman named Claire, at different stages in her life, experienced episodes that psychologists in our culture might term "fugue states" or even "psychosis," yet these episodes did not derive from psychosis. They appeared to be classic eruptions of shamanic experience, just as the ancient Inupiat knew them, lasting four days (Turner 1996, 205–208). In early times, these were characterized by meeting with something fearful, a spirit of a dead person or of an animal, one that first afflicted the incipient shaman, then changed and became a helper. This woman saw a devil continually in her peripheral vision, and uttered nonsense words, upsetting her relatives. But at the end of the four-day episode, she was able to pray to Jesus again, and afterward her healing power was stronger. She appealed to Jesus to be her helper, seeing him as the opposite of Satan, and thus her change was parallel to the traditional shift in the spirit from being dangerous to helpful. Her appeal was to Jesus, yet the basic experience was quite close to that of shamans in pre-Christian days. Thus shamanic rituals are often resilient: Shamanic and "official" religious rituals cannot be easily separated, and one does not necessarily replace the other, despite pressures exerted by missionaries and other outside influences.

Cosmology, Belief Systems, Myths, and Practices in Shamanic Power

The shaman medium is perceived to be a mediator between spiritual and human worlds. This mediation is often painful, for the mystical forces shamans describe themselves as negotiating in ritual are fraught with danger and easily misused. The process requires moral, psychological, and physical strength, as well as exquisite knowledge and dramatization of diverse cultural symbols and histories of one's people.

The shamanic worldview often presupposes a multileveled cosmos, with the heavens, and often an Underworld, complementing the mundane world of everyday existence. Shamans move between these worlds in the exercise of their calling. Mystical flight is integrally connected in most versions of shamanism with two other themes: curing soul loss and interaction with spirit beings. It is the task of a shaman to travel to one or another cosmic realm to retrieve the soul of the sick person and thus to restore the sick person to health. These powers that shamans exercise are attributed to mastery over various spirits, both those who act as familiars, and those malignant spirits whose powers shamans must overcome. Siberian Evenki shamans invoked cacophonous spirits who raced inside séance tents so exuberantly that tents and participants alike trembled. These séances often produced cathartic confessions of taboo-breaking. Knud Rasmussen (1929), for example, noted that in one Iglulik (Inuit) session, there was confession of violating menstrual taboos, used to explain miscarriage.

Among the Inupiat in northern Alaska, traditionally the spirits and ancestors worked through shamans in healing, changing the weather, finding lost people and objects, and communicating with the dead (Turner 1996, xvii). These sessions took place in the neighborhood underground meeting house. If a shaman wished to make a journey to cure a sick person, drummers and singers would assemble and sing the songs the shaman had taught them, who in turn had been taught them by his or her helping spirit. The shaman, in dancing the part of his or her spirit animal, would eventually fall, and the shaman's spirit would depart, leaving the body behind. He or she would take a trip under the water or ice, or underground, or above the tundra, and would visit the home of the animals, asking them to restore the sick person's health. In some cases, a shaman might extract small spirit spear points from the patient's body by means of sucking where the trouble was perceived to be.

Healing is inseparable from mediumistic actions among many peoples. For example, Inupiat shamans conducted dancing and drumming to bring caribou, verbally giving the young their oral traditions at the same time. One oral tradition tells that a shaman went under the water in his ball of fire in order to help a sick young man. The shaman arrived at the animals' house under the water. The animals' parkas were hanging on the wall. Inside the animals' house the sick young man was lying down. The shaman asked a favor of animal people, "Let our relative come

back and not die. We need him to hunt for us, he is young." So they let him go. At that moment, back in his village, the young man lying on his bed began to get better, and he recovered (Turner 1996, 50–51).

In this classic Native American shamanic soul retrieval, the shaman learned to address the animals properly and respectfully, talking to them, developing a relationship of respect with animals. Thus human beings, by living well with animals, learned the Inupiat art of drumming, imitating in their drumming the rhythm of the heartbeat of the mother animal; they learned dog sledding, and after that, trading. According to Turner, this type of spirit cosmology and mythology contrasts with that of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam; in the latter, peoples are embedded in a hierarchy. God is usually envisaged at the apex of the hierarchy, like a king; humans come next, animals at the bottom. The idea in Inupiat cosmology is a continuous cycling of all existing things; here, it is often animals who are masters and teachers, not human beings, who are weaker and need their help (Turner 1996, 86).

Among some other peoples, by contrast, shamanic powers derive from an interweaving of hierarchical official and nonhierarchical unofficial religious cosmologies. Among the Tuareg of Niger, the Islamic and pre-Islamic spirit pantheons are both powerful in mediumship and healing. Different persons may inherit or cultivate a pact with different spirits, bringing them under their control through offerings and ritual restrictions and acquiring mediumistic divining and healing powers. The Qur'an mentions jinn, "spirits," and these are appealed to by Islamic scholars in their Qur'anic verse healing and divination, but there are also non-Qur'anic, matrilineal ancestral spirits appealed to by some herbalist medicine women who are gifted with special mediumistic powers. Other non-Qur'anic spirits are called *Kel Essuf*, People of Solitude. These spirits are the focus of non-Qur'anic diviners called *bokaye* (singular *boka*), and are also addressed in the public ritual exorcism of the tende n goumaten possession ritual.

Power in the Use of Altered States, Rituals, and Artifacts

Shamanic power generally occurs through trance. As a concept, however, *trance* constitutes a naturalistic gloss, a cover-term describing a range of altered states of consciousness. The focus here is how shamans, and sometimes also their followers and patients, attain trance, and how this process is related to the magic power of shamans.

The widespread cultural association of shamanic/mediumship/possession rituals with the experience of struggle and control, yet also creativity, is related both to the phenomenology of these experiences and to the distribution of power in society. As Ivan Karp pointed out, power in Max Weber's sense of material access and secular control does not adequately account for the power of possession or mediumship trance in its diverse cultural formulations (Karp 1989, 96–97). In cultures where the cosmos is seen as constituted of transactions, flows, and interactions between various orders and levels, and boundaries are fluid, the person is seen as porous and open to diverse outside influences, yet above all power resides in access to semantic creativity, to meaning making.

The way this kind of power works is shown in the shamanic healing powers recognized in Jamaican peasant culture, which distinguishes between sacred and profane, referred to locally as spiritual and temporal (Wedenoja 1989, 79). Balm healing is often called a spiritual science, because it deals with spirits, treats spiritual afflictions, and relies on trance states. Although God is held to be the ultimate source of healing power, power is delivered to healers through angels by means of the Holy Spirit. The balm healer, a woman, is essentially a shaman, a person who has received—generally during a severe illness—a spiritual calling to heal the nation and the spiritual gifts of divination and healing. The balmist's power to heal is based on spirit mediumship: She works with angel familiars who advise her in diagnosis and treatment. Balm-yards can be identified by banners (flags) flying from poles, often next to a small structure. Generally, they are enclosed by fences and have an arched gateway guarded by a follower. In addition, one or more offering tables are on the ground: poles, about five feet high, with a glass of water and fruit set on top to attract and feed angels.

In a similar fashion, in Tuareg culture, many diviners act as mouthpieces for spirits, who speak through the diviners in invasions and

cures. In Tuareg *bokaye* divination, the senses, particularly those affected by the use of nonvisual media such as aroma, are powerful means of communicating with spirits within the ritual trance context and outside it more generally: The *boka,* a male diviner, is obliged to constantly maintain and reinforce relations with his spirits by keeping perfumes at home in order to attract them. He is, moreover, obliged to wear perfume, as well as distinctive clothing of a deep blue hue; blue is a color associated with spirits tamed for constructive purposes, as opposed to black spirits, which are more ambiguous (Rasmussen 1995; 2001, 117). He is also obliged to carry ritual paraphernalia: a small mirror; a small copper ring; and a non-Islamic amulet. The mirror symbolizes iconically the process of divination, and is believed to repel evil eye–like powers of jealousy and coveting. Copper is believed to heal wounds. The diviner needs to wear the ring and the non-Islamic amulet exactly at the moments he throws the cowry shells as dice. He is supposed to refrain from sexual relations with unmarried women or prostitutes, to apply henna to his palms, fingernails, and toenails, and the soles of his feet, and must give alms to the poor. The diviner asks trees' spirits in Hausa regions of Niger and Nigeria about illnesses, and these spirits instruct him on how to treat certain types of psychological afflictions with specific roots he must gather on certain days only, at dawn.

While most Siberian and Central Asian studies have supported the idea that autosuggestion rather than narcotic or alcohol-induced ecstasy is typical of the induction of trance in classic shamanism, evidence in the Americas describes the use of trance-producing drugs, from peyote, datura, and psilocybin to morning glory and tobacco (Furst 1972). A reexamination of Asian data has led to greater acceptance of the possible antiquity of use of the Vedic soma (often identified as the mushroom *amanita muscaria*) and hemp seed (cannabis).

Witnesses have claimed that shamans, while in trance, have produced spirit voices in odd places, walked on hot coals or water, withstood cold, stabbed themselves without leaving scars, disappeared and reappeared, escaped the bonds of ropes, found lost objects and people, and even induced or controlled floods, winds, and storms. Some of these talents, celebrated in Siberian and Central Asian lore, may have involved sleight of hand tricks, ventriloquism, and hypnosis. Some Siberian shamans admit to using tricks, but claim their feats would not work if spirits were not helping them. Other behavior, including actual cures, is less easily explained with Western biomedical models of scientific knowledge. One medical explanation is that natural morphines called endorphins are stimulated in the brain. Thus reports of various parapsychological phenomena occurring in shamanic performances have come to be given more serious attention by anthropologists. Religious healing, shamanic curing, and Western psychotherapy should be investigated as equally clinically efficacious, though not necessarily exactly equivalent phenomena.

Michael Taussig (1987, 460–461) in his study of Putumayan shamanism has argued, alternatively, that the ritual power of shamanism lies not with the shaman at all, but rather with the coming together of shaman and patient, constituting imagery essential to the articulation of what he calls implicit social knowledge. Power comes from a joint construction of the healer and the sick person in the colonialist context (Taussig 1987, 460). This is a privileged moment in the casting of the reality of the world, in its making and its remaking. Taussig cautioned against projecting the concept of magic held by Western academia or science onto shamanic trance séances (Taussig 1987, 460–463).

Thus in shamanic altered states, there are many performative features of magical or ritual symbolic actions that are understood only when extracted from the context of exclusive belief in positivistic causality. The shamans' magical powers cannot be rigidly separated into technical and expressive aspects.

Susan J. Rasmussen

See also: Christianity and Shamanism; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Entheogens and Shamanism; Hausa Shamanistic Practices; Healing and Shamanism; Marabouts and Magic; Mayan Shamanism; Sufism and Shamanism; Transformation

References and further reading:

Bogoras, Waldemar. 1904–1909. *The Chukchee.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 7. Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert.

Dow, James. 1986. "Universal Aspects of Symbolic Healing." *American Anthropologist* 88: 56–69.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fabrega, Horacio, Jr., and Daniel B. Silver. 1973. *Illness and Shamanistic Curing in Zinacantan: An Ethnomedical Analysis.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Favret-Saada, Jeanne. 1977. *Deadly Words: Witchcraft in the Bocage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Furst, Peter T., ed. 1972. *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* New York: Praeger.

Harner, Michael, ed. 1973. *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hoppál, Mihály, ed. 1984. *Shamanism in Eurasia.* Göttingen: Edition Herodot.

Horton, Robin. 1982. *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, Michael. 1989. *Paths toward a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Karp, Ivan. 1989. "Power and Capacity in Rituals of Possession." Pp. 91–109 in *The Creativity of Power.* Edited by William Arens and Ivan Karp. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kendall, Laurel. 1989. "Old Ghosts and Ungrateful Children: A Korean Shaman's Story." Pp. 138–157 in *Women as Healers.* Edited by Carol McClain. New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press.

Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush Borakhovich. 1987. *Obriadovaia Praktika I Folkor Tuvinskogo Shamanstva* [The Ritual Practice and Folklore of Tuvan Shamanism]. Norosibirsk: Nauka.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1963. *Structural Anthropology.* Translated from the French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. New York: Basic Books.

Long, Joseph K. 1976. "Shamanism, Trance, Hallucinogens, and Psychical Events: Concepts, Methods, and Techniques for Fieldwork among Primitives." Pp. 301–313 in *The Realm of the Extra-Human: Agents and Audiences.* Edited by Agehananda Bharati. The Hague: Mouton.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1948. *Magic, Science and Religion.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

McNaughton, Patrick. 1988. *The Mande Blacksmiths.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Michael, Henry N., ed. 1963. *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Translated from the Russian by Stephen and Ethel Dunn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mikhailovskii, V. M. 1892. *Shamanism.* Moscow: Izvestiia Imperatorskogo obshchestva liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologiia i etnografii, 12.

Rasmussen, Knud. 1929. *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos.* Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924, vol. 7. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

Rasmussen, Susan. 1995. *Spirit Possession and Personhood among the Kel Ewey Tuareg.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1998. "Only Women Know Trees: Medicine Women and the Role of Herbal Healing in Tuareg Culture." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 54, no. 2: 147–171.

———. 2001. *Healing in Community: Medicine, Contested Terrains, and Cultural Encounters among the Tuareg.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard. 1994. "From Foetus to Shaman: The Construction of an Inuit Third Sex." Pp. 82–106 in *Amerindian Rebirth.* Edited by A. Mills and R. Slobodin. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Siikala, Anne-Leena, and Mihály Hoppál, eds. 1992. *Studies on Shamanism.* Helsinki: Finnish Anthropological Society.

Stoller, Paul. 1989. *The Taste of Ethnographic Things.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Stoller, Paul, and Cheryl Olkes. 1987. *In Sorcery's Shadow.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tambiah, Stanley. 1990. *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taussig, Michael. 1987. *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thomas, Keith. 1971. *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Turner, Edith. 1996. *The Hands Feels It.* DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.
Turner, Victor. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
Wedenoja, William. 1989. "Mothering and the Practice of Balm in Jamaica." Pp. 76–98 in *Women as Healers.* Edited by Carol McClain. New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press.

MESSIANISM AND SHAMANISM

Strictly speaking, the term *messianism,* or *messiah-ism,* refers to belief in a coming redeemer, or "messiah." In its broader, more anthropological usage, messianism refers to new and often radical religious cults and movements that emerge suddenly and revolve around a central (and living) charismatic figure. Messianic movements frequently occur at times of very severe deprivation or community-wide trauma, trauma caused by such factors as foreign conquest and oppression. This connection has suggested to many scholars that such movements constitute a religious and prepolitical response to the oppression and resultant upheaval (e.g., Lanternari 1963; Worsley 1957). Indeed, messianic figures bear prophetic visions of how to free their people from their strife-ridden social and cultural order and replace it with a new one of universal harmony and bliss. They are thus believed to be saviors or liberators with special access to the supernatural. In most cases, the messianic prophet's vision is also apocalyptic: The world will end in some cataclysm, but those who heed the prophet-messiah's instructions (e.g., obey certain new social rules and perform the right rituals) will be saved and enter a promised land on earth, a terrestrial paradise (Wallis 1943). Messianic movements guided by such a message are often referred to as millenarian, or millennial, deriving from the Christian idea of a messiah (Christ) ushering in a new "millennium" (thousand years) of peace, goodness, and perfect happiness. Messianic and millenarian cults and movements have occurred and continue to occur in all forms of societies, from ancient times to the present. They have frequently appeared in non-Western indigenous societies in which shamanism is or was prominent (La Barre 1971; 1990b; Wallis 1943).

Like messianism, the term *shamanism,* or *shaman-ism* refers to a magico-religious cult that revolves around a charismatic figure—the shaman. And like the messianic prophet, the shaman is believed to be a kind of liberator, though in the role of healer. As such, the shaman frees or protects the individual or community from disease-causing spirit attacks, but not, typically, from actual foreign aggression, oppression, or the ensuing misery of societal collapse, as would the prophet. The shaman is also believed to have special access to the supernatural, and like a prophet, may have visions or significant dreams; but unlike a prophet, the shaman is defined, prototypically, in terms of mastery of ecstatic trances induced by drumming or the rhythmic shaking of a rattle, and in many cases, by hallucinogenic herbs. While in trance, the shaman's soul journeys to "upper" and "lower" worlds to battle spirits attacking the community or to retrieve a patient's stolen soul. Spirits might also possess and speak through an entranced shaman, at the shaman's call. In either case, shamans solicit the support of helper spirits, nature gods, and their ancestors in their battles, offering these beings animal sacrifices and other valuables to ensure their support (Vitebsky 2001).

Thus, whereas shamans are concerned with maintaining the health and stability of their societies and not with changing them, prophets are directly concerned with changing things as they are and offer a vision of a new and different world with a new religious program for getting there. Yet, in shamanic societies undergoing severe social and cultural upheaval, it is often the shaman who becomes a prophet, a "shaman-prophet," or "shaman-messiah," and creates a new religious form or movement, even if that "new" form entails a revival of older or even lost traditions. Anthropologist Weston La Barre (1990b) went so far as to argue that shamanism may well have emerged originally in prehistoric hunting and gathering societies as a kind of messianic cult in which shaman-prophets offered both healing and new cultural models to cope with ongoing crises over food and deadly aggression by competing groups.

In historic times, messianic and millennial forms of shamanism have been reported from

Siberia to the Americas, where the number and quality of cases is richest, and in Southeast Asia and elsewhere as well. Some are more explicitly political and military in character and may even lead to actual armed rebellion against a foreign power; others are more exclusively religious and expressive, aiming to achieve liberation through magical and spiritual means alone. Still others fall in between. At either extreme, the actual messianic beliefs and practices may tend to be more acculturative (emphasizing foreign religious elements and de-emphasizing the indigenous) or more nativistic (emphasizing indigenous religion and rejecting foreign beliefs and practices) (cf. Fernández 1964). Although many anthropologists attribute the cause of such sudden new religious forms to exogenous, or external, factors, such as severe natural disasters, the clash of cultures, and social, economic, and political oppression (e.g., Aberle 1970; La Barre 1971; Lanternari 1963; Wallace 1956a), others point to endogenous, or internal, factors, such as a society's own sociopolitical conflicts and traditional millenarian or messianic ideas and myths (Brown 1991; Clastres 1995; Espíndola 1961; Spier 1935).

Messianic Shamanism in Siberia

Marjorie Balzer (1999, 75–98) described two nineteenth-century cases of messianic shamanism in Northwest Siberia that appear to have been responses to oppressive external conditions, though one was more military in character and the other was more expressive, or religious. They both emerged after 1820 among the indigenous Nentsy (Samoyed, Yurak) and Khanty (Ostiak, Ugra) peoples. It was a time of increasing Russian contact and colonization in their area, with stiffer taxation by the czarist government and mounting pressure by the Russian Orthodox Church to Christianize. At the same time, ecological disasters, such as widespread forest fires that devastated the tundra, and a burgeoning poverty further contributed to the breakdown of these tribal peoples' traditional and relatively free nomadic and egalitarian way of life based on herding and breeding reindeer. As a result, they became increasingly more dependent on Russian grains and products. But during several famines, the grains were withheld, fueling their growing desperation.

Then, in 1825, a very talented, charismatic, and well-known Nentsy shaman, Vavlyo Neniang, began preaching about a prophetic vision he had had. He saw his people return to a traditional way of life, and he saw the usually opposing Nentsy and Khanty tribes united in a combined religious, political, and military response to their mutual plight. Within a short time, large numbers of Nentsy and Khanty gathered around Vavlyo, forming a messianic community of more than 400 tents. Vavlyo led his followers in shamanic ritual dances, chanting, and nighttime sacrificial offerings of reindeer to placate local spirits and, plausibly, to liberate them from their condition. He preached that his followers should reclaim their nomadic lives and religion and denounce the life of hired laborers and fishers. They should also withhold payment of taxes and join him in Robin Hood–like raids on the reindeer herds of the wealthy, who were allied to the Russians, to redistribute the herds to their poor and starving people.

In 1839, after many such raids, Vavlyo was imprisoned and exiled. However, after a stunning escape, which followers attributed to his shamanic powers, Vavlyo returned and marched toward the provincial center of Obdorsk with 400–600 armed followers. His plan was to force merchants of the regional market there to lower the prices of Russian goods, increase the value of Native furs, force Taishin, a puppet Khanty "prince" of the Russian government, to distribute the government supplies of grains that had been withheld, and replace Taishin with a Khanty elder of Vavlyo's choosing to serve as cultural broker with the Russians. Though Vavlyo was captured and imprisoned en route, a Khanty cohort, the shaman Pani Khodin, continued the movement and its religious and military activities in a much smaller band for another fifteen years (until 1856).

By 1896, Russian colonization and influence had spread to the Vakh river region to the south and was strongly undermining the fundamental values of very poor Khanty peoples, who had been forced into the area and who were surviving on hunting, fishing, and the trade of squirrel skins. Many squandered their meager earnings on alcohol and tobacco, vices tied directly to the Russians. Even very young girls were seen drunk in the villages, and, among adults, smoking and drinking were be-

coming common at traditional religious ceremonies held at sacred grove sites. Sexual relations with the Russians were also increasing, leading to the breakdown of traditional kin relations and constituting a major breach of Khanty moral codes. Many believed that such breaches would affect the health of the people as a whole, and indeed, various sicknesses, notably smallpox, were appearing in neighboring regions.

In that year, one of several types of Khanty shamans, a female dream-seer, *ulam-verta-ni,* had a powerful dream predicting a terrible sickness among her people. She preached that to prevent this cataclysmic epidemic people would have to give up tobacco and alcohol, renew the Khanty moral code regarding sexual relations, and perform ongoing and intensive ceremonies before ancestor shrines at a large number of sacred groves. In each ceremony, they were to execute the most rigorous and most costly form of ritual sacrifice, that of horses (instead of the more common and less valued reindeer). The sacrificed horses were to be offered to obtain the protection of diverse ancestor spirits and celestial gods and to placate disease-causing entities, the Christian devil, and other evil spirits. The shamanic dream-seer soon attracted a large Khanty following from as far away as 100 kilometers. This following included other types of shamans, such as the *ëlta-ku,* who directly battled disease-causing spirits in trance, sacrifice specialists, various kinds of healers, and the elders of many Vakh river settlements. All participated in elaborate shamanic séances and sacrificial rites at the numerous ancestor grove sites. The shamans danced, chanted, sacrificed seven horses in each ceremony, and escorted the horses' souls to the gods and spirits they were offered to. But due to sickness, despair, and the apparently irreversible impact of Russian culture, the movement dwindled in less than a year. (For cases of shaman-prophets and shamanic revivals in post-Soviet Siberia, see Balzer 2002; Fridman 2004.)

Messianic Shamanism in the Americas

In North America, external factors also appeared to be responsible for the development of indigenous messianic movements during and after European and Euro-American colonization, which devastated Native American lands, forced Indians into reservations, eliminated the huge roaming herds of bison upon which many groups depended, and led to both widespread malnutrition and a series of terrible typhoid and other epidemics. Many Indians died. At the same time, the Indians also lost their political autonomy and suffered from the U.S. government's campaign to eradicate their languages, customs, and beliefs (Kehoe 1989, 13–40).

In 1870, during the development of these extreme deprivations, the North Paiute Indian shaman, Wodizob, of Nevada, famous for his soul-fetching trance journeys to heal the ill, had a prophetic vision in which he saw the souls of the dead. He said that if the people performed a sacred round dance for their ancestors, a "Ghost Dance," there would be a great cataclysm in which the white people would vanish, the Great Spirit would return their loved ones who had died, and all would live happily in a paradisiacal land of plenty. Though the movement ended after four years of intensive trance dancing without effect, the Ghost Dance spread throughout California and Oregon (Du Bois 1939).

Then in 1888, Wovoka ("Jack Wilson"), a Northern Paiute "weather doctor" and healer, who had been raised in part by whites and exposed to Christian beliefs, suffered a serious sickness during which he lost consciousness. At the height of his delirium, there occurred earth tremors and a dramatic total eclipse of the sun. The terrified Paiute believed that the world was ending. When it did not and Wovoka regained consciousness, he talked of meeting God in a spiritual journey. God told him that his people must lead a clean, honest life (no fights, no war against whites, no lying, stealing, drinking) and carry out a sacred Ghost Dance. If they obeyed, they would be reunited with their deceased loved ones in a new world, but with no more sickness, old age, or death, and with plenty of game. The whites would be carried away or become one with the Indians. Wovoka's Ghost Dance spread to some thirty-five tribes throughout the West. Some variants developed more intensely religious forms, as among the Northern Paiute and Arapaho. Others became more political and potentially military, as among the Sioux, who devised "bulletproof" shirts in preparation for war. The Sioux Ghost Dance ended in the tragic slaughter of Ghost Dancers at Wounded Knee. Most other

Ghost Dances disappeared in time, but some continued into the 1960s (Kehoe 1989; La Barre 1990a).

Though many scholars attribute the emergence of the Ghost Dance movements to external factors, namely Euro-American oppression, others point to internal sources. For instance, according to Leslie Spier (1935), pre-European beliefs among Indians of the Northwest and the Northern Paiute region strongly resembled those of the Ghost Dance. They believed, for instance, in an impending destruction of the world, its renewal, and the "happy day" when the dead would return—all invoked by a round dance led by an inspired leader (Spier 1935, 5). This "Prophet Dance," as Spier called it, was observed and recorded among various groups, such as the Pacific Coast Salish Indians, as early as 1820, long before the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890 and many years before the first trading posts and missionaries in that region (Suttles 1957, 353–358, 382–383). Plausibly, then, the later Ghost Dance prophets drew from these traditional Indian beliefs and practices in their region, and thus their messianic shamanism was not, or not primarily, a creative response to Euro-American colonization.

In regard to the earlier Prophet Dances, some anthropologists, like Spier, have emphasized endogenous causes. They have argued, for instance, that in the politically precarious Indian societies of that area, the Prophet Dance was a kind of cultural mechanism through which needed political leaders could arise, offering new models of how things should be (Suttles 1957, 393). Indeed, although many Prophet Dance leaders were shamans, others were inspired chiefs. Other anthropologists, however, have argued that Western trade and colonizers' diseases had actually strongly impacted the Indians in those societies before any direct contact with whites. The diseases and the effects of trade had spread into these Indians' areas and caused crises in their societies, and they responded with the Prophet Dances—pointing back again to external causes (Aberle 1959; Walker 1969).

This debate over internal versus external causes figures prominently in the literature on messianic shamanism in South America. Often cited in the controversy are the astounding messianic movements of the closely related Tupí and Guaraní tribes. During European colonization in the sixteenth century, the Tupí-Guaraní populated coastal Brazil, the northwest Amazon region, Paraguay, and nearby areas. Their movements were led by the most revered form of Tupí-Guaraní shaman, a male shaman-prophet called the *karai (caraí, caraïbe).* Between 1539 and 1549, for instance, ten to twelve thousand Tupí (Tupinamba) of coastal Brazil suddenly left their otherwise sedentary agricultural communities, presumably under the direction and visions of a karai. They traveled westward en masse across the entire continent to the Andes of Peru in search of a terrestrial paradise they called *kandire,* "the Land-Without-Evil." Spanish settlers in the Peruvian Andes in 1549 recorded the arrival of some 300 survivors of this extraordinary messianic trek and the Indians' account of it.

In 1562, the Jesuits stopped a similar messianic exodus of 3,000 Tupí from Bahia on the northeast Brazilian coast, led by two karais in pursuit of the Land-Without-Evil. But in 1609, another karai successfully led an estimated 40,000 to 60,000 Tupí (Potiquara) for more than a thousand miles, from Pernambuco, a state just north of Bahia, to Maranhão in the far north, again following their karai's visions of the end of the world and a promised land of plenty and immortality. Jesuits, adventurers, and army captains met the massive migration at different points along the way and recorded details of the karai's vision, message, rules, and rituals. There were many more such migratory forms of messianic shamanism in Brazil, but an even greater number appeared among Guaraní groups from Paraguay and nearby areas. All of them headed east to the Brazilian coast in search of the Land-Without-Evil. Such messianic migrations continued through the nineteenth century and into the beginning of the twentieth century (Clastres 1995, 49–57; Métraux 1941).

What evil were they all fleeing—an evil from without or from within? Dramatic developments in the colonization of the Brazilian coast in the 1530s (just preceding the first recorded migration in 1539–1549) suggest external causes, an evil from without. At that time, sugar mills were founded along the coast, leading to the extensive enslavement of Indians for labor and for widespread sexual

exploitation. At the same time, to boost the Portuguese presence on the coast, King João III emptied his jails of murderers and other hardened criminals and sent them to Brazil, where they committed terrible atrocities, particularly against the Indians (Hemming 1978, 35–44).

Plausibly, such external conditions were behind the messianic migrations. But if the Tupí were simply escaping the evil Portuguese and servitude, why would they cross the entire continent to escape them? They could have stopped long before then. According to Hélène Clastres and other anthropologists, the movements were rather motivated by religious and political concerns within Tupí-Guaraní society. In their model, fundamental Tupí-Guaraní beliefs and myths together with the stresses within their power structure (tensions between chiefs and karais) periodically drove karais to draw from their myths and form messianic movements in order to escape internal conflicts—thus pointing to internal causes, an evil within. The Tupí and Guaraní believed in a central high god, Tupä, who was actually a god of destruction (not of creation) and intimately tied to their ostensibly pre-European apocalyptic myths about the world's future destruction and the quest for the Land-Without-Evil. These beliefs would explain their major preoccupation with these themes and why so many disparate Tupí and Guaraní tribes from northeast Brazil to the northwest region of the Amazon and Paraguay held virtually the same myths and exhibited the same kinds of messianic migrations periodically, as noted by chroniclers early in the colonial period (Clastres 1995; cf. Thomas 1988). (For other cases in North America, see Wallace 1956a; Thornton 1993; and for South America, see Brown 1991; Hugh-Jones 1997; Wright and Hill 1992.)

Patric V. Giesler

See also: Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Aberle, David F. 1959. "The Prophet Dance and Reactions to White Contact." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15: 74–83.

———. 1970. "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and Other Cult Movements." Pp. 209–214 in *Millennial Dreams in Action.* Edited by Sylvia L. Thrupp. New York: Schocken Books. Original edition, The Hague: Mouton, 1962.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam. 1999. *The Tenacity of Ethnicity: A Siberian Saga in Global Perspective.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 2002. "Healing Failed Faith? Contemporary Siberian Shamanism." *Anthropology and Humanism* 26, no. 2: 134–149.

Brown, Michael F. 1991. "Beyond Resistance: A Comparative Study of Utopian Renewal in Amazonia." *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 4: 388–413.

Clastres, Hélène. 1995. *The Land without Evil: Tupí-Guaraní Prophetism.* Translated from the French by Jacqueline Grenez Brovender. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Originally published as *La terre sans mal: Le prophétisme tupi-guarani.* Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975.

Du Bois, Cora. 1939. *The 1870 Ghost Dance.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Espíndola, Julio César. 1961. "Propósito del Mesianismo en las Tribus Guaraní" [The Purpose of Messianism in the Guarani Tribes]. *America Indígena* 21, no. 4: 307–325.

Fernández, James W. 1964. "African Religious Movements—Types and Dynamics." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 2, no. 4: 531–549.

Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann. 2004. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism among the Buddhist Peoples of Russia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hemming, John. 1978. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hugh-Jones, Stephen. 1997. "Shamans, Prophets, Priests, and Pastors." Pp. 32–75 in *Shamanism, History, and the State.* Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kehoe, Alice Beck. 1989. *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization.* Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

La Barre, Weston. 1971. "Materials for a History of Studies of Crisis Cults: A Bibliographic Essay." *Current Anthropology* 12, no. 1: 3–43.

———. 1990a. Reprint. *The Ghost Dance: Origins of Religion.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press. Original edition, New York: Dell, 1972.

———. 1990b. "Hallucinations and the Origins of Religion." Pp. 261–278 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinations.* Edited by Peter T. Furst. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press. Original edition, New York: Praeger, 1972.

Lanternari, Vittorio. 1963. *The Religion of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults.* Translated from the Italian by Lisa Sergio. New York: Knopf.

Métraux, Alfred. 1941. "Messiahs of South America." *The Inter-American Quarterly* 3, no. 2: 53–60.

Spier, Leslie. 1935. *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance.* General Series in Anthropology, no. 1. Menasha, WI: George Benta.

Suttles, Wayne. 1957. "The Plateau Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13: 352–395.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1988. "Marginal Powers: Shamanism and the Disintegration of Hierarchy." *Critique of Anthropology* 8, no. 3: 53–74.

Thornton, Russell. 1993. "Boundary Dissolution and Revitalization Movements: The Case of the Nineteenth-Century Cherokees." *Ethnohistory* 40, no. 3: 359–383.

Vitebsky, Piers. 2001. *Shamanism.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. First American edition, Boston: Little, Brown, 1995.

Walker, Deward E., Jr. 1969. "New Light on the Prophet Dance Controversy." *Ethnohistory* 16, no. 3: 245–255.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. 1956a. "New Religions among the Delaware Indians, 1600–1900." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12, no. 1: 1–21.

———. 1956b. "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist* 58: 264–281.

Wallis, Wilson D. 1943. *Messiahs: Their Role in Civilization.* Washington, DC: American Council on Public Affairs.

Worsley, Peter. 1957. *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia.* London: Margibbon and Kee.

Wright, Robin M., and Jonathan D. Hill. 1992. "Venancio Kamiko: Wakunai Shaman and Messiah." Pp. 257–286 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

The material history of shamanism today exists primarily in the museums of the world's developed nations. The oldest collections exist in the Ethnographic Museum of the Americas in Madrid, the Russian Museum of Ethnography and the Kunstkammer Museum in Saint Petersburg, Russia, and the British Museum in London. The largest African collections are held in the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Belgium and the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin.

Collections consisting of objects relating to shamanism, ritual, divination, and healing were established during a colonial era extending from the fifteenth through the twentieth centuries. These objects were obtained as curiosities, booty, and ethnographic specimens and subsequently gathered as collections in faraway cities like Oslo, New York, Chicago, Paris, Seattle, and Ottawa. Many museum collections, such as those of the American Museum of Natural History in New York and the Field Museum in Chicago, were developed by private or museum sponsorship, motivated by civic boosters eager to establish collections of ethnographic importance. As a result, many objects, some still integral to cultural practice and heritage, were acquired by ethically questionable means. Other museums, most notably the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Turvuren, Belgium, developed their massive collections forcibly, often at the expense of cultures and lives.

Though many museums were complicit in the weakening of shamanism and indigenous cultures, paradoxically their collections now exist as testaments to the widespread and multifaceted heritage of shamanism. To be thankful yet regretful is the part of the complicated colonial legacy that all Westerners share today. Mindful of their colonial legacy, many museums have subsequently developed an awareness of context, meaning, and sacredness for objects within their collections. Similarly, the rise in cultural awareness and political empowerment of many indigenous cultures has spurred the development of regional museums in places like Ulan Ude in Siberia and Pusan in Korea. These museums, operated and curated by indigenous people and dedicated to a local culture, are part of a broader movement of cultural reclamation, whereby cultures are recovering and reimagin-

ing their heritage. Central to cultural recovery efforts has been the reexamination of spiritual and shamanistic traditions.

In turn, many museums have aspired to more accurately identify objects, their context, and use. However, due to incomplete or vague collection data, the identification of many shamanistic, ritual, or cultural objects remains imprecise. A recent exhibit at the Royal Ontario Museum in Ottawa, for instance, identified an ancient Chinese figure simply as a "figure" rather than as an image of Nuogong, the father of Nuo—a complex shamanistic spiritual system based on Daoism—who traditionally had to be present to oversee each shamanistic ceremony. Similarly, many of the ritual objects, regalia, masks, talismans, and figurines located in the world's museums have been vaguely identified by their collectors and often ascribed, wittingly and unwittingly, with misleading information because of the association of an object with "pagan" or "heathen" significance or ceremonies. As a consequence many objects remain incorrectly identified or generally described as "ritual" rather than "shamanistic." A visitor or researcher should be mindful of less than obvious shamanistic connections; in fact, most ritual objects should be viewed as being associated with shamanistic practice, even though not specifically identified as such.

It is impossible to note all museums containing objects relating to the world's diverse shamanistic heritage. Instead, this entry will cite major and unique collections, which will hopefully serve as guideposts for the reader's further investigations.

The Russian Museum of Ethnography and the Kunstkammer Museum, both of which are located in Saint Petersburg, contain the world's largest and most comprehensive collections of Siberian and Far Eastern shamanistic objects. The second floor of the Russian Museum of Ethnography holds several thousand ritual objects relating to the wide variety of ethnic groups contained within Russia, a nation that accounts for one-fifth of the earth's land surface. Under the sponsorship of Czar Alexander III, the museum collected objects from more than 150 ethnic groups to proclaim the breadth and depth of Russian culture; under the Soviets, ethnic diversity was used to demonstrate the triumph of Communist ideology. The main part of this ethnographic collection was obtained in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Anthropomorphic images, shaman's coats, ritual costumes, drums, and masks from Russia's vast cultural landscape are represented. Objects from the Baltic States, the Volga, Caucasus, Alvic, Byelorussia, Amur, Ukrainian Crimea, Daghestan, Ural, and the Kazakstan regions are included. The museum also has a valuable photo collection and an extraordinary representation of ritual regalia from Siberia, Central Asia, and the Far East, which includes the Yakut, Buryat, Khakass, Tungus, and Tuva people.

Nanai shaman (Siberia). Russian Ethnographic Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman)

The Kunstkammer Museum was founded in 1704 by Peter the Great and is the oldest state museum in Russia. Like the Russian Museum of Ethnography, this museum holds several excellent examples relating to Siberian shamanism. Because of its early founding, it also holds several objects connected with pre-Christian

shamanistic and spiritual practices in Russia. Animist and pre-Christian Slavic and European traditions are also represented with such objects as birch-bark masks representing tree spirits. Because Peter the Great was intent on establishing a museum of international repute, the museum also has several ritual objects from East Asia and Southeast Asia, Africa, the Americas, Australia, and Oceania.

Established in 1857, The Ethnographic Museum of Norway occupies the top three floors of the University Museum of Cultural Heritage, University of Oslo at Tullinløkka, in the center of Oslo. The Ethnographic Museum collection numbers more than 45,000 objects and has permanent exhibitions from a number of regions of the world: the Arctic, North and South America, South and East Asia, and Africa.

Norway's historical and political interests in the circumpolar north motivated its extensive Arctic and Subarctic collection during the early part of the twentieth century. Museum-sponsored ethnographers and explorers came into early contact with several cultural groups in northern Canada and Siberia; Roland Amundsen gathered the world's largest collection of objects from the Netsilik and Chuckchee people. The Netsilik collection, with over 900 items, is the museum's largest from a single culture, and includes many shamanistic and ritual objects. Ørjan Olsen collected extensively from the Tuvan people, reindeer herders from southern Siberia and Mongolia, who have a long and developed history of shamanism. Several rare objects, such as shaman headpieces with reindeer antlers, are included in the collection, as are ritual items that reveal the unique blending of animist and Buddhist influences. Gustav Holm's collection from East Greenland includes several spirit carvings used by shaman as mnemonics and for divination. The Adolf Dattan collection of the Orochi and Nanai people of the Amur River region offers remarkable examples of artifacts connected with shamanistic practice from people living along the southern Pacific coast of Siberia. The shamanistic artifacts in this collection illustrate the confluence of Siberian, Chinese, and Tungus-Manchu cultures. The variety and depth of the museum's vast collections offer an opportunity to compare the highly developed shamanistic traditions of Siberia and the Russian Far East.

The Ethnographic Museum of the Americas in Madrid holds the largest and finest collection of shaman- and ritual-related objects from the Caribbean and Central and South America. The museum also includes objects gathered from the Tlingit, Alutiiq, and Yupik of Alaska. The museum holds thousands of objects, gathered primarily in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth' and nineteenth centuries; many objects also were collected during the era of Columbus, constituting one of the earliest collections of ethnographic and shamanistic artifacts in the world. Early, often pre-Columbian objects offer unique insights into the world that existed before contact with Europeans, a world organized by indigenous spiritual belief systems, ritual cycles, and shamanistic practice. The collection is extensive, if not overwhelming, in its variety, wealth, and detail. The early acquisition date of some of the objects has, however, also made them difficult to identify and classify.

The collection includes objects from the Plains Indians of the American Southwest and Colorado River areas. Hopi Kachina dolls, representing ancestral spirits and ritual objects from the Maya of Chiapas and Guatemala are prominent in the collection. The Huichol of northern Mexico are also well represented; the spiritual perspective that still makes them a nation of shamans permeates all objects with ritual, making the collection of special interest. Other objects in the collection are the only material testaments of several now-extinct indigenous groups.

Because of the wide and early sphere of influence of the Spanish, the collection also includes a diversity of items—headpieces, masks, ritual drums, implements, and shrunken heads—from the Caribbean, Peru, and Amazonia, dating from the early part of the eighteenth century. Ritual and spiritual objects from the Araucanian culture in Chile can be compared to masks and regalia worn by the healers from a variety of Andean indigenous groups. The collection also includes a surprising number of objects from Melanesia, Micronesia, Malaysia, Hawaii, the Philippines, and even Africa and China. Of particular note are the spirit figures of the dead from the Ifugao people of the northern Philippine island of Luzon. The Ifugao people have a pantheon of gods and believe the universe consists of five regions, which their shamans call

upon: earth, sky world, Underworld, downstream region, and upstream region.

The Royal Museum for Central Africa was organized in 1897 in order to arouse public support for the Congo Free State, then the private domain of the notorious and despotic colonizer, King Leopold II of Belgium. The exhibition was a success and the Musée du Congo Belge was built in Tervuren, outside Brussels, in 1910. In 1960, after the Congo (later known as Zaire; currently the Democratic Republic of the Congo) gained independence, the museum adopted its present name. The museum entranceway includes allegorical or "ethnographic" sculptures representing the philosophy and perspective in vogue during the colonial era. Maps and miscellaneous documents and objects that belonged to Henry Morton Stanley and other explorers help visitors to follow the development of European knowledge about Africa. A number of displays also reveal how Africans perceived the "white man" who settled on their land. Today, the museum is known for its proactive stance, encouraging intercultural dialogue and development by undertaking cooperation with African partner institutions.

The museum collection of ethnographic objects from central Africa is unsurpassed. In many instances Belgium's initial forays into the vast and largely inaccessible central African region represented initial contact with indigenous groups. As a consequence, like the Madrid collection, Tervuren contains many excellent examples of precontact, pre-missionary existence. The collection of artistic, spiritual, and material objects from central Africa is grouped together by cultural, ethnic or geographical zone. These zones are generally located in the territory that now forms the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the Republic of Congo, Northern Angola, Rwanda, and Burundi. The Ethnography Section has a collection of around 180,000 objects, most of which were collected on site by colonial administrators, missionaries, and scientists after 1885 and subsequently supplemented by donations. The collection includes possibly the world's most extensive collection of African masks and statues, many of which were used in the ritual practice that was central to everyday African life. Some of the collection's most famous objects relate directly to healing rituals, divination, and shamanistic practice. Since 1961 the museum has extended its field of study to include West Africa, North Africa, East Africa, and southern Africa. The most recent East Africa and southern Africa collections already feature more than 14,000 objects. The museum also includes several thousand objects from the Americas and Oceania and a photographic library of almost 13,000 archive photographs preserved on glass plates; the collection has a supplement of 40,000 field photographs, including many relevant to ritual, divination, and healing practices.

The two largest collections of objects related to shamans, spirit, and ritual in the United States reside at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York City and at the Smithsonian Institute's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). The NMAI is located at the George Gustav Heye Center in New York City and has a Cultural Resource Center in Maryland; a major new facility, located on the national mall in Washington, D.C., is scheduled for completion in 2004. The collections of both museums were founded on numerous sponsored ethnographic, archaeological, and anthropological expeditions, and they include material objects and extensive written and photographic documentation. The NMAI and the AMNH both have extensive collections of objects relating to shamanistic practice in North, Central, and South America. In addition to its impressive Americas collection, the AMNH also has holdings from Africa, Asia, and the North Pacific region.

The British Museum in London has possibly the best representation of ritual and shaman objects from the ancient worlds of Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia, India, and China. The former colonial reach of Britain, combined with its long history of scholarly inquiry, has shaped the British Museum's broad-ranging collections of shaman-related objects, making it ideal for comparative and historical insights. The collection holdings include ancient Egyptian amulets, ritual mirrors from Tibet, fetish figures from the Congo, and Siberian shamans' drums and aprons.

Among large museum collections of shaman-related objects, a few others are especially worthy of note: Chicago's Field Museum has an exceptional and detailed Tlingit and American Northwest coast collection; the Samchuk City Museum in Pusan, South Korea, offers a com-

prehensive display of items relating to Korean shamanism; and the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin has a broad range of pre-Columbian objects from Central and South America, and strong Africa, Asia, and Oceania collections.

Smaller, but no less notable collections of shaman-related objects can be found at a variety of museums around the world, including the National Museum of Denmark, the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum at the University of Washington, the University of Alaska Museum in Fairbanks, the University Museum of Anthropology in Philadelphia, the Whitney Museum in Valdez, Alaska, the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Russia, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard, and the Royal Ontario Museum. Museums sponsored by the recently independent autonomous republics of Buryat and Sakha, located in Ulan Ude and Yakutsk respectively, offer fine examples of shamanistic representation from an indigenous perspective. The State Museum of the Buryat People includes an impressive open-air display—authentically re-created under the supervision of Evenki shamans—of a traditional shaman's camp, with hundreds of spirit carvings symbolically diagramming their cosmology. An excellent collection of old Evenki shaman costumes and artifacts can also be seen in the ethnological museum in Irkutsk, Buryat Republic.

Innovative projects relating to shamanism, such as those sponsored by Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (CUMAA), are greatly adding to our knowledge of shamanistic practice. Recognizing the limits of collecting sacred objects out of context, the museum sponsored a practicing Pachyu shaman from Nepal to conduct research and collect sacred materials for a museum exposition. The understanding and documentation of objects in context, how they interrelate and are part of a ritual complex, is an important advancement in the relationship between shamanism and museums. Issues such as storage, respect for secrecy, display, handling, preservation of sacredness, and an appreciation of multiple levels of meanings and function of the objects, mark a significant development in shamanistic studies. The CUMAA exposition of Pachyu spiritual material also included a public event to raise a greater awareness of social, political, and environmental issues surrounding and challenging traditional shamanistic practice today. Similar initiatives have been undertaken by other museums as correctives to historical inaccuracies and exploitation. These efforts to foster understanding of shamanism from an indigenous perspective and these examples of proactive participation in its preservation are encouraging and suggest that the museums of the world are evolving to give shamanism the informed and respected place it deserves.

Thomas Riccio

See also: Colonialism and Shamanism; Ethnocentrism and Shamanism; Yupik and Inupiaq Masks

References and further reading:

Burssens, Herman. 1962. *Yanda-Beelden En Mani-Sekte Bij De Azande (Centraal Afrika).* 2 vols. Tervuren: Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale.

Disselhoff, Hans Dietrich, and Sigvald Linné. 1966. *The Art Of Ancient America: Civilizations of Central and South America.* New York: Greystone Press.

Fienup-Riordan, Ann. 1996. *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks: Agayuliyararput (Our Way of Making Prayer).* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Fitzhugh, William, and Aron Crowell, eds. 1988. *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Fitzhugh, William, and Susan Kaplan. 1982. *Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Gonen, Amiram, ed. 1993. *The Encyclopedia of the Peoples of the World.* New York: Henry Holt.

Kasfir, Sidney L., ed. 1988. *West African Masks and Cultural Systems.* Tervuren: Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale.

Kubler, George. 1991. *Esthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Lapiner, Alan C. 1976. *Pre-Columbian Art of South America.* New York: H. N. Abrams.

Mauldin, Barbara. 1999. *Masks of Mexico.* Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.

Roberts, Mary N. and A. F. Roberts. 1996. *The Shape of Belief: African Art from The Dr. Michael R. Heide Collection.* San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.
Willett, Frank. 1993. *African Art.* New York: Thames and Hudson.

MUSIC IN WORLD SHAMANISM

Music is one of the core features that cohere and identify the practice of shamanism worldwide. From its incipient forms in prehistoric times to contemporary freelance simulations in popular culture, shamanism has almost always relied on creative manipulations and extensions of sound. In most cases, sound and sound objects constitute the essential implements and channels of the shaman's multifaceted spiritual journey. Musical instruments can also, for example, be temporarily transformed into a shaman's divination mirror, through which the shaman has vivid visual encounters and communicates with disembodied forces. Through ingenious and creative performance techniques, sound and movement patterns become potent forces capable of generating multiple and shifting sites of meaning, affect, and symbolic association. The shaman's assistants and audiences are usually indispensable in achieving the desired musical momentum, as well as the mental and physical settings necessary for a successful staging of shamanism.

The particulars of local culture, ecology, history, and belief system are also influential in determining the categories and varieties of sound and sound objects that are preferred and assigned meaning. The similarities and divergences in general performance practice, types of musical instruments, sounds, and powers associated with these in the contexts of world shamanism are thus predicated, in part, on extramusical factors, and in part on common tendencies in local musical traditions and frames of interpretation. Certain names or terms associated with a shaman are sometimes good indicators of the centrality of music both in the shaman's life and in his or her ritual performances. Consider, for example problems—and hence multiple roles—associated with defining the Turkmen *bakhshy* (poet-musician-shaman), or consider the designation "NEEB" in Miao (Yunnan) shamanism, which refers both to the shamans' tools or objects and to the range of musical instruments employed.

Shamans creatively explore extant and innovative instruments and sounds to enhance theatrical display and serve clinical goals (Charles 1953, 95–122). The preferred instruments are usually an integral part of the shaman's tools, armory, or costume.

The aesthetic, strategic, and spiritual import of music in shamanism from ancient times to now is underscored also by the shaman's symbolic and metamusical commentaries, as indicated in the following excerpt from the shaman's song no. 1 of the "Nine Songs" of Ancient China:

> *Now the sticks are raised, the drums are struck,*
> *To beats distanced and slow the chanters gently sing*
> *Then to the ranks of reed-organ and zither make loud reply.*
> *The Spirit [shaman] moves proudly in his splendid gear.*
> (Waley 1973, 23)

General Stylistic Features

There is a predilection for hybrid sources of sound, including the familiar and unusual, in almost all reported cases of shamanism. While the preferred corpus of music and sound instruments derives mainly from existing or local inventory of sound, a wide range of highly artificial sounds and unusual performance practices are employed. For example: falsetto, whistling, ventriloquism, nasal sound, the cry of a baby, and imitation of nature or animal sounds; unpitched sound types such as the plosive sounds that accompany the ritual expelling of a liquid from the mouth; and a range of other "noise" types. The literature pertaining to music in shamanism, therefore, often employs the terms "noise," "timbre," "acoustic effects," and "soundscape" as a statement on the complex and yet innovative musical features associated with shamanism, as seen in the following report:

> The spiritual function of Tuvan music is especially clear in relation to shamanism. The shaman sets up a soundscape using the natu-

> ral setting: bird calls, rustling breezes, voices of domestic animals, and various other sounds which, though deliberately produced, can hardly be called musical. Most of these come from the costume. On top of this soundscape comes the rhythm of the drum and the melody of the *algysh,* or poetic chant. (Van Deusen 1996, 3–4, quoted in Hoppál 1997, 123–136)

The importance of timbral and acoustic variety is corroborated in examples from the Malay Peninsula:

> A prerequisite for instrumental invocation and intreaty of these spiritual substances among some Orang Asli groups is the perceived existence of living tonalities, with an array of distinct timbral consistencies: the souls of each wild animal, plant, rock, or the earth contain a sound characterized by distinct timbres, tonal rows, melodic contours, vocal ornamentations, rhythms, and other formal musical parameters. . . . Players can reach the appropriate experiential realm through performances on musical instruments alone, including the mouth organ, the nose flute, the transverse flute, or the tube zither. They blow or pluck their instruments, improvising upon predetermined parameters and tempering their sound with thickly timbred interludes. (Roseman 1998, 560–589)

There are, however, moments or practices in which silence is prescribed (Charles 1953, 95–122).

In addition, these sounds are often closely identified with particular spirits (or a class of spirits, which include ancestral, nature, and other disembodied spirits). Due to this close association, the sounds usually take on various symbolic and extramusical associations, often resulting in special affect and emotional encounters. For example, a nasal or falsetto may be employed to attract, acknowledge, and represent the "physical"—even virtual—or dreadful presence of the spirit of an ancestral spirit. A particular song, chant, or rhythmic formula may thus invite or indicate the presence of a particular spirit. Musical instruments such as varieties of bells (clapper-bells, as in Anlo-Ewe exorcism [Avorgbedor 2000, 9–24], or seven small bells known as *baul,* as practiced in *hanyang kut* ritual music of shamans in Korea) are "believed to bring the attention of the spirits" (Lee 1981, 88–91).

Repetition of a line, word, verse or short rhythmic pattern (in lead voice or accompaniment) is a common feature in shamanistic séances. According to Aaron Watson, "In some cases such states might be induced by repetitive drumbeats, but it is also likely that the *nature* of some sounds, especially those with low frequencies, might influence transcendental experience" (Watson 2001, 178–192 [speaking of "sound and trance"]). Although many research reports in psychology and religious studies tend to label extreme repetition as among the shaman's resources for facilitating trance states, there is no firm evidence on the precise relationship between repetition and the inducement of trance in shamanism. (See also Rouget 1985 for detailed discussions of shifting relationships between music and trance.) As indicated in the following example, some of the musical traits often identified with music in shamanistic ritual can sometimes be underused, reversed, or absent: "the voice of the shamaness had not become louder, she did not raise it at all, her recitation did not even become faster. And, in spite of that, the atmosphere was filled with tension" (Kenin-Lopsan 1997, 126).

Creating Musical Coherence/Meaning through the Agency of the Supernatural

An ability to weave or demonstrate supernatural and learned musical skills and talent is another universal characteristic, as confirmed also among the Temiar of Malay: "A spirit gives a set melody in her dream, along with some central images, vocabulary, and lyrics. But the singer extemporaneously expands upon the text in performance" (Roseman 2001, 109–129). The centrality of music in mediumship or shamanism is stressed further in examples where the spirits actually "correct mistakes" in the music, thus performing the role of a music and dance teacher, temporarily. There are many legends worldwide that are associated with the "correct" and "exact" performance or repetition of music in specific rituals or shamanistic sessions, and mistakes often bear grave consequences, both for the performer and for the ritual as a whole: "In certain ceremonial songs it is required that a song be repeated if there is the

slightest mistake in its rendition" (Eagle 1997, 108). Local notions or beliefs associated with aspects of music in shamanism thus include prescriptions and proscriptions, which are designed to cohere musical performance and to ensure ritual integrity and efficacy. During her research on shamanism and music among the Kutenai, Norma McLeod was advised by her informant "not to play them [recordings] indiscriminately, as someone might disappear" (McLeod 1971, 83–101, note 16). The common and supernatural powers associated with music and musical instruments are thus best illustrated in contexts of shamanism.

Depending on the level of the shaman's competence, the specific context, and the nature of spirits involved in a shamanistic session with active music making, a session could last throughout a whole night, a day, or several days. The quantity and duration of musical activities engaged could be considerable. For example, "The shamans, as told me months later, hit the drum until four o'clock in the morning before *chini* began to shout out the names of her gods" (Kendall 1995, 17–58). The extended performance of music is also seen in epic genres that either accompany or have their roots in shamanism, as employed in Asian, North American, Pacific and Oceanian societies. In sub-Saharan African societies the epic is less prominent in shamanistic sessions, but extended music making or "all-night" music and dance sessions are often the norm (Beattie and Middleton 1969; Friedson 1996; Ijzermans 1995, 245–274).

The general importance of music in the efficacy and efficient structuring of shamanistic sessions is summed up in examples from the Lower Kutenai Indians of Northern Idaho, who employ particular songs to put the shaman into trance and particular songs to bring him out of it (McLeod 1971, 83–101). Similarly, in a necromancy ritual known as *kuchiyose* performed by blind female spirit mediums in the Aomori Province of Honshu Island of Japan the accompanying music includes *yobikotoba,* the lyrical incantation to call the spirits of the dead, and *okurikotoba,* the incantation that sends the spirits back into the afterworld (Mamiya 1987, 45–51; see also Lee 1981, 127–128 for similar descriptions for Korean shamanistic rituals for the dead).

Special circumstances could, however, redefine or limit the type, quality, and quantity of music privileged. For example, there was a near-total absence of music in shamanism in Vietnam due to proscriptions by the Vietnamese Communist Party from the 1950s to the 1960s, although "some vocal forms were still used secretly" (Norton 2000, 75–97). Even our modern sprawling and easily congested urban spaces bear important implications for continuity, change, and adaptation in the forms, meaning, and quality of music in contemporary shamanism: "Formerly loud percussion music was a common and frequent feature of shamans' houses, now they reside in highrise apartments and practice in other locations" (Seo 2000, 175–617). The shifting of type and quantity of music in shamanism is also indicated in the following observations: "When *mansubaji* is sung for *chôngshin* (invited spirits), the principal *kangshinmu* plays the bell tree. But when *mansubaji* is sung for miscellaneous spirits during *twitchôn kôri* at the end of the ritual, the *pangul* (bell tree) is not used" (Seo 2001, 113–114).

Role of Movement, Audience, and Accessories

Although shamans are musical and dance experts in many ways, they are also aided by assistants, who may also serve as apprentices. General audiences, when present, are usually allowed some form of musical participation, depending on the local practice and norms governing shamanism and the music involved. Music in world shamanism cuts across several performance genres, including song, chant, verbal formulae or incantation, and instrumental accompaniment. The shaman-dancer-musician can be either male or female, and the focus on a particular gender may shift over time. (Among the Tlingit and Warao, shamans are mostly men; they are mostly women among the Mapuche.)

The overall importance of music, dance, costume, and special ritual objects in world shamanism is also well captured in studies that focus on iconographies, especially rock art, as illustrated in, for example, *The Archaeology of Shamanism* (Price 2001).Walter Andritzky's study on shamanism in Peru (Andritzky 1989) and Sung Lee's Korean examples (Lee 1981) include, among other iconographic details, the importance of dance and musical instruments.

Musical Training

Since shamanism often subsumes other forms of spiritism and ritualistic practices, the variety or quantity of music involved in shamanism varies also according to the interests, training, and musical demands of the ancillary practices. Training and apprenticeship are related common features of shamanism; in most cases they are critical to the successful establishment of clientele and expertise. Although detailed accounts of the level and intensity of musical training vary, the general competence of the shaman seems to be closely linked with the special or acquired musical skills. There are three main sources of such skills: exposure to musical practice in the general local culture, skills and repertoire acquired during novicehood or apprenticeship, and a body of skills and repertoire (and even musical instruments) that are attributed to supernatural sources (i.e., received and taught by spirits through dreams, visions, and magical or ritual transference of such skills and repertoire from an adept or a spirit being). Training in music includes learning the "proper" techniques and manners of recitation, chanting, singing, performing on musical instruments (rhythm and tone production), ability to accompany oneself, ability to memorize extended song texts and related incantations, and ability to dance, which is complementary to the musical skills. Occasionally, a shaman may not have a good voice, or impressive musical and dramaturgical skills may be lacking. For example, among the Anlo-Ewe, the author observed that shamans do not usually engage in elaborate music making, in contradistinction to other ritual and religious activities in which music and dance play a significant role. In such contexts, the shaman is careful to minimize the incidence of music and related arts in subtle ways without damaging the overall efficacy of shamanistic rituals and personal reputation. In general the success of a séance is, therefore, predicated partly on appropriate skills and proper enactment of musical moments and movement patterns, and partly on the overall dramaturgical skills and ritual expertise of the shaman.

One of the most elaborate discussions of the structure, content, and overall significance of music in shamanism is presented by Maria Kongju Seo in her doctoral dissertation, "Ritual Music of Hanyang Kut by Spirit-Possessed Shamans in Korea" (2000). The importance of music in the training and practices of the Korean shaman (*kangshinmu*) is summarized by Seo as follows:

> In Korea, the first moment of *kangshin* (spirit possession) marks the beginning of the musical training required of a neophyte *kangshinmu* (spirit-possessed shaman) to become a ritual specialist. They learn songs from the vast repertoires of *mugyông* (incantations) and *muga* (ritual songs), which may last several hours each. Musical competence determines what type of *kangshinmu* one will become. . . . Musicianship divides Seoul area shamans into two large groups: *Chônnae* and *ch'ôngsūng mudang*. *Chônnae* are those who devote themselves to divination and small-scale rituals where no songs and dances are required, while *ch'ôngsūng mudang* are musically talented performers who officiate at large-scale rituals by singing and dancing. . . . Musically talented *kangshinmu* are in great demand. . . . *Kangshinmu* must learn to play percussion instruments such as the ching (gong) or *chekūm* (cymbals). (Seo 2000, 93–94)

Some amount of self-training is also possible, as indicated in the case of shamans who purchase and learn from published song texts or audio and audiovisual recordings, and in many cases there seem to be no particular prescriptions for order and rules for learning music. According to an 1840 report, "a shaman who wished to summon the spirits was obliged to practice alone for many months in the wilderness, rehearsing his songs and dances and specific drum rhythms to perfection" (Veniaminof 1840, 41; quoted in Johnston 1992).

Shamans often undergo an informal apprenticeship, living in the house of a master shaman. Contemporary cultural trends and government policies have, however, encouraged the institutionalization of shamanistic traditions, as well as the professionalization and formal training of shamans, as exemplified in Korea's Musok Pojonhoe Preservation Association, which was established in 1988.

Musical Instruments and Symbolism in Shamanism

The natural resources, traditions, individual creativity, beliefs, and demands of specific rituals influence the selection and use of specific instruments in shamanism. The notion of a "musical instrument" is therefore constrained, in part, by these sources of influence and, in part, by the observer's (or analyst's) categories or preconceived notions about what constitutes a musical instrument. First, the wide range of musical instruments encountered in world shamanism falls generally under the traditional main categories proposed by Hornbostel and Sachs: aerophones (winds), chordophones (strings), membranophones (drums, skinned), idiophones (percussion varieties), etc. (Hornbostel and Sachs 1961, 3–29). Most of the sound objects employed in world shamanism, however, support the findings of recent studies that highlight difficulties in identifying and hence classifying a musical instrument; they also emphasize the importance of cultural and contextual data that would challenge and open up the Hornbostel-Sachs system of classification. As shown in the examples cited in this essay, a comprehensive inventory of sound instruments employed in world shamanism certainly presents additional challenges to organologists (i.e., those involved in the scientific study and classification of musical instruments).

The importance of bells, drums (of various shapes and sizes, including water drums), and meshed or enmeshed shakers motivate almost all the authors on the subject of music and shamanism to conclude that percussion instruments are prominent. For example, a case study from contemporary Japan observes:

> During the *kamitsuke* ritual, sutras and ritual formulae are intoned against the background of a boisterous din produced from a variety of percussion instruments, transforming the ritual site into a sacred space. The traditional "seven instruments" include catalpa bows, priests' staves (*shakujô*), large and small gongs, large and small bells, and drums. Together, these percussion instruments and chanting voices transform the ritual site into a sacred space of sound. (Kawamura 1994)

Despite the emphasis on percussion, archaeological evidence (Basilov 1992, 77–100) and contemporary practices of shamanism show a wide variety of instruments (including stringed, wind, etc.) as regular members of the shaman's "orchestra," depending on local practices.

Musical instruments are commonly employed to heighten the mystical and symbolic associations often desired in shamanism. The instruments are as varied as the fascinating array of sounds that are found in world shamanism. Various categories of instruments have been represented, even in a single context:

> Many theatrical properties are used for sound effects, like rattles, trumpets, and drums. A sort of crude violin is played by the Kazak shaman. Mongol trumpets are made from thigh bones of maidens, and drums from girls' and boys' skulls. The drums are painted green and decorated with bright ribbons embroidered with the eight emblems of lamassery sacrifice. The Yakut drum is oval, with various protuberances that act as resonators and symbolize ears, chin, and horns. Among the Tungus, the drum may be thought of as the shaman's reindeer. (Charles 1953, 95–122)

One of the best examples showing the symbolic representation and interpretation of a shaman's drum is the one reported among the Magar shamans of Nepal, in regard to the construction and use of the double-headed frame drum; the following is a thirteen-point English summary:

1. Three-stage construction process: selection of wood, construction of frame, membrane attachment and consecration of the drum (consummated in specific temporal spaces)
2. Prayers, offerings (blood of poussin poured on drum in final rite), chants, and trance accompany the searching and discovery of appropriate construction materials
3. Chants or epic narratives that correspond with or accompany specific stages and type of construction materials
4. Construction and founding of a new frame drum usually is linked with the initiation of a novice shaman

5. Discarded skin fragments are buried, and the raw hide of a wild dog is regarded as impure cadaver whose spirit must be tempered
6. Symbolic paintings and fingerprints in white, astrological images, geometrical images of animals and fishes, and abstract images are integral to the design and construction
7. Procedures for repairing the drum follow those observed during a new construction
8. During the construction process, the drum traverses both human and spiritual worlds
9. Shaman looks into the drum like a mirror
10. The drum is silenced and hung up for nine days
11. Irregular beats on the drum imitate sounds of animals and are used in trances
12. Noise is produced on the drum to scare malevolent spirits
13. The frame drum is one of the shaman's protective instruments or armor; it also serves as a vehicle for transporting the dead into the underworld (Oppitz 1990, 79–95; condensed from the French)

In shamanistic and other ritual performances worldwide the symbolic, abstract, and decorative are often fused in the design, construction, and performance of musical instruments, as indicated in two separate volumes of essays devoted to musical instruments and symbolism. Such multiple features or conceptions speak multivocally of power, prestige, skill, competence, and ritual efficacy, which are important concerns in shamanism. The symbolic and cosmological orientations of the shaman's drum are further explained in the practice of tracing the musical skills of shamans (i.e., as drummer and singer) to divine origins. In special states or dreams, Shamans frequently receive not only their musical instruments but also special songs and necessary musical skills. For example, among the Mapuche, "each *machi* [shaman] receives her drum in her dreams from supernatural beings, who also teach her how to play it and paint its membrane" (Grebe 1978, 84–106).

Symbolism and musical details are usually a unified consideration in shamanism, as stated earlier. The spirits are usually assigned or identified by their favorite pieces and melodic or rhythmic patterns, in addition to those highly artificial sounds discussed earlier. A one-, two-, or three-stringed instrument, for example, could indicate the presence of a particular spirit, as in the case of the Korean two-stringed *haegūm.* In Hausa *bori* cult séances a particular song is played on the one-stringed *goge* to welcome a particular spirit; as practiced in the Malay Peninsula, a three-stringed *rebab* is played by the Temiar shaman's ritual pair, *minduk,* during a séance:

> While the vocal music shows the relationship between people (or between people and spirits), the instrumental interludes function as transitions into altered states. . . . Then the oscillating two-note figure played by the fiddle in the lowest part of the ensemble's tonal range accelerates and comes to a crescendo, and the shift to a new persona is complete. (Laderman 1995, 115–142)

Or, a musical bow (another stringed instrument) is transformed into a divination implement in the hands of the shaman, as practiced among the Khakass, Kuznetsk, and Sayan Turks (Sheykin 1980, 26).

In conclusion, the above descriptions are examples of the symbolic representation and transformation of personalities and images, as facilitated by sounds and their sources. The general function of a piece of music or sound in shamanism fluctuates between serving as an aesthetic object and as a symbolic formulation. The shaman is foremost highly creative, a quality often identified with accomplished performing artists and musicians. Music and musical instruments are integral parts of world shamanism, irrespective of local constraints on the type, quantity, and quality of music involved. Shamans and their musical tools of the trade adapt well to our contemporary times of increased urbanization, modernization, and national or local politics of culture.

Daniel K. Avorgbedor

References and further reading:

Andritzky, Walter. 1989. *Schamanismus und Rituelles Heilen im alten Peru.* Berlin: Verlag C. Zerling.

Avorgbedor, Daniel. 2000. "A Typology of Sonic Articulations in Healing and Exorcism Practices of the Anlo-Ewe." *World of Music* 42, no. 2: 9–24.

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1992. "The Scythian Harp and the Kazakh Kobyz: In Search of Historical Connections." Pp. 77–100 in *Foundations of Empire: Archaeology and Art of the Eurasian Steppes.* Edited by Gary Seaman. Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press, Center for Visual Anthroppology, University of Southern California.

Beattie, John, and John Middleton, eds. 1969. *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa.* New York: Africana Publishing Corporation.

Charles, Lucile Hoerr. 1953. "Drama in Shaman Exorcism." *Journal of American Folklore* 66: 95–122.

Eagle, Douglas Spotted. 1997. *Voices of Native America: Native American Music.* Liberty, UT: Eagle's View Publishing.

Emsheimer, Ernst. 1988. "On the Ergology and Symbolism of a Shaman Drum of the Khakass." Translated by Robert Caroll. *Imago musicae* 5: 145–166.

Friedson, Steven. 1996. *Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Grebe, María Ester. 1978. "Relationships between Music Practice and Cultural Context: The Kultrún and its Symbolism." *World of Music* 20, no. 3: 4–106.

Hajdu, P. 1978. "The Nenet Shaman Song and Its Text." Pp. 355–372 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Dioszegi and Mihály Hoppál; translated from the Russian and Hungarian by S. Simon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hoppál, Mihály. 1997. "Tracing Shamanism in Tuva: A History of Studies." Pp. 123–136 in *Shamanic Songs and Myths of Tuva.* By Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush Borakhovich; edited by Mihály Hoppál; translated by Aldynai Seden-Khurak et al. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Los Angeles: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

Hornbostel, Erich Moritz, and Curt Sachs. 1961 [1914]. "The Classification of Musical Instruments." *Galpin Society Journal* 14: 3–29. Reprint of the English translation by Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann. Originally published in *Zeitschrift für ethnologie.* Heft 4 u. 5. 1914, under the title *Systematik der Musikinstrumente.*

Howard, Keith. 1990. *Bands, Songs, and Shamanistic Rituals.* Seoul: Seoul Computer Press; Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch.

Ijzermans, Jan. 1995. "Music and Theory of the Possession Cult Leaders in Chibale, Serenje District, Zambia." *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 20: 245–274.

Johnston, Thomas F. 1992. "The Socio-Mythic Contexts of Music in the Tlingit Shamanism and Potlatch Ceremonials." *World of Music* 34, no. 2: 43–71.

Kawamura, Kunimitsu. 1994. "The Life of a Shamaness: Scenes from the Shamanism of Northeastern Japan." In *Folk Beliefs in Modern Japan.* Contemporary Papers on Japanese Religion, vol. 3. Edited and translated by Norman Havens; edited By Inoue Nobutaka. Tokyo: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University. Online version at http://www.kokugakuin.ac.jp/ijcc/wp/cpjr/folkbeliefs/kawamura.html

Kendall, Laurel. 1995. "Initiating Performance: The Story of Chini, a Korean Shaman." Pp. 17–58 in *The Performance of Healing.* Edited by Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman. New York: Routledge.

Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush Borakhovich. 1997. *Shamanic Songs and Myths of Tuva.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál; translated by Aldynai Seden-Khurak et al. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Los Angeles: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

Laderman, Carol. 1995. "The Poetics of Healing in Malay Shamanistic Performances." Pp. 115–142 in *The Performance of Healing.* Edited by Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman. New York: Routledge.

Laderman, Carol, and Marina Roseman, eds. 1995. *The Performance of Healing.* New York: Routledge.

Lee, Jung Young. 1981. *Korean Shamanistic Rituals.* Religion and Society, vol. 12. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Mamiya, Michio. 1987. "Sensing Time." Translated by Hugh De Ferranti. *Contemporary Music Review* 1, no. 2: 45–51.

McLeod, Norma. 1971. "The Semantic Parameter in Music: The Blanket Rite of the Lower Kutenai." *Inter-American Institute for Musical Research Yearbook* 7: 83–101. Reprinted as pp. 185–204 in *Music as Culture.* Vol 3. Edited by Kay Kaufman Shelemay. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990.

Norton, Barley. 2000. "Vietnamese Medium Rituals: The Musical Construction of the Spirits." *World of Music* 42, no. 2: 75–97.

Oppitz, Michael. 1990. “Le tambour et son pouvoir.” Translated from the German by Isabelle Schulte-Tenckhoff. *Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles* 3: 79–95.

Potapov, L. P. 1978. “The Shaman Drum as a Source of Ethnographical History.” Pp. 169–180 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Dioszegi and Mihály Hoppál; translated from the Russian and Hungarian by S. Simon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Price, Neil S., ed. 2001. *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* London and New York: Routledge.

Roseman, Marina. 1991. *Healing Sounds From The Malaysian Rainforest: Temiar Music and Medicine.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1998. “The Indigenous Peoples (Orang Asli) of the Malay Peninsula.” [Subsection titled “Animistic Religious Philosophy and Shamanistic Practice.”] Pp. 560–589 in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music.* Vol. 4, *Southeast Asia.* Edited by Terry E. Miller and Sean Williams. New York and London: Garland.

———. 2001. “Engaging the Spirits of Modernity: The Temiars.” Pp. 109–129 in *Healing Powers and Modernity: Traditional Medicine, Shamanism, and Science in Asian Societies.* Edited by Linda H. Connor and Geoffrey Samuel. Westport, CT, and London: Bergin and Garvey.

Rouget, Gilbert. 1985. *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession.* Translated from the French and revised by Brunhilde Biebuyck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Seo, Maria Kongju. 2000. “Ritual Music of Hanyang kut by Spirit-Possessed Shamans in Korea.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.

Sheykin, Yuri. 1980. “Siberian Peoples: Traditional Instruments.” P. 26 in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* 2d ed. Vol. 2. Edited by Stanley Sadie. London: Grove’s Dictionaries of Music.

Van Deusen, Kira. 1996. “Shamanism and Music in Tuva.” Unpublished manuscript.

Veniaminof, Ivan. 1840. “Notes on the Atkin Aleuts and the Koloshi.” Pp. 1–35 in *Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska District.* Vol. 3. In Russian. St Petersburg.

Waley, Arthur. 1973 [1955]. *The Nine Songs: A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China.* San Francisco: City Lights Books.

Watson, Aaron. 2001. “The Sounds of Transformation: Acoustics, Monuments and Ritual in the British Neolothic.” Pp. 178–192 in *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* Edited by Neil S. Price. London and New York: Routledge.

NEO-SHAMANISM

See Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism

NEUROPSYCHOLOGY OF SHAMANISM

Analyzing the universal characteristics of shamanism in terms of modern neuropsychology provides an understanding of those universals as rooted in the normal functioning of the human mind and body. More importantly, it provides a basis for understanding why these characteristics have functioned effectively in the past and why they still have an important contribution to make to the healing of individuals and society.

The assumption of shamanic universals is inherent in most conceptualizations of shamanism. The central aspects of the shaman emphasized by Mircea Eliade (1989)—someone who enters ecstasy to interact with the spirit world on behalf of the community—have been extended in recognition of other universal characteristics associated with shamanism (see, e.g., Harner 1990; Winkelman 1992 for review). The concept of shamanism as a cross-cultural or universal practice implies a foundation for the systematic similarities. These similarities derive from adaptations to the psychobiology of altered states of consciousness and innate brain modules that provide the basis for a variety of shamanic practices, experiences, and representations (Winkelman 2000). This entry outlines a neurological model of shamanism, organized around the core concepts of altered states of consciousness, spirit, and community, and addressing shamanic universals: the soul journey, death and rebirth, drumming, music, dancing, animism, animal spirits, and therapeutic processes.

The neurological basis of shamanism involves what Charles Laughlin, John McManus, and Eugene d'Aquili (1992) referred to as neurognostic structures. The term *neurognostic* refers to the biological structures underlying gnosis (or knowing) and experience. Shamanism uses a number of neurognostic structures, which provide the basis for the universality of shamanic practices and their adaptive advantages. Shamanism was the original neurotheology, ritual practices that activated brain structures and processes in ways that produce psychological integration and a sense of the transcendent and spiritual. Human evolution involved acquisition of a specialized innate modular brain structure with specific functions (see, e.g., Mithen 1996). These innate modules were adaptations for addressing particular kinds of tasks, and provided capabilities in language, music, mimesis (imitation), animal species classification, self-recognition, inference of other's mental states (mind reading), and tool use. Many universals of shamanism involve the use of these innate modules (Winkelman 2000).

Universals of Shamans

A cross-cultural study (Winkelman 1990, 1992) has empirically established shamanic universals, showing similar characteristics associated with the healing practitioners of hunter-gatherer societies around the world. These universal features include characteristics emphasized by Eliade—ecstasy (an altered state of consciousness), spirit world interaction, and community service—as well as other characteristics:

- an experience in an altered state of consciousness known as soul journey or soul flight
- training through deliberately induced altered states of consciousness, particularly vision quests
- an initiatory experience involving death and rebirth
- the use of chanting, music, drumming, and dancing
- the ritual involvement of the entire community
- therapeutic processes focused on soul loss and recovery
- the belief that disease is caused by attacks by spirits and sorcerers, and the intrusion of foreign entities
- abilities of divination, diagnosis, and prophecy
- charismatic leadership
- malevolent acts, or sorcery
- various relationships to animals, including control of animals, transformation into animals, and hunting magic

Many of these universal features of shamanism are directly related to (1) the physiological dynamics of altered states of consciousness; (2) the metaphoric integrations of innate representational modules; and (3) the psychophysiological effects of the ritual healing activities.

Ecstasy, or Altered States of Consciousness

The ecstasy, or altered state of consciousness, recognized as a universal of shamanism is central to the selection, training, and professional practice of shamans. Shamanic altered states of consciousness are induced by a variety of procedures (e.g., drumming, clapping, singing, and chanting; fasting and water restrictions; prolonged periods of sleeplessness, or deliberate periods of sleep for dream incubation; austerities such as temperature extremes and painful exposures or mutilations of the body; and hallucinogens and other plant medicines). The shamanic altered state of consciousness is most typically engaged through drumming, chanting, and dancing to the point of collapse (or deliberate repose). However, the diversity of practices for inducing altered states of consciousness has an underlying set of commonalities in overall physiological effects upon brain processes and functions (Mandell 1980; Winkelman 1992, 1996, 1997, 2000). The overall physiological dynamics involve an activation of the autonomic nervous system until exhaustion from sympathetic exertion leads to collapse and a parasympathetic dominant phase; this phase in which the parasympathetic nervous system is dominant may also be entered directly through withdrawal, relaxation, and internal focus of attention. This activation until collapse induces the body's relaxation response, a part of the cycle of homeostatic balance in the nervous system that provides natural recuperation and healing.

The Integrative Mode of Consciousness

The shamanic altered state of consciousness is one of several states of consciousness that occur in the *integrative mode of consciousness* (Winkelman 2000). The presence in all cultures of procedures for altering consciousness reflects its role in the normal functions of the brain. The integrative mode of consciousness reflects a normal brain's response, manifested in synchronized brain wave patterns in the theta and alpha range (3–6 and 6–8 cycles per second). These brain wave patterns are produced by serotonin-mediated limbic system activity that establishes linkages with lower brain structures. This activity produces strong, coherent, and synchronized theta wave patterns that send ascending discharges or impulses up the neuraxis of the brain (a central nerve bundle integrating information from the nervous system). These synchronous discharges are driven up into the frontal cortex, where they replace the normal fast and desynchronized brain wave activity with coherent slow wave discharges (Mandell 1980; Winkelman 1992, 2000). The overall effect of the integrative mode of consciousness is to integrate information from the whole organism, particularly stimulating or moving emotions and memory, creating ascending brain waves that propagate into the frontal cortex. In other words, this integrates nonverbal information from the emotional and behavioral brain structures into the personal and cultural systems mediated by language and the frontal cortex.

Soul Journey: Self in Presentational Symbolism

The principal form of an altered state of consciousness experienced by the shaman is characterized as a "soul journey" or "soul flight"; although possession is often attributed to practitioners called shamans, possession is not normally associated with shamans of hunter-gatherer societies. Shamanic soul flight is a universally distributed phenomenon, reflective of bases in neurognostic structures. The basic structure of soul flights is reported cross-culturally in astral projection, out-of-body-experiences, and near-death experiences. This experience of shamanic flight reflects activities associated with innate psychophysiological structures and psychosocial capacities of the human nervous system. Harry Hunt (1995) proposed that the experience of soul flight involves the capacity for self-representation from the point of view of the "other." The soul flight is "of" one's self, but one can see one's self from a detached third-person perspective. One sees one's self traveling and doing things, allowing one to reflect upon their significance from another perspective. These perceptions of self found in soul journey involve representations in the visual spatial modality that Hunt referred to as a presentational symbolism; it is the same symbolic system that presents the experiences of dreams. Charles Laughlin (1997) characterized shamanism as a body-based cosmology. These symbolic systems predate language, providing mediums for externalizing self-representations, visual presentations of one's self and significant phenomena. These "presentations" are information that create new forms of self-awareness that permit transcendence of ordinary awareness and identity.

Shamanic development focuses on "mental imagery cultivation" (Noll 1985), utilizing internal visions that result from release of suppression of the visual cortex. These internal images involve brain structures for processing of perceptual information. Imagery involves psychobiological communication processes that mediate metaphoric relations between different domains of experience and levels of information processing; images evoke complex physiological and psychological reactions. Images integrate unconscious and psychophysiological information with affective or cognitive levels, where a "vision" of a threatening object emerges into consciousness, propelled by subconscious processes that have integrated information revealing the threatening situation (Winkelman 2000). Images constitute a preverbal symbol system that activates muscles to achieve goals, often acting outside of consciousness, as when a plastic snake makes us jump away without thinking. Shamanic visions provide adaptive advantages in analysis, analogic synthesis, diagnosis, and planning, integrating diverse information sources into a concise plan of action—the "vision."

Shamanic Induction of Altered States of Consciousness: Chanting, Drumming, and Dance

The induction of shamanic altered states of consciousness is primarily based upon the use of chanting, drumming, and dancing. The use of these practices reflects their ability to induce theta and alpha wave patterns (Winkelman 1997, 2000); they are also based in innate brain modules associated with the call and expressive systems of other animals and a uniquely human mimetic controller. Musical skills are a uniquely human capability having deep evolutionary roots in capacities that humans share with other primates (see Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000). Calls, hoots, and group enactments are an expressive system that communicates emotional states, attracts attention, and motivates responses. These expressions play a role in managing social contact, interpersonal spacing, mate attraction, pair bonding, and enhancing group cohesion. This expressive system based in rhythm and affective dynamics evolved for communication of internal states and enhancing group dynamics (Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000). Music's adaptive roles include promotion of group cohesion and coordination, enhancing synchrony and cooperation among group members. Music strengthens group dynamics through cognitive and emotional expression and coordinating the behavior of different individuals into synchronized performances.

Mimesis. Music, chanting, singing, poetry, dancing, and play share origins in mimetic modules that provide rhythm, affective, seman-

tics, and melody. The effects of music include a compulsion to move with the rhythm, including shaking, clapping, stomping and dancing, which reflect operations of this innate mimetic controller. This mimetic capacity, manifested in music and dance, evolved to enhance social bonding and communication of internal states; this capacity also provided mechanisms for inducing altered states of consciousness and breaking down existing habits and thought patterns. These provide processes for establishing group behavioral and mental coordination through body-based systems of "rhythmo-affective semantics," the use of the body and imitation to mime in ways that express fundamental emotions and a mythic worldview. Mimesis involves the unique human ability to entrain the body to external rhythms, including imitation, clapping, stomping, and dancing. The first of human mimetic activities involved ritual dances and imitation of animals, using body movement and gestures and facial expressions as symbolic mechanisms through mimesis. The shamanic practices of drumming, dancing, and ritual imitation are based in operations of this innate mimetic controller. Group ritual dances provide mechanisms for maintaining coordination among a group. These mimetic expressive capacities still provide mechanisms for learning social roles and manual skills, expressing interpersonal dynamics, and communicating preverbal levels of experience.

Innate Modules and Shamanic Thought

Central aspects of shamanism involve the cross-modal integration of the innate processing modules for recognition of animal species (natural-history intelligence), self-conceptualization, and mental attributions regarding social others (mind reading). This shamanic role in managing the integration of different modules is exemplified in shaman's skills in these areas: in natural history, being the master of the game animals; in self-conceptualization, exemplified in shifts in identity developed through animal familiars and guardian spirits; and in social intelligence, being the leader of the group and mediator of intergroup relations. The innate modules for recognition of self and other and animal classification provided the basis for shamanic universals of animism, animal spirits, guardian spirits, and totemism. Animism, or belief in the spirit world, involves the projection of innate representation modules for understanding self and social others onto the unknown and natural phenomena. Animal allies, guardian spirits, and totemism involve the use of the natural-history intelligence, employing capacities for representing animal species and their characteristics to form personal and social identities.

Animism as a Natural and Social Epistemology

Shamanism is based in animism, the belief in spirit entities. Animism involves attributing human mental, personal, and social qualities to the unknown and natural phenomena. Anthropomorphism is one example of animism, since it involves attributing characteristics of the human mind to spirits and nonhuman entities (Guthrie 1993). Shamanism emphasizes the attribution of human qualities to animals. This projection of cognitive similarity, the use of the self as a model of the unknown other, is a normal manifestation of symbolic capabilities in relationship to the environment (Hunt 1995). Environmental and personhood theory suggests animism is a relational epistemology that is universal because perception requires that humans be related to (situated in) their world and environment. Spirits involve "super persons" capable of entering into relationships, processes basic to the shamanic process of forming personal and group identity. The belief in spirits reflects a natural social and relational epistemology derived from the social intelligence ability to infer the mental states of others. This ability enables prediction of others' behavior through an intuitive psychology, a "theory of mind," involving attribution of mental states to others. This "mind reading" involves the organism's use of its own mental states, feelings, and behaviors in similar contexts to gain insight into the mental states and likely behavior of others.

Animals in Shamanic Thought: Totemism and the Guardian Spirit Complex

Shamanism engages forms of self-development by integrating representations from the natural history module, specialized capacities for organizing knowledge about animals and species,

within the representations of the self and social domains. Animals are central in shamanic practices and beliefs. Animals are the basic allies and spirit helpers of shamans, who are generally considered to be "masters of the animals" or to have special relationships to the deities and natural forces that control animals. Shamans are typically called upon to assist in hunting, and are generally believed to be able to transform themselves into animals. These universals of shamanism involving animals reflect the use of the innate module that Steven Mithen (1996) referred to as the natural history or intuitive biology module. This module involves specialized innate capacities for organizing knowledge about animals and recognizing "species essence," manifested in the human universal of taxonomical classification schemata for the natural world. This ability to produce natural taxonomical classification schemata provides a universal analogical system for creation and extension of meaning. The use of animals in social and cognitive modeling is one of the most fundamental aspects of metaphoric and analogical thought (Friedrich 1991), a universal human system for expression of meaning and creation of social and personal identity.

Totemism. The use of animal species for social representations and self-representations is manifested in the phenomena of spirit allies and totemism. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1962) characterized totemism as involving the establishment of metaphoric relationships between the domains of animals and social groups, conceptualizing humans through models provided by the animal world. Totemic thought works analogically, applying the analogy of differences among species to understand differences among human groups. The differences among animal species are used to represent the differences among human groups. In totemism, human groups are distinguished by attributing to them the characteristics derived from the animal world, and the identity of social groups is conceptualized in terms of the models provided by animal species.

The Guardian Spirit Complex. Shamanism also uses the natural history module to incorporate animal spirits as a part of personal identity and powers, as manifested in the practices of the guardian spirit complex. Guardian spirits have psychosocial functions, guiding the individual in personal and social choices (Swanson 1973). The animals with whom shamans have personal relationship have psychosocial functions: The animals empower the shamans and provide them with a representational system for self-development and self-differentiation. This was illustrated in the widespread North American guardian spirit complex focused on development during the transition to adulthood (Swanson 1973). Animals as aspects of self-representation involve "sacred others," the intersection of the spiritual and social worlds in cultural processes that provide aspects of personal identity (Pandian 1997). The intersection of the animal spirit with personal identity involves cultural processes for producing symbolic models for the self. The animal spirits provide projective systems for psychosocial relations and ideals that structure individual psychodynamics and social behavior. Spirit representations produce a symbolic self and provide for resolution of social contradictions in the development of the self. Spirit beliefs are projective systems, exemplifying norms for self and psychosocial relations, and structuring individual psychodynamics and social behavior. The "shamanistic sacred self" (Pandian 1997) provides protection from stress and anxiety through management of emotions and attachments.

Animal powers and guardians are natural modules that provide alternate forms of self-representation that facilitate social adaptations. The alternate senses of self that animal allies provide are mechanisms for problem solving and mediation of personal and social conflict. Spirit concepts of self serve as variable command-control agents for mediating conflict between the different selves and instinctive agents, enabling the operation of the social organism with respect to a hierarchy of goals, and orienting problem-solving modules to nonroutine tasks and problems (Winkelman 2000). Spirit concepts as self-representations help mediate a hierarchy of personal and social goals. Shamanism developed these associative processes, constructing and manipulating a variety of selves for psychological and social integration. Animism, totemism, and guardian spirits, like soul flight and death-and-rebirth experiences, are natural symbolic systems for self-representation within which the self is internally differentiated and manipulated in relationships to others.

Shamanic Therapeutics

Shamanic practices use a number of therapeutic procedures based in physiological processes and their manipulation through psychological and social dynamics. Central aspects of shamanic therapies involve the physiological dynamics of altered states of consciousness, the psychobiosocial effects of community bonding, and the psychophysiological consequences of symbolic healing and ritual.

The Bases of Shamanistic Therapy in Altered States of Consciousness

Altered states of consciousness have therapeutic effects through a number of processes. Procedures that induce parasympathetic dominant states and limbic-frontal integration and synchronization provide a number of healing mechanisms (Winkelman 1992, 1996, 1997, 2000): reduction in stress, anxiety, and psychosomatic reactions; regulation of psychophysiological processes underlying emotions, social attachments and bonding; providing access to sub- and unconscious information; and integration of behavioral, emotional, and cognitive processes. Parasympathetic dominant states can produce therapeutic effects through lowering autonomic arousal. Rapid induction of parasympathetic dominance causes erasure of conditioned responses and increases suggestibility and placebo effects. The neuroendocrine mechanisms of meditation indicate that stress reduction also occurs through enhancement of serotonin functioning (Walton and Levitzky 1994). Increase of serotonin reduces cortisol levels, and consequently the anger and fear reactions. Activation of preconscious brain processes facilitates their integration into consciousness and the resolution of repressed conflicts that affect emotions and physiological responses. Stimulation of limbic system functions and associated processes involved in the feelings and in the formation of individual and social identity contribute to healing through producing an integration of emotional information into consciousness, an enhanced integration of cognitive and emotional processes. The systemic integration across the different functional systems of the brain enhances learning, attention, memory, and adaptation to novel situations (Mandell 1980).

Community Relations as a Psychobiological Therapy

The role of community emphasized by Eliade in characterizing shamanism reflects its psychosocial influences (community cohesion, positive expectation, and social support) and psychobiological effects (attachment and opioid mechanisms). Communal activities meet and reinforce attachment needs of the mammalian biosocial system and elicit psychosociophysiological mechanisms that release endogenous opiates (Frecska and Kulcsar 1989). Shamanic practices elicit the mammalian attachment and affectional bonding system, providing for feelings of security and eliciting opioid responses. Shamanic rituals elicit psychobiologically mediated attachment processes that are based in the body's opioid mechanisms (Frecska and Kulcsar). Shamanic rituals cross-condition cultural symbols with patterns of attachment and their physiological and emotional responses. Emotionally charged symbols provide a basis for elicitation of the opioid system and ritual manipulation of physiological responses.

A variety of shamanic activities also evoke production and release of endogenous opioids (see, e.g., Prince 1982; Winkelman 1997). Shamanic activities that stimulate the opioid system include exhausting rhythmic physical activities (e.g., dancing and clapping); temperature extremes (e.g., cold or sweat lodges); austerities (e.g., water and food deprivation, and self-inflicted wounds); emotional manipulations (e.g., fear and positive expectations); and nighttime activities (when endogenous opioids are naturally highest). The release of natural opioids stimulates the immune system and produces a sense of euphoria, certainty, and belonging. Endogenous opioids enhance coping skills, maintenance of bodily homeostasis, pain reduction, stress tolerance, environmental adaptation, and group psychobiological synchronization.

Spirit Relations and Role Taking: Incorporating the "Other"

Humans have an innate capacity to take the perspective of others. Humans understand other's mental states by using their own minds to infer the cognitions and motivations of

others. This capability enables humans to incorporate others into self-identity, to use the models of others to augment and model the self. Shamanism uses this capability in soul flight and to provide therapeutic processes through role taking (Peters and Price-Williams 1981; Winkelman 2000). The processes of role taking are exemplified in the shaman's spirit world interaction, during which shamans enact the personalities of the spirits. The interactions with the spirit world provide representations of personal and social psychodynamics, including emotions, attachments, social influences, and behaviors. Spirit beliefs also reflect social structures of the group and the dynamics of social and interpersonal relations. Spirit concepts are symbolic systems representing the intrapsychic dynamics of the self and psychosocial relations with others. Consequently, spirits integrate cultural and natural symbolic systems, manipulating unconscious aspects of personal and communal identity, and affecting psychosocial relations with others. Spirits involve symbolic systems that represent complexes, that is, organized perceptual, behavioral, and personality dynamics that operate independent of, or dissociated from, ordinary awareness and social identity. The psychosocial content of spirit representations allow shamanic rituals to affect the psychodynamics of the patient.

Shamanistic healing practices address dissociated personality complexes by eliciting the holistic imperative, a drive toward integration across levels of consciousness (Laughlin, McManus, and d'Aquili 1992). These complexes, representing unintegrated aspects of self, are manipulated in shamanic rituals to produce healing by restructuring and integrating the unconscious dynamics. Shamanic healing integrates the self, utilizing visual and corporeal processes to unite unconscious information with the conscious mind. Shamanic manipulation of spirit constructs provides therapeutic change because the spirits represent fundamental aspects of the self. The shaman's dramatic enactment of interactions with spirits provides models for self-development and resocialization. The innate capability to incorporate the other enables the spirit systems to contribute to identity modification through the internalization of spirit behaviors and animal allies and powers.

Death and Rebirth. Shamanic constructions of identity are also illustrated in a universal feature of shamanic development, the death-and-rebirth experience. Shamanic development includes a crisis involving attacks by spirits that lead to the experience of death and dismemberment, followed by a reconstruction of the victim's body with the addition of spirit allies and powers. The universality of the death-and-rebirth experience reflects neurognostic processes of self-transformation, a natural response to overwhelming stress and intrapsychic conflicts (Walsh 1990). This breakdown of ego structures is experienced in visual symbols, images of bodily destruction, which activate innate drives toward psychological integration (Laughlin et al. 1992). Shamanic healing restructures ego and identity, using ritual to activate holistic imperatives to produce a new self identity at higher levels of psychological integration.

Biosocialization and Symbolic Healing Processes

A preeminent function of shamanic healing is the use of symbols to manipulate physiological processes. Symbolic capacities emerged during phylogenetic evolution as a part of the neural processing of experience and are fundamental to development of neural organization (Laughlin, McManus, and d'Aquili 1992). Human cognitive modeling of the environment occurs through processes of socialization that canalize physiological responses to symbols, training specific patterns of response in the operation of organic systems. Symbolic and affective associations enable neural symbols to evoke physiological processes and brain structures. This link of symbols to perceptions, cognition, and affect is grounded in common foundations of neuropsychological and symbolic processes. The association among social, symbolic, and physiological systems enables "symbolic penetration," symbolic effects on physiological processes and latent psychological structures. Shamanic healing evokes latent structures, archetypal and preverbal processes of the preegoic levels of the limbic brain, and integrates them into conscious processes to produce healing (whole-ing, making whole).

Shamanism developed as a human institution to manipulate the relationships between symbols and brain processes to produce healing

through psychophysiological integration at preverbal mythic levels through metaphoric processes. These ritual processes help overcome cultural conditioning and psychosomatic dynamics. Shamanism heals through processes of psychophysiological integration, projection of advanced developmental models for transference, and engaging neurocognitive structures to produce therapeutic changes (Laughlin et al. 1992). These enhanced interactions between conscious and unconscious processes establish links of preverbal mythic levels with cultural and egoic structures, creating psychosocial and psychophsyiological integration. Shamanistic healers' symbolic manipulations provide a form of assurance that can counteract the physiological effects of stress and anxiety. Ritual symbolic manipulations can intervene in stress mechanisms through changing emotional dynamics, and consequently altering the balance in the autonomic nervous system and endocrine responses. Symbolic manipulations also elicit emotions, linking body and mind through effects on the limbic system.

Contemporary Manifestations of Shamanic Neurognostic Structures

The neurological foundations of shamanic features persist in contemporary society, reflected in contemporary spontaneous religious experiences (Stark 1997) and diagnostic categories of spiritual emergencies (Walsh 1990). These include a variety of relations between self and spirit others (Stark 1997; Winkelman 2000), as well as spontaneous shamanic journeys, the death-and-rebirth experience, mystical experiences with psychotic features, and expressions of psychic abilities (Walsh 1990). The shamanic paradigm is a more useful framework than the pathological attributions of psychiatry for addressing spiritual emergencies as natural manifestations of human consciousness and as developmental opportunities (Krippner and Welch 1992). The neurognostic framework explains why these shamanic phenomena are spontaneously manifested and why a spiritual healing approach is more successful in addressing these conditions. The shamanic paradigm provides a framework for reinterpreting what psychiatry considers acute psychosis and emotional disturbance. The psychobiological basis of the shamanic paradigm allows for these shamanic experiences to be interpreted as natural brain processes and as opportunities for personal development, providing a context for developing control over these experiences. The shamanic approach treats death and rebirth, soul loss, out-of-body experiences, power loss, animal familiars, and spirits as natural manifestations of consciousness, and provides the opportunity to engage in the classic shamanic approach of self-empowerment to address these experiences.

The shamanic paradigm and its neurognostic frameworks make it possible to treat the modern resurgence of this ancient human healing tradition as a normal part of healing processes rather than as a return to superstition or a psychopathology. The neurognostic framework provides an understanding of these phenomena as natural phenomena of consciousness. Their continued manifestations make the shamanic traditions of altering consciousness, ritually manipulating identity, and changing psychosocial dynamics through adopting animal and spirit world identities still relevant. Consequently shamanic healing practices may not only be good complementary therapies, but may also provide important alternatives to biomedicine by addressing the biopsychosocial and spiritual dynamics of health and illness. Shamanic healing can open new avenues for all healers by ritually addressing the innate brain processing modules for knowledge about mind, self, others, and nature and manipulating these natural models of self for personal healing and development.

Michael Winkelman

See also: Art and Shamanism; Divination; Entoptic Images; Healing and Shamanism; Rock Art and Shamanism; Soul Retrieval; Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives

References and further reading:

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Frecska, Ede. and Zsuzsanna Kulcsar. 1989. "Social Bonding in the Modulation of the Physiology of Ritual Trance." *Ethos* 17, no. 1: 70–87.

Friedrich, Paul. 1991. "Polytrophy." Pp. 17–55 in *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in*

Anthropology. Edited by J. W. Fernandez. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Guthrie, Stewart. 1993. *Faces in the Clouds.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Harner, Michael. 1990. *The Way of the Shaman.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.
Harner, Michael, and Sandra Harner. 2001. "Core Practices in the Shamanic Treatment of Illness." *Shamanism* 13, nos. 1 and 2: 19–30.
Hunt, Harry. 1995. *On the Nature of Consciousness.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
Krippner, Stanley, and Peter Welch. 1992. *Spiritual Dimensions of Healing: From Native Shamanism to Contemporary Health Care.* New York: Irvington.
Laughlin, Charles. 1997. "Body, Brain, and Behavior: The Neuroanthropology of the Body Image." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 8, nos. 2 and 3: 49–68.
Laughlin, Charles, John McManus, and Eugene d'Aquili. 1992. *Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neurophenomenology of Consciousness.* New York: Columbia University Press.
Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1962. *Totemism.* Translated from the French by Rodney Needham. Boston: Beacon.
Mandell, Arnold. 1980. "Toward a Psychobiology of Transcendence: God in the Brain." Pp. 379–464 in *The Psychobiology of Consciousness.* Edited by D. Davidson and R. Davidson. New York: Plenum.
Mithen, Steven. 1996. *The Prehistory of the Mind: A Search for the Origins of Art, Religion and Science.* London: Thames and Hudson.
Noll, Richard. 1985. "Mental Imagery Cultivation as a Cultural Phenomenon: The Role of Visions in Shamanism." *Current Anthropology* 26: 443–451.
Pandian, Jacob. 1997. "The Sacred Integration of the Cultural Self: An Anthropological Approach to the Study of Religion." Pp. 505–516 in *The Anthropology of Religion.* Edited by S. Glazier. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
Peters, Larry, and Douglas Price-Williams. 1981. "Towards an Experiential Analysis of Shamanism." *American Ethnologist* 7: 398–418.
Prince, Raymond. 1982. "The Endorphins: A Review for Psychological Anthropologists." *Ethos* 10, no. 4: 299–302.
Stark, Rodney. 1997. "A Taxonomy of Religious Experience." Pp. 209–221 in *The Psychology of Religion: Theoretical Approaches.* Edited by B. Spilka and D. McIntosh. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Swanson, Guy. 1973. "The Search for a Guardian Spirit: The Process of Empowerment in Simpler Societies." *Ethnology* 12: 359–378.
Wallin, Nils, Bjorn Merker, and Steven Brown, eds. 2000. *The Origins of Music.* Cambridge: MIT Press.
Walsh, Roger. 1990. *The Spirit of Shamanism.* Los Angeles: Tarcher.
Walton, Kenneth, and Debra Levitsky. 1994. "A Neuroendocrine Mechanism for the Reduction of Drug Use and Addictions by Transcendental Meditation." *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly* 11, nos. 1 and 2: 89–117.
Winkelman, Michael. 1990. "Shaman and Other 'Magico-Religious Healers': A Cross-Cultural Study of their Origins, Nature and Social Transformation." *Ethos* 18, no. 3: 308–352.
———. 1992. "Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners." *Anthropological Research Papers* no. 44. Tempe: Arizona State University.
———. 1996. "Psychointegrator Plants: Their Roles in Human Culture and Health." Pp. 9–53 in *Yearbook of Cross-Cultural Medicine and Psychotherapy,* vol. 6. Edited by M. Winkelman and W. Andritzky. Berlin: Verlag und Vertrieb.
———. 1997. "Altered States of Consciousness and Religious Behavior." Pp. 393–428 in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook of Method and Theory.* Edited by S. Glazier. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
Winkelman, Michael. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

OFFERINGS AND SACRIFICE IN SHAMANISM

As conduits to supernatural beings, shamans are often courts of first and last appeal for community members who seek to recover good health, ensure a plentiful harvest, appease harmful spirits, and more. Shamanic techniques vary cross-culturally in their details. However, preparing offerings to spirits is an element of shamanic performance routinely considered central to its efficacy. The substance of these offerings varies among societies. Some shamans use seeds and abalone shells (Handelmann 1967). Others use beads and tobacco (Dixon 1908). There are those who offer ceremonial silk clothing to the spirits, thus creating an interface between natural and supernatural realms "charged with significance" (Humphrey 1996, 282). In certain instances the shaman's craft may also require animal sacrifice. Spirit mediums among the Philippines' Buid, for example, sacrifice pigs or chickens as food for malicious spirits that are said to cause illness by "biting" their human victims. Conversely, provisioning good spirits with sacrificial pigs is a way to invite them to share a closer relationship with humans (Gibson 1986). As Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss noted at the end of the nineteenth century, the category of sacrifice includes "any oblation, even of vegetable matter, whenever the offering or part of it is destroyed" (Hubert and Mauss 1964, 12). In that sense, many shamanic offerings may be considered sacrifices, regardless of whether blood is drawn.

Offerings in Ngaju Shamanism, Indonesia

The question of what constitutes an appropriate offering or sacrifice is often a paramount concern of shamans and their audiences. Regarding the séances of the Oya Melanau shamans of Malaysia, H. S. Morris noted that their spirit familiars enjoy good food and sweet scents. "[A shaman] must provide a suitable reception. . . . [For this reason] shamanistic curing ceremonies are regarded as a series of entertainments," akin to hosting friends (Morris 1993, 112). Among the Ngaju Dayaks of Central Kalimantan, Indonesia, shamans known as *tukang sangiang* are likewise often called upon to conduct healing ceremonies. One part of a Ngaju shaman's work involves mixing antidotes and salves from roots, tree bark, and flowers. Another calls for the shaman to "smoke" patients, building smoldering fires of carefully chosen woods that chase disease away.

Ngaju shamans are solicited for their ability to enter trance and become possessed by spirits known as *sangiang.* They flatter, cajole, or bribe spirits into identifying the cause of illness and suggesting courses of treatment. Rarely are the sangiang themselves blamed for sickness, but the extent to which a sangiang is able to effect a cure may hinge upon whether the supernatural being is satisfied with the offerings given to it (Schiller 1997). Thus bargaining with spirits is an important aspect of the work of some shamans. At first glance the ability of shamans to negotiate with the supernatural world may seem surprising. In many cultures, however, the shaman is thought of as the equal of the supernatural beings with whom the shaman comes into contact, or even as enjoying mastery over those beings. Thus shamans, as has been noted regarding the Kalahari Bushmen, rather than "plead," "throw themselves into combat with the gods" (Marshall 1962).

Indu Onot, the Transvestite Shaman

An example of how offerings may be used by shamans is provided by the aforementioned Ngaju Dayaks, as observed by the author. In

preparation for a session, Ngaju shamans set out offerings for the spirits to attract them to the ceremony site. Throughout their performance they add offerings, usually in response to spirits' specific requests. An example of this shamanic technique is provided by Indu Onot, whose clientele includes villagers from throughout the middle and upper Katingan River region. Indu Onot received her calling as a child, when a female spirit approached in her dreams. The spirit explained that in return for shamanic abilities, the youngster would have to honor her throughout the years by bringing offerings of food, clothes, and perfumes to a special shrine. The spirit also added a singular request—that the child would dress in a manner that indicated their close relationship. Two decades later, Indu Onot continues to uphold her end of the bargain, making offerings of food to her spirit patron whenever she takes a meal and setting out offerings of rice, tobacco, coconut oil, and perfume whenever she invokes her. She also observes the spirit's special request, and, although she is anatomically male, Indu Onot dresses as a woman. She wears a colorful wrapper tightly wound around her body, and modestly covers her shoulders with a lacy blouse secured by a brooch. Her gold bracelets, purchased with money she has collected from her patients, sparkle on her wrists. Her three children address her as "mother," just as they do Indu Onot's wife, who is their biological mother.

When asked to perform a divination or healing, Indu Onot sends her assistant ahead to ready the site, including arranging offerings for the yet unknown spirits who will possess her body during her shamanic trance. Raw rice, tobacco, coconut oil, betel nut, and lime are set out in a brass bowl in front of a chair on which the shaman will be seated. A small pot of smoldering resin is lit—this, too, is considered an offering. Sometimes a chicken is killed; its blood is used to "feed" the animate essence of the shaman's ritual paraphernalia, and its cooked flesh is set out on a plate where spirits may feast. After making an obeisance to her tutelary spirit, Indu Onot begins to rock to and fro, clutching in her hands strips of cloth or palm fronds suspended from the ceiling. She mumbles an invitation to the spirits to descend into her body. She places the brass bowl on her head and begins to dance, her hands darting and weaving above her like birds searching for a resting place amid the jungle canopy. Suddenly she stamps her foot and speaks in a voice that is not her own. One after another, spirits pass through her, each requesting something. Normally they ask for specific foods, which the audience members rush to procure and place in front of Indu Onot. Not all requests are for things to eat, however. During one performance, a spirit asked for the loan of a pair of soccer shoes. A teenage observer removed the pair he had on, and Indu Onot wore them until the next sangiang arrived. Sometime spirits request cigarettes, which Indu Onot immediately smokes. Such offerings of tobacco, or the use of tobacco in shamanic performance, are common throughout the world.

Wana Shamans

The interactions that take place among Indu Onot, the spirits who have possessed her, and the onlookers who have assembled for the session are not unique. Similarly "spirited" exchanges between shamans and audiences who are anxious to respond to the demands of supernatural beings for offerings appear elsewhere in anthropological literature. Jane Atkinson, for example, refers to the "dramatic conundrum" faced by Wana shamans in Sulawesi, Indonesia. On the one hand, members of Wana society depend upon shamans and their supernatural allies for continued well-being. On the other, shamans are "dependent upon audience members to acknowledge their shamanic claims" (Atkinson 1987, 346). By enlisting audience members in efforts to respond to the requests that spirits are making through particular shamans, the shaman gives the audience a chance to demonstrate its "great feelings" for the shaman's condition (349) and to endorse the shaman's claim to possessing special powers. Thus, although the patient's illness is the catalyst for the performance, it is the shaman's immediate needs rather than the patient's that the audience must address. In this way, the shaman's standing in the community is acknowledged and strengthened.

Animal Sacrifice

Neither Ngaju nor Wana shamans emphasize animal sacrifice in their healing performances.

However, among some peoples who attribute illness to soul loss, blood sacrifices performed by shamans are said to substitute for human souls. An example comes from the Rungus of Sabah, Malaysia. Rungus shamans turn to their spirit familiars for assistance in determining what type of *rogon* or *rusod,* spirit of the natural or social world, is causing a patient's illness and what sacrifice that spirit requires in exchange for a soul's return. When a rogon demands a sacrifice that is beyond a patient's family's means, the shaman may try to negotiate on the family's behalf: "Some *rogon* receive large pigs, others small ones and some rogon want red chickens and others white. At this time [the shaman] is able to ask for mercy and bargain for a smaller sacrifice" (Appell and Appell 1993, 28). In some cases, as in that of a major or lingering illness, only a large sacrifice will do. In those cases, a bargain is struck with a rusod to hold a ceremony at a future point "when the family has been able to raise a pig of sufficient size. . . . At the time of making this bargain, a piglet is designated to be raised for this ceremony" (29).

Whether shamans offer pigs, plants, palm wine, or even a young man's soccer shoes to the spirits that assist them, useful information about social, political, and economic conditions in contexts where shamanism is practiced may be gleaned by considering the nature of the offerings presented. Writing about Korean shamanism, Kwang-Ok Kim has argued that "shamanism provides the people with a profound symbolic language" (1994, 218). Although analyses of this symbolism have traditionally focused on elements of costume, dance, or percussive accompaniment, the type, number, and arrangement of shamanic offerings also offer insight into local knowledge systems, including how they have been affected by social change. Among the Karo of Sumatra, Indonesia, for example, shamanic healers have organized financial savings clubs to offset the expenses of holding ceremonies and entertaining spirits. Such voluntary associations have become necessary as relatives and neighbors who have converted to Christianity or Islam now refuse to provide economic support for ceremonies that they consider "heathen" (Steedly 1993, 6). Thus, offerings and sacrifices should clearly not be considered dimensions of shamanic performance of a low order of importance. For social scientists, a shaman's offerings may hold clues to a deeper understanding of the complex relations between spirit beliefs and other dimensions of social and cultural orders. For shamans, offerings and sacrifices may be seen as crucial to the efficacy or failure of their efforts, with lives and livelihoods hanging in the balance.

Anne Schiller

See also: Gender and Shamanism; Indonesian Shamanism; Transvestism in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Appell, George, and Laura Appell. 1993. "To Converse with the Gods: Rungus Spirit Mediums." Pp. 3–53 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship, and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert Winzeler. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Atkinson, Jane. 1987. "The Effectiveness of Shamans in an Indonesian Ritual." *American Anthropologist* 89: 342–355.

Dixon, Roland. 1908. "Some Aspects of the American Shaman." *Journal of American Folklore* 21: 1–12.

Firth, Raymond. 1964. "Shaman." Pp. 638–639 in *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences.* Edited by Julius Gould and William Kolb. New York: Free Press.

Gibson, Thomas. 1986. *Sacrifice and Sharing in the Philippine Highlands.* London School of Economics Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 57. London: Athlone.

Handelman, Don. 1967. "The Development of a Washo Shaman." *Ethnology* 6: 444–464.

Hubert, Henri, and Marcel Mauss. 1964. Reprint. *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Functions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Original edition, 1898.

Humphrey, Caroline. 1996. *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Daur Mongols.* With Urgune Onon. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kim, Kwang-Ok. 1994. "Rituals of Resistance: The Manipulation of Shamanism in Contemporary Korea." Pp. 195–219 in *Asian Visions of Authority: Religion and the Modern States of East and Southeast Asia.* Edited by Charles Keyes, Laurel Kendall, and Helen Hardacre. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Marshall, Lorna. 1962. "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs." *Africa* 39: 347–381.
Morris, H. S. 1993. "Shamanism among the Oya Melanau." Pp. 101–129 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship, and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert Winzeler. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.
Schiller, Anne. 1997. *Small Sacrifices: Religious Change and Cultural Identity among the Ngaju of Indonesia.* New York: Oxford University Press.
Steedly, Mary. 1993. *Hanging without a Rope: Narrative Experience in Colonial and Postcolonial Karoland.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

PERFORMANCE

See Dramatic Performance in Shamanism

PILGRIMAGE AND SHAMANISM

Pilgrimage normally involves travel to and from a sacred place, and parallels shamanism in its emphasis on the role of the journey in religious experience. Pilgrims, like shamans, move toward an otherworldly realm in order to engage with spiritual forces, and often have a specific aim in mind, such as healing of the self or others. Many shamans seek a temporary release from ordinary consciousness through trance, while many pilgrims aspire to achieve temporary release from the concerns of their daily lives through physical travel. In both cases, the trip away from ordinary reality may be fraught with austerities and dangers, resulting in death or harm to the practitioner, but if successful it has the potential to bring prestige and renown.

Some writers argue that the tripartite structure of a rite of passage is central to both pilgrimage and shamanism. The person leaves the mundane world (in body or in soul), spends some time in a "liminal" (in-between) zone where normal rules of human behavior are suspended or reversed, and then returns to society, possibly with a changed identity. Shamans themselves may be ambiguous figures in their communities, feared as much as revered for their powers, just as pilgrims are sometimes mistrusted by the local inhabitants of places through which they travel as strangers.

At times, pilgrimage is clearly an integral part of shamanism. In her account of forms of sacred journeying carried out by the Huichol Indians of Mexico, Barbara Myerhoff (1974) argued that the male shaman-priest, or *mara'akame,* gains some of his extraordinary powers and authority specifically through pilgrimage. Ramón, her chief informant, claimed to make magical flights to the land of the gods and to be able to follow the souls of the dead to the Underworld, while using these skills on behalf of patients in curing ceremonies. His initial training period involved the leading of five, physically very demanding, trips to the sacred land of Wirikuta in an annual hunt for the peyote cactus, used to promote visionary experiences.

Similarly, Carmen Blacker (1975, 100) wrote of how Japanese shamans, whose practices combined Buddhist influences with other, possibly older religious forms, acquired powers to heal and to banish malevolent spirits through a number of ascetic practices, such as fasting, seclusion, standing under waterfalls, and scaling mountains. She quoted the example of a tenth-century female ascetic who complained that no sooner did the word go round that someone had climbed a mountain, than he or she was besieged by people wanting a cure. Such traveling to holy mountains may not merely parallel, but may even replace, shamanic flights of the soul through the cosmos, particularly among contemporary practitioners.

In the Japanese case, religiously inspired movement complemented the stillness involved in self-imposed seclusion; in common with other examples of pilgrimage and shamanism, this example reveals how traversing space may involve not only a testing of the person, but also a search for the otherness of the spirit realm (Vitebsky 2001, 15). Geographically and cosmologically defined landscapes are central to both pilgrimage and shamanism. Donald Joralemon and Douglas Sharon (1993) followed the shamanic career of Rodrigo López, a Peruvian *curandero* (healer). As part of López's train-

ing, he made various pilgrimages to sacred highland lagoons in the company of expert practitioners, but once initiated he felt no need to return to such power spots, since he regarded himself as able to tap the power of the lagoons in spirit. Artifacts collected by curanderos on their trips can also be used to evoke the power of sacred landscapes and can become permanent features of a curer's practice, paralleling the pilgrimage practice of bringing home souvenirs as a means of recalling but also appropriating the powers of a place.

Shamanism is often seen as involving exchange between humans and spirits or animals. Kaj Århem (1998, 104) noted that, among the Makuna Indians of the Colombian Amazon, shamans travel in the mind to spirit owners and guardians of animals, asking them to deliver the hunter's prey and the fisherman's catch, and offering coca and tobacco in return. The dealings between Makuna shamans and the spirit owners are likened to marriage negotiations, and a successful hunt is compared to a completed marriage—an exchange of women between groups. Pilgrimage can also illustrate the connections between travel and exchange, with material or spiritual offerings to the gods cementing requests for help or providing thanks for a boon provided. The pilgrim, like the shaman, may make a journey on behalf of another person, seeking for divine aid. In both cases, transactions are mediated through an economy of human-divine relations, and in some instances the transacting pilgrim is also a shaman. Among the Mixe of the Oaxacan highlands of southern Mexico, shamans travel to mountain tops or sacred caves and sacrifice fowls in order to alter the fate of a child born on a negative calendar day (Lipp 1991, 88–90).

Scholars have debated the political significance of shamanism and pilgrimage, and in particular their respective connections with centralized forms of authority. The fact that both shamans and pilgrims journey to, and sometimes beyond, the known world and the social order sometimes makes them appear peripheral in relation to mainstream hierarchies. They may even be seen as a threat to such hierarchies if they appear to be able to cultivate alternative sources of power and authority. Shamans in Siberia and Mongolia were mistrusted and killed by Communist governments, just as mass movements of pilgrims in medieval Europe were sometimes feared as potential embodiments of the uncontrolled crowd. However, it would be misleading to see either shamanism or pilgrimage as inherently resistant to centers of political power or always in conflict with the state. Using the example of twelfth and thirteenth century Mongols, Caroline Humphrey noted that such inspirational practices were profoundly implicated in the formation of Inner Asian States. She added that, in China and among the people of the hinterland, the sky was seen as the all-encompassing principle of cosmic order and human destiny, with the ruler on earth governing his people by virtue of the destiny accorded by heaven. In such a context, the assertion of a shamanic ability to ascend to the sky could be seen as a politically highly significant claim (Humphrey 1994, 193–197). Similarly, numerous pilgrimage sites have acquired political importance: Walsingham in England became a favorite venue for medieval English royalty to display their piety, while the Golden Temple in Amritsar has famously become not only a place of pilgrimage but also a key focal point for the assertion of Sikh identity.

Nevertheless, the apparently close parallels that have been revealed between shamanism and pilgrimage should also be treated with caution. As a result of the approach adopted by Mircea Eliade (1989), there has been a tendency to regard shamanism as ideally capable of existing in a "pure," transhistorical form, involving mastery of spirits and magical flight as part of generic and archaic "techniques of ecstasy." Similarly, pilgrimage is sometimes perceived too crudely as a firmly identifiable and homogeneous phenomenon, the manifestation of an allegedly universal human need to engage in a quest for the sacred. In reality, the religious complexes termed *shamanism* and *pilgrimage* contain very many varieties of ritualized action and religious meaning, which can only fully be understood by examining the cultural context in which any given activity takes place. Alice Kehoe pointed out that Siberians themselves distinguish between several types of practitioners and adepts, who are too loosely labeled shamanic by outsiders (Kehoe 2000, 4). Within the same religion, or even within the same traveling group, pilgrims can also have very different motivations, behaviors, and roles.

There are some obvious differences between conventional depictions of shamanism and of pilgrimage, despite the fact that the two can coexist in the same society and sometimes help to constitute each other. Shamans tend to venture out alone (or perhaps with familiars) in their soul flights, although drumming and dancing may accompany the passage of the practitioner's soul as it seeks the company of spirits. Pilgrims much more frequently engage in actual physical travel, and often undertake their journeys in groups to enjoy the good company of others or—as often in the past—for safety's sake while encountering unknown lands. The shaman's role often requires specific skills as part of a specialized calling, possibly including the regularized cultivation of trance states (in Central and South America, drugs that can promote altered states of consciousness play a key role in shamanic traditions). Pilgrims are less likely to be religious virtuosi or leaders within their communities, and while they sometimes experience religious ecstasy, they do not usually expect to achieve changes in states of consciousness unless they are mystics. The cultural locations of the two religious complexes also exhibit some differences. Many examples of shamanism come from within the hunting societies of Europe and Asia (for instance, Scandinavia, Siberia, and Greenland), while pilgrimage has become most fully developed within the world religions, which have encouraged believers temporarily to leave their local communities in order to seek out distant but concretely attainable goals (Mecca within Islam, the Holy Land for Christians, and so on).

In recent decades, shamanism and pilgrimage have experienced an upsurge of interest in scholarly circles, and in both cases there has been a growth in studies highlighting the cultural and historical particularities of specific historical and cultural contexts. Both institutions have also been influenced by a rising interest in popular spirituality in the West, which has frequently involved the appropriation and transformation of non-Western cultural forms. So-called Neo-Shamanism avoids the austerities of shamanic initiation described above, and—displaying its connections with New Age spiritualities—tends to be oriented toward individual quests for self-realization rather than community welfare. The selling of "shamanic journeys" (Kehoe 2000, 81) through weekend workshops has become common, and new techniques draw disparate ethnographic traditions together in syntheses that are designed for ease of assimilation by clients. Galina Lindquist noted that attention to the imagery of the mind (whether manifested in journeys, dreams, or daydreams) seems to be the principal feature that distinguishes a member of the neo-shamanic movement from a "mainstream" person (Lindquist 1997, 89–90). The non-Western "other" is depicted in these terms as a source of power and self-renewal, but the ambiguity and danger frequently associated with the shamanic role is played down in favor of a more benign view of nature, the environment, and the spiritual world.

Similarly, contemporary pilgrimage often (though by no means always) avoids the dangers and privations of the past, not least because travel is nowadays much easier than before, and in the West is also influenced by current tendencies to mix and match cultural forms. For instance, some contemporary travelers on the *camino,* the network of pilgrimage routes that reach across Europe and lead to Santiago de Compostela, are ostensibly following an ancient tradition, but in fact exhibit individualized attempts to achieve spiritual renewal that are characteristic of New Age thought. Thus both pilgrimage and shamanism provide metaphors of journeying and self-discovery that can readily be adapted to certain aspects of contemporary Western sensibility, whether participants see themselves as being overtly "religious" or not.

Observing such developments in the West should not lead us to assume that supposedly pristine, ancient, and static forms of pilgrimage or shamanism will necessarily die out and be replaced by their New Age counterparts. Such a view would ignore the fact that all religious traditions have constantly changed and adapted throughout history. More generally, we can be confident of the continued salience of both pilgrimage and shamanism—sometimes closely combined, sometimes more clearly separated—in the near future.

Simon M. Coleman

See also: Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Huichol Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Peruvian Shamans

References and further reading:

Århem, Kaj. 1998. *Makuna: Portrait of an Amazonian People.* Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Blacker, Carmen. 1975. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Davidson, Linda Kay, and David Gitlitz. 2002. *Pilgrimage: From the Ganges to Graceland, an Encyclopedia.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Humphrey, Caroline. 1994. "Shamanic Practices and the State in Northern Asia: Views from the Center and Periphery." Pp. 191–228 in *Shamanism, History, and the State.* Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Joralemon, Donald, and Sharon Douglas. 1993. *Sorcery and Shamanism: Curanderos and Clients in Northern Peru.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Kehoe, Alice B. 2000. *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Lindquist, Galina. 1997. *Shamanic Performances on the Urban Scene: Neo-Shamanism in Contemporary Sweden.* Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Lipp, Frank J. 1991. *The Mixe of Oaxaca: Religion, Ritual, and Healing.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Myerhoff, Barbara G. 1974. *Peyote Hunt: The Sacred Journey of the Huichol Indians.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Vitebsky, Piers. 2001. *The Shaman: Voyages of the Soul. Trance, Ecstasy and Healing from Siberia to the Amazon.* London: Duncan Baird. First American edition, Boston: Little, Brown, 1995.

PSYCHOLOGY OF SHAMANISM

The psychology of shamanism has been ignored for many decades because psychologists did not value the shamanic tradition, and because earlier models of science could not do justice to its complexity. Developments in psychological phenomenology, cognitive neuroscience, and qualitative research, however, provide both the perspective and the tools to bring rigor and imagination to an investigation of shamanic experience that will give understanding of its contents and its structure (Krippner 2002). For example, Roger Walsh has provided an analysis of shamanic phenomenology, concluding that it is "clearly distinct from schizophrenic, Buddhist, and yogic states," especially on such important dimensions as awareness of the environment, concentration, control, sense of identity, arousal, affect, and mental imagery (Walsh 2001, 34).

From a psychological perspective, shamans can be described as community-sanctioned spiritual practitioners who claim to deliberately modify their attention in an attempt to access information not ordinarily available to members of their social group. (The use of the term *attention* instead of the more usual *state of consciousness* is discussed later in the article.) Shamans use this information in their attempts to ameliorate the physiological, psychological, and spiritual problems faced by the group members who gave them shamanic status. Shamans appear to have been humankind's first psychotherapists, first physicians, first magicians, first performing artists, first storytellers, and first weather forecasters (Eliade 1989). They were originally active in hunting and gathering tribes and fishing tribes and still exist there in their most unadulterated form; however, shamanic and shamanistic practitioners also exist in nomadic pastoral societies, and in horticultural, agricultural, and even urban societies today.

Shamanic Roles

Michael Winkelman's (1992) seminal cross-cultural study of forty-seven societies focused upon *magical-religious practitioners,* that is, those individuals who occupy a socially recognized role that has as its basis an interaction with the nonordinary, nonconsensual dimensions of existence. This interaction involves special knowledge of purported spirit entities and how to relate to them, as well as special powers that allow these practitioners to influ-

ence the course of nature or human affairs in ways not ordinarily possible. Winkelman coded each type of practitioner separately on such characteristics as the type of magical or religious activities performed, the techniques employed, the procedures used to alter consciousness, the practitioner's mythological worldview, and the practitioner's psychological characteristics, perceived power, socioeconomic status, and political role. Statistical analysis provided a division into four groups: (1) members of the shaman complex (shamans, shaman-healers, and healers); (2) priests and priestesses; (3) diviners, seers, and mediums; (4) malevolent practitioners (witches and sorcerers).

It turned out that the shaman was most often present in hunting and gathering societies and fishing societies. However, the introduction of horticulture and agriculture coincided with the rise of priests and priestesses, and of organized religions. Shamans lost much of their power to priests, but retained their healing abilities. Shamanic oral traditions differ from the body of sacred scripture as maintained by an organized priesthood, remaining flexible and adaptive, each situation being unique.

Political differentiation of the society led to a further division of labor into that of healers, mediums, and malevolent practitioners. Any given society may have one or more magical-religious practitioner. Among the !Kung of southwest Africa, for example, the majority of males are magical-religious practitioners, as well as a sizable minority of females (Katz 1981).

Using Winkelman's terminology, the shaman-healer specializes in healing practices, while the healer typically works without the dramatic alterations of consciousness that characterize the shaman and, to a lesser extent, the shaman-healer. Diviners (as well as seers and mediums) act on a client's request to heal or to make prophecies after they have "incorporated" spirits. These practitioners typically report that they are conduits for the spirits' power, and claim not to exercise personal volition once they "incorporate" (or are "possessed by") the spirits. Shamans, on the other hand, frequently interact with the spirits and sometimes "incorporate" them, but remain in control of the process, only suspending volition temporarily.

For example, volition is surrendered during some Native American ritual dances when there is an intense "flooding." Nevertheless, the shamans purportedly know how to enter and exit this type of intense experience (Winkelman 2000). Malevolent practitioners are thought to have control over some of the "lower" spirits as well as access to power through rituals. Typically, they do not see their mission as empowering a community as a whole (as do the shamans). Rather, sorcerers are employed by individual members of their community to bring harm to enemies (inside or outside the community) or to seek favor from spirit entities for specific individuals through sorcery, witchcraft, hexes, and spells.

The more complex a society, the more likely it is to have representatives of each type of practitioner, except for the prototypical shaman. It should be kept in mind, of course, that categories are never absolute; some practitioners are difficult to classify and others switch roles according to the occasion (Heinze 1991). Many writers reserve the word "shamanic" to refer to practitioners and practices that clearly fall within the domain of the shaman or the shaman-healer. The same writers use the word "shamanistic" to refer to practitioners and practices that are related to the shamanic realm, but which are basically adaptations of it because one (or more) of the critical criteria, such as community sanction and voluntary control of shifts in attention, is absent.

Shamanic Selection and Training

Shamans enter their profession in a number of ways, depending on the traditions of their community. Some shamans inherit the role. Others may display distinctive bodily signs (e.g., an extra digit, albinism, an unusual birthmark), behaviors (e.g., bodily fits and seizures, behavior patterns culturally associated with the opposite gender), or experiences (e.g., vivid dream recall, professed out-of-body activity). Depending on the potential shaman's culture, any of these might constitute a *call to shamanize.* In addition, future shamans might survive a near fatal disease and interpret this phenomenon as a call. Spirit entities might call them in dreams or in daytime reveries (Heinze 1991, 146–156). These calls may come at any age, depending on a society's tradition; in some cases, the call arrives late in life, giving meritorious individuals opportunities to continue their service to the community in ways that utilize their life experi-

ences. On the other hand, the strange and erratic behaviors of some tribal members may be interpreted by the community as a call, thereby canalizing potentially disruptive actions into behavior patterns that are perceived to be beneficial (Katz 1981).

In some societies, there is no formal training program, while in others the training process may last for several years. The mentors may be older shamans or even spirit entities (e.g., one's ancestors, power animals, nature spirits) who are said to give instructions in the neophyte's dreams. The skills to be learned vary from society to society, but usually include diagnosis and treatment of illness, contacting spirit entities from nonordinary dimensions, supervising sacred rituals, interpreting dreams, predicting the weather, herbal knowledge, prophecy, and mastering the self-regulation of bodily functions and attentional states.

So-called spirit entities need to be contacted for different purposes. If they are dissatisfied they have to be propitiated; if a person dies without leaving a will, the deceased person's spirit needs to be contacted to determine property disposition; if a deceased person's spirit is causing trouble, the spirit needs to be appeased. Magical performance of one sort or another is learned, whether it be sleight of hand, taking advantage of synchronous events, or the purported utilization of what Westerners would call parapsychological phenomena (e.g., extrasensory perception, psychokinesis). In most shamanic societies, a variety of chants, dances, songs, epic poems, stories, and symbols must be learned and used when appropriate. Some tribes arrange a special feast when the initiate passes a phase of training.

In many instances, a society has recognized several types of shamans. Among the Gold Eskimos, only the *siurku* shaman knows how to heal, the *nyemanti* shaman performs special rituals over a deceased person's soul, and the *kasati* shaman conveys the soul of the deceased to the spirit world (Kalweit 1988, 139). Among the Cuna Indians of Panama, the *abisua* shaman heals by singing, the *inaduledi* specializes in herbal cures, and the *nele* focuses on diagnosis (Krippner 1993).

It would be erroneous to assume that shamans represent a single constellation of traits, or that there is a "shamanic personality." It may be that some shamans have been "psychotic" but nonetheless have been honored by the community as long as they served social needs. More often, shamans undoubtedly have been men and women of great talent, mastering a complex vocabulary and a treasury of knowledge concerning herbs, rituals, healing procedures, and the purported spirit world.

Shamanic Personality Traits

Some social scientists have observed the links between shamanism and changed states of consciousness, concluding that these states are symptomatic of "schizophrenia." Julian Silverman postulated that shamanism is a form of acute schizophrenia because the two conditions have in common "grossly non-reality-oriented ideation, abnormal perceptual experiences, profound emotional upheavals, and bizarre mannerisms" (Silverman 1967, 22). According to Silverman, the only difference between shamanic states and contemporary schizophrenia in Western industrialized societies is "the degree of cultural acceptance of the individual's psychological resolution of a life crisis" (23). Silverman claimed that the social supports available to the shaman are "often completely unavailable to the schizophrenic in our culture" (29). George Devereux (1961), among others, conceptualized shamans as neurotics, epileptics, or hysterics.

L. B. Boyer, B. Klopfer, F. B. Brawer, and H. Kawai (1964) attempted to gather data regarding this controversy by administering Rorschach inkblots to seventy-one Apache men, twelve shamans, fifty-two non-shamans, and seven "pseudoshamans" who claimed to possess special powers but who had not been accorded shamanic status by members of their community. Rorschach analysis demonstrated that the shamans showed as high a degree of reality testing potential as did members of the non-shamanic group. Pseudoshamans were more variable on this dimension and demonstrated "impoverished personalities"' (179). The shamanic group was as able to approach ambiguous stimuli as were the non-shamans, but showed a higher degree of ability to "regress in the service of the ego," a keener awareness of peculiarities, more theoretical interests, and more "hysterical" tendencies. These tendencies were in evidence when the team examined the high frequency of anatomical and sexual responses to the Rorschach inkblots, as well as the frequent use of

color. Even so, the authors stated, "In their mental approach, the shamans appear less hysterical than the other groups" (176). The study concluded that the shamans were "healthier than their societal co-members. . . . This finding argues against [the] stand that the shaman is severely neurotic or psychotic, at least insofar as the Apaches are concerned" (179).

Richard Noll (1985) compared verbal reports regarding the phenomenology of their unusual experiences from both schizophrenics and shamans to criteria in the third edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders.* He reported that important phenomenological differences exist between the two groups and that taking what he called the "schizophrenic metaphor" seriously, by asserting that shamans are schizophrenic, is untenable (455). Indeed, some social scientists (e.g., Peters and Price-Williams 1980) claim that such altered states as spirit possession and out-of-body experience can be therapeutic in nature.

Sheryl Wilson and Theodore Barber (1981) have identified fantasy-prone personalities among their hypnotic subjects. This group is highly imaginative but, for the most part, neither neurotic nor psychotic. It is likely that many shamans would fall within this category, as the shaman's visions and fantasies are thought to represent activities in the spirit world. Also, the shaman typically exhibits considerable charisma as what Jungians refer to as a *psychopomp,* a culturally validated figure who mediates between realities. Among the psychopomp's duties are transporting souls of the dead to the spirit world, as well as traveling to the spirit world to receive instructions or to petition favor from the deities.

Cross-gender behavior has been reported to characterize shamans in many societies. Walter Williams (1986) reviewed the way in which Native American cultures dealt with sexual diversity, finding that most tribes believed that someone who is unusual could be easily accommodated without being regarded as abnormal. Many tribes directed what Westerners would refer to as effeminate males and masculine females into shamanic roles, recognizing their sensitivity, androgyny, and capacity for empathy.

Many Siberian tribes often select "soft men" as shamans, and Siberian shamans in general frequently cross-dress during their rituals in order to partake of the opposite gender's power. These practices are also common in Polynesia and Korea, where androgynous males who serve as shamans are highly regarded for their healing abilities, as well as for their purported knowledge of future events.

Altered States

Some Russian anthropologists claim that the first shamans were nature healers, but during a later feudal phase of social evolution, they invented spirits, necessitating the cultivation of altered states of consciousness to contact them and communicate with them (Hoppál 1984). Morris Berman suggested that "heightened awareness" may be a more accurate description than "altered states," because shamans describe their intense experience of the natural world in such terms as "things often seem to blaze" (Berman 2000, 30). Most other scholars, however, have favored the idea that altered states of consciousness are basic to shamanism, especially spirit "incorporation" and out-of-body experience or "journeying." Erika Bourguignon surveyed 488 societies (57 percent of those represented in an ethnographic atlas) and discovered that 437, or 89 percent, were reported to have one or more institutionalized, culturally patterned altered states of consciousness (Bourguignon 1974, 11). She concluded that the capacity to experience altered states of consciousness was a basic psychobiological capacity of human beings, a conclusion supported by Winkelman's (2000) review of pertinent psychoneurological data. Steven Mithen's (1996) vivid portrayal of the mind's "prehistory" describes the emergence of what he calls the *cognitive fluidity* that caused the cultural explosion of the Middle and Upper Paleolithic Ages, and it is likely that shamans and their altered states of consciousness were manifestations of this fluidity.

Larry Peters and Douglass Price-Williams (1980) compared forty-two societies from four different cultural areas to determine commonalties among shamanic altered states of consciousness. They identified three common elements: voluntary control of entrance into and duration of the altered state of consciousness; memory of the experience after the altered state of consciousness; and ability to communicate with others during the altered state of con-

sciousness. Ruth-Inge Heinze has pointed out that the basic difference between shamans and mediums appears to be that "shamans are capable of going on a magical flight and remain the actors during their performances. On the other hand, mediums become possessed by spirits who use human bodies through which they are able to act" (Heinze 1991, 15). In addition, shamans characteristically travel into the spirit world more often than other practitioners do. They may journey from "middle earth" to the "Upper World" to visit ancestral spirits and to the "Lower World" to visit power animals, and journey to the past, the future, and remote areas of the globe (Krippner 2000). The spirits encountered in each of these realms will differ from society to society, but shamanic journeying is typically linked to the ability to enter altered states of consciousness.

Incorporation is a term often used to denote the voluntary nature of spirit embodiment; it may or may not be accompanied by amnesia after the experience, depending on the practitioner, the practitioner's training, and the practitioner's cultural tradition. In possession, however, the individual generally embodies the spirit in an involuntary or unpredictable manner; there is usually amnesia after the experience. In obsession, the spirit works from the outside, purportedly influencing the individual's behavior, characteristically in a maladaptive way. Exorcism is often necessary to treat involuntary possession and obsession if a malevolent spirit is involved. Sometimes the troublesome spirit is not wicked but simply "ignorant" or "underdeveloped." The exorcist, who might be a shaman, priest, priestess, or medium, often attempts to "send" the offending spirit "into the light," because the spirit needs to progress in its evolution and spiritual development.

The notion of spirit possession poses problems for psychologists because it is an implicit explanation as well as a description. Vincente Crapanzano defined it as "any altered state of consciousness indigenously interpreted in terms of the influence of an alien spirit" (Crapanzano 1977, 7). Others have defined possession more behaviorally, noting that the possessed person appears to be invaded by a different personality who manifests through changes in that person's physiognomy, personality, voice, and motor function. A differentiation can also be made between forms of voluntary possession, or incorporation (as experienced by, e.g., shamans and mediums) and involuntary possession (as experienced by, e.g., victims of hexes or malevolent spirits).

Bourguignon (1974) distinguished between *trance* (i.e., an altered state of consciousness not linked to cultural concepts of possession but in which spirit messages can be delivered and spirits contacted) *possession trance* (i.e., an altered state of consciousness in which there is radical dissociation without subsequent recall accompanied by spirit-manifested speech and other spirit-directed behavior), and *possession* (i.e., behaviors associated with spirit invasion that do not directly involve altered states of consciousness, such as spirit-induced illness).

Peters and Price-Williams reported that shamans in eighteen out of the forty-two societies they surveyed engaged in spirit "incorporation," ten in out-of-body experiences, eleven in both, and three in some different kind of altered state of consciousness (Peters and Price-Williams 1980, 397–415). Peters and Price-Williams have also compared the experience of these altered states of consciousness to a rite of passage in which an episode of panic or fear yields to insight; a new integration of various elements of one's personality results from this process.

Winkelman's cross-cultural survey of forty-seven societies yielded data demonstrating that at least one practitioner in each populace demonstrated the induction of an altered state of consciousness associated with role training. The specific induction procedures included mind-altering substances (e.g., alcohol, opiates, psychedelics, stimulants, tobacco), auditory stimulation (through drumming and the like), exposure to extreme temperatures, sexual abstinence, social isolation, sleep induction, sleep deprivation, food restrictions, induced convulsions, excessive motor behavior, and extreme relaxation. Winkelman's analysis indicated some distinct patterns regarding incorporation and magical flight. However, Winkelman found cases of profound altered states of consciousness that involved neither incorporation nor magical flight. He presented a unifying psychophysiological model of these altered states of consciousness: "a parasympathetic dominant state characterized by the dominance of the frontal cortex by slow wave discharges

emanating from the limbic system" (Winkelman 1992, 198), interacting with various social variables.

Michael Harner (1980) and others have cited additional ways in which shamans alter consciousness, for example, jumping (e.g., the 16–24-hour *ut* ceremonies of Korean shamans), mental imagery (e.g., the visualization practices of the Tamang shamans of Nepal who "see" their tutelary spirits prior to incorporating them), and chanting (e.g., the repetition of monotonous incantations by Taiwanese shamans). Often, shamans use two or more procedures simultaneously to alter consciousness. Korean shamans combine jumping with drumming, and the Arapaho Indians smoke a ceremonial pipe and rub their bodies with sage in addition to using drums. Andrew Neher (1961) has demonstrated that drumming can produce brain activation by coinciding with the theta EEG frequency (about 4 to 8 cycles per second) through auditory driving. Others have built on and extended Neher's work, finding that theta brain waves were synchronized with monotonous drumbeats of 3–6 cycles per second, a rhythm associated with many shamanic ritual themes. Others have found trends toward enhanced positive mood states and an increase in positive immune response as measured by a concentration of salivary immunoglobulin A (S-IgA) during shamanic drumming, and another team has reported that rhythmic drumming had a salubrious effect upon group members' immune systems, as measured by increased natural killer cell activity (see Krippner 2002 for references).

Shamans also use naturally occurring altered states of consciousness, dreams being the primary example. Some shamanic traditions deny that they alter consciousness; Navaho shamans exhibit prodigious feats of memory in recounting cultural myths, and use sand paintings, drums, and dances, but they downplay the effect these procedures have in bringing about a shift in their states of consciousness. Several similar examples may make it more appropriate to speak of shamanic "shifts of attention" rather than shamanic "states of consciousness" as a universal hallmark of the practice. Paradoxically, shamans are characterized both by an acute perception of their environment and by imaginative fantasy. These traits include the ability to construct categories, the potential for pretending and role-playing, and the capacity to experience the natural world vividly. During times of social stress, these traits may have given prehistoric shamans an edge over peers who had simply embraced life as it presented itself, without the filters of myth or ritual (Berman 2000, 81).

Putative "parapsychological phenomena" are frequently said to accompany shamanic practices, and a few investigators have used psychological methods to study these claims. For example, Patric Giesler conducted several studies with members of what he termed "Afro-Brazilian shamanic cults." Both "shamans" and "initiates" attempted *remote viewing* to locate hidden objects as well as a task involving distant influence on ritual objects. He concluded that "cultists did not demonstrate [anomalous effects] on the laboratory tasks" (Giesler 1986, 123). Indeed, members of control groups obtained the only significant results. Nevertheless, this is a provocative area of shamanic lore that deserves additional investigation.

Shamanic Healing

The shaman's healing function is a primary focus of his or her repertoire and skills. Body and mind once were seen as a unity, and so there was no sharp division between physical and mental illness. Pain and other symptoms were viewed as sources of information that could be used in diagnosis, as were the client's dreams, "aura," or "energy field," and unusual life events.

Shamans seem to know how to mobilize the expectancy of their clients. This is one of the components of effective healing described by E. Fuller Torrey (1986), the others being a shared worldview, the appropriate personal qualities in the practitioner, and procedures that empower the client. Jerome Frank and Julia Frank (1991) added that all effective healing practitioners resemble shamans in that they bolster their clients' sense of mastery and self-efficacy by providing them with a "myth" or conceptual scheme that explains symptoms and supplies a "ritual" or procedure for overcoming them.

Procedures used by shamanic healers vary, but they may include diet, exercise, herbs, relaxation, mental imagery, surgery, prayers, purifications, and various rituals. Specific treatment procedures depend upon the diagnosis

and the cultural traditions. If a community member appears to be suffering from soul loss, a shaman needs to search for that client's soul, restoring it before the client succumbs to a terminal condition. Diagnosis will determine whether the soul has been stolen, has been spooked away from the body, or has simply strayed during some other activity. Treatment will aim to recover the soul through "soul catching" or similar procedures.

Each shamanic society has its own diagnostic classification of diseases and their causes. Some causal agents that result in sickness are the breach of a taboo, karma for past actions (including those from a past life), the intrusion of a foreign object into the body (usually by sorcery), and a jealous neighbor casting the evil eye. In recent years, many shamans have added the germ theory of disease to their etiological schema and may refer some clients to allopathic physicians if such physicians exist in the neighborhood. Shamanism is basically an open-ended system; it can be modified, altered, revised, or changed due to the demands of historical circumstances and community requirements.

Symbolic manipulation plays a major role in shamanic healing. The drum may serve as the vehicle with which the shaman rides into the spirit world during altered states of consciousness. The blowing of smoke toward the four directions may represent an appeal to the guardians of the universe's four quarters. For shamans and their communities, any product of human imagination represents a form of reality. As a result, mental imagery and imagination play an important role in shamanic healing (Noll 1985).

Shamanic healing usually involves the client's family and community. Richard Katz (1981) proposed that rituals of transformation are the essential link in introducing a *synergistic healing community.* He noted that by providing experiences of *transpersonal bonding,* these rituals enable individuals to realize their communal responsibilities and sense their deep interconnectedness. Even when a client must be isolated as part of the healing process, this drastic procedure serves to impress the community with the gravity of the ailment.

There are shamanic methods of healing that closely parallel contemporary behavior therapy, hypnosis, family therapy, milieu therapy, psychodrama, and dream interpretation. Torrey (1986) concluded that shamans and psychotherapists demonstrate more similarities than differences in regard to their healing practices.

The State of the Field

The psychology of shamanism is a growing field, as evidenced by the acceptance of symposia on the topic at several annual conventions of the American Psychological Association, the creation of the Society for the Anthropology of Consciousness (a division of the American Anthropological Association), and the publication of the popular magazine *Shaman's Drum.* Articles on shamanism sometimes appear in such scholarly journals as the *American Ethnologist, Current Anthropology, Anthropology of Consciousness,* and *Ethos.* Since 1984, the Independent Scholars of Asia have sponsored annual international conferences on the study of shamanism. There is an International Society for Shamanistic Research, a group that has sponsored several international conferences.

The impact of shamanism is reflected in the call for preserving the Earth's ecology, as well as in the practice of evoking positive imagery in the treatment of personal and social distress and attending to people's spiritual emergencies and crises. Many people see the quest for healing the planet as basically a shamanic journey, requiring of all human beings a development of their shamanic capacity for sensing the connection of all living beings.

Stanley Krippner

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Art and Shamanism; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Ecology and Shamanism; Gender in Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism; History of the Study of Shamanism; Hypnosis and Shamanism; Korean Shamanism; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Psychopathology and Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Soul Retrieval; Trance, Shamanic; Transvestism in Shamanism; Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives

References and further reading:

Berman, Morris. 2000. *Wandering God: A Study in Nomadic Spirituality.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bourguignon, Erika. 1974. *Culture and the Varieties of Consciousness.* Boston: Addison-Wesley.
Boyer, L. B., B. Klopfer, F. B. Brawer, and H. Kawai. 1964. "Comparisons of the Shamans and Pseudoshamans of the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation: A Rorschach Study." *Journal of Projective Techniques* 28: 173–180.
Crapanzano, Vincente. 1977. "Introduction." Pp. 1–41 in *Case Studies in Spirit Possession.* Edited by V. Crapanzano and V. Garrison. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
Devereux, George. 1961. "Shamans as Neurotics." *American Anthropologist* 63: 1088–1090.
Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.
Frank, Jerome D., and Julia B. Frank. 1991. *Persuasion and Healing.* 3d ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Giesler, Patric V. 1986. "GESP Testing of Shamanic Cultists." *Journal of Parapsychology* 50: 123–153.
Harner, Michael J. 1980. *The Way of the Shaman: A Guide to Power and Healing.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.
Heinze, Ruth-Inge. 1991. *Shamans of the 20th Century.* New York: Irvington Publishers.
Hoppál, Mihály, ed. 1984. *Shamanism in Eurasia.* Göttingen, Germany: Edition Herodot.
Kalweit, Holger. [1984] 1988. *Dreamtime and Inner Space: The World of the Shaman.* Boston: Shambhala.
Katz, Richard. 1981. "Education as Transformation: Becoming a Healer Among the !Kung and Fijians." *Harvard Educational Review* 51: 57–78.
Krippner, Stanley. 1993. "Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Hypnotic-Like Procedures Used by Native Healing Practitioners." Pp. 691–717 in *Handbook of Clinical Hypnosis.* Edited by J. W. Rhue, S. J. Lynn, and Kirsch. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
———. 2000. "The Epistemology and Technologies of Shamanic States of Consciousness." *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 7: 93–118.
———. 2002. "Conflicting Perspectives on Shamans and Shamanism: Point and Counterpoints." *American Psychologist* 57: 962–977.
Mithen, Steven. 1996. *The Prehistory of the Mind: The Cognitive Origins of Art, Religion and Science.* London: Thames and Hudson.
Neher, Andrew. 1961. "Auditory Driving Observed with Scalp Electrodes in Normal Subjects." *Electroencephalography and Neuropsychology* 13: 449–451.
Noll, Richard. 1985. "Mental Imagery Cultivation as a Cultural Phenomenon: The Role of Visions in Shamanism (with Commentaries)." *Current Anthropology* 26, no. 4: 443–461.
Peters, Larry G., and Douglass Price-Williams. 1980. "Towards an Experiential Analysis of Shamanism." *American Ethnologist* 7: 397–415.
Silverman, Julian. 1967. "Shamans and Acute Schizophrenia." *American Anthropologist* 69: 21–31.
Torrey, E. Fuller. 1986. *Witch Doctors and Psychiatrists.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.
Walsh, Roger. 2001. "Shamanic Experiences: A Developmental Analysis." *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 41, no. 3: 31–52.
Williams, Walter L. 1986. *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture.* Boston: Beacon Press.
Wilson, Sheryl C., and Theodore X. Barber. 1981. "Vivid Fantasy and Hallucinatory Abilities in the Life Histories of Excellent Hypnotic Subjects ('Somnambules'): Preliminary Report with Female Subjects." Pp. 133–149 in *Imagery: Concepts, Results, and Applications.* Edited by Eric Klinger. New York: Plenum.
Winkelman, Michael. 1992. *Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners.* Tempe, AZ: University of Arizona.
———. 2000. *Shamanism: A Natural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* London: Bergin and Garvey.

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY AND SHAMANISM

Since the inception of academic interest in shamanism during the second half of the nineteenth century, there has been a long-standing anthropological and psychological debate over the status of a shaman's psychological well-being. Essentially, this debate pits those individuals who argue that the behavior and psychologi-

cal states associated with shamanic practices are the result of diagnosable mental pathologies against those scholars who assert, to the contrary, that shamans are psychologically well-adjusted individuals who have honed culturally valued, therapeutic skills. Indeed, the positions in this debate range from the view that shamans are nothing other than culturally sanctioned schizophrenics or neurotics who display dissociation, sexual or behavioral deviance (or both), and often paranoid thoughts of persecution, to the view that shamans are some of the most intelligent, well-adjusted, creative, and insightful members of their communities.

This pervasive interest in psychopathology in the context of shamanic studies is grounded in what are easily two of the most dominant perspectives found in multidisciplinary work on shamanism: investigations into the psychological state of the shaman and the therapeutic efficacy of shamanic healing (Atkinson 1992). In the first of these perspectives, the shaman is viewed as suffering from numerous forms of psychopathology and mental illness, in the second, as a healer. In recent years, however, discussions of shamanism have largely shifted away from exploring shamanic practices primarily in terms of psychopathology and abnormal psychology, and have instead focused attention on what a growing number of scholars hold to be universal psychobiological structures underlying shamanic practices cross-culturally (Atkinson 1992, 310).

Early Assessments

The link between shamanism and psychopathology has its roots in early anthropological publications that attempted to draw links between shamanic practices and what was deemed at the time to be a psychotically based behavior known as "Arctic hysteria" *(piboktoq)* (e.g., Bogoras 1907). By the midpoint of the century, with psychoanalytic theory broadly influencing social scientific theorizing and research, much of the discourse on the shaman's mental state shifted to interpretations characterized by the work of such anthropologists as Ralph Linton (1956), who believed that shamans were less psychotic than neurotic. That is, shamans were seen as individuals suffering from psychological conditions not unlike those evidenced by individuals diagnosed with clinical hysteria. This view of the shaman as neurotic, however, was also challenged during this same period by authorities like Erwin Heinz Ackerknecht (1943), who argued that it is more often than not cultural practices rather than clinical syndromes that dictate the experience and behavior of shamans cross-culturally.

One of the most polemical positions on shamanism and psychopathology to arise during this time was found in the work of George Devereux (1956, 1961; see also Spiro 2001). Throughout his career, Devereux decidedly rejected the notion that the cultural values and norms that shaped shamanic behavior and allowed shamans to function well and serve their communities made it impossible to see their practices and states of consciousness as evidence of psychopathology. According to Devereux, shamans suffer from a definite psychological illness—comparable to schizophrenia—that, while perhaps able to enter remission through wider social acceptance, is never completely cured. At best, Devereux argued that shamans should be understood as neurotics who are able to partially mask their symptoms by utilizing socially sanctioned defense mechanisms. Ultimately, however, Devereux asserted that despite the fact that the shaman's role is often to some degree culturally sanctioned, the behavioral and cognitive concomitants of shamanic practices are "ego dystonic"—that is, discordant with the maintenance of a healthy ego boundary—and "quite obviously culture dystonic"—that is, in strict opposition to those norms and values deemed necessary for the transmission and perpetuation of a given culture through time (1956, 29).

During this same period, the basis for a less exclusively pathological rendering of the shaman's psychological state and therapeutic practice was advanced by the famous French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963). Lévi-Strauss argued that the therapeutic efficacy of shamanic practice is embedded in a "shamanic complex" that integrates a threefold experience: that of the shaman's specific psychosomatic states, that of the suffering patient who undergoes a tangible bodily experience ensuring psycho-biological transformation, and the audience or public, who also participate through their social influence in effecting a cure (179). Drawing from psychoanalytic theory, Lévi-

Strauss then outlined an argument that was based on the assumption that, although the shaman is potentially a neurotic (182), in his performance as healer, he serves as a "professional abreactor," aiding the patient to intensely relive the initial situation or event that is held to be the etiological basis for the patient's current condition (181).

Lévi-Strauss further suggested that even though the shaman may display pathological thinking, based in subjective experiences that do not correspond to an objective reality, the shaman should still be viewed as an astute healer who is comparable to a modern psychoanalyst, in as much as he is able to provide a sufferer "with a *language* by means of which unexpressed, and otherwise inexpressible, psychic states can be immediately expressed" (198). This more positive orientation toward both shamanic states of consciousness and the therapeutic efficacy of shamanic practices through an explicit connection to psychoanalytic theory was of course also pursued by Carl Jung (see Dourley 1996).

A less pathological rendering of shamanic states of consciousness was also put forth by Mircea Eliade (1989 [1964]). Eliade saw shamans as individuals who, having undergone an initiatory crisis involving a period of illness or psychosis, filled a culturally valued role by interacting with the spirit world on behalf of their community. Anthony F. C. Wallace (1966) took a more or less complementary stance when he argued that although shamanism may have its roots in psychopathology, the cultural and social value associated with the shaman's abilities to enter into trance states and effect cures for those in the community suffering from various forms of illness also had potentially positive effects for the shaman's psychological well-being. According to Wallace, shamans are individuals who have suffered from multiple psychological and physiological disorders, and who without the community's acceptance, garnered through their role as a recognized and valued healer, would certainly have developed more debilitating psychological imbalances such as those associated with schizophrenia.

Another key article supporting a more moderate viewpoint is found in Julian Silverman's (1967) discussion of some similarities between shamanic states of consciousness and reactive forms of schizophrenia. For instance, according to Silverman, the types of cognition and behavior associated with each results from a discernible patterning of psychological states (e.g., feelings of fear, guilt, impotence, and failure, leading to isolation and estrangement, leading to the narrowing of attention and sensory deprivation, leading to fusing of higher and lower referential processes, and resulting in an ensuing cognitive reorganization) (23). That said, Silverman further argued that the extent to which each form of cognition and behavior is variously interpreted as pathological or curative depends specifically on the cultural context in which it occurs.

One of the most telling arguments against a pathological view of shamanism to arise during this period is found in the context of Horacio Fabrega and Daniel Silver's (1970) work with Zinacanteco shamans in Mexico. According to Fabrega and Silver, most of the research that links shamans with psychopathology has been grounded in unsystematic and impressionistic observations (471). In their study, which compared shamans and non-shamans in a single community along a number of differing social and psychological parameters, Fabrega and Silver found that in light of rigorous statistical data there is little evidence that shamans and non-shamans in Zinacanteco communities differ from each other substantially in terms of psychological criteria. Moreover, noting the great variation in the psychological characteristics of Zinacanteco shamans, Fabrega and Silver importantly suggested that this evidence for variability within the group should serve as a caution to those researchers who make assertions regarding the psychological homogeneity of such cultural subgroups as shamans.

From Diagnosing Pathology to Descriptive Phenomenology, and Beyond

With the cultural and social changes that occurred during the 1960s and early 1970s (e.g., interest in Eastern philosophy and meditation, and the pervasive use of psychotropic drugs), there occurred an important shift in both academic and popular understandings of consciousness that significantly affected the way that shamanism was viewed by scholars interested in better understanding the states of consciousness characteristic of shamanic practices

(Atkinson 1992, 310). This resulted in what can be viewed as a general movement toward a more descriptive and less evaluative and diagnostic approach. The new approach sought to clarify the phenomenological properties of what Eliade had earlier termed shamanic ecstasy (1989). A number of works sought to sharply distinguish shamanic states of consciousness from those states of consciousness classified as pathological within the interpretive framework of Western psychology and psychiatry. These works also sought to discern the phenomenological specificity of the various forms of trance states that could be associated with shamanic practices cross-culturally (see Atkinson 1992, 310; Walsh 1997; Winkelman 2000).

In these more recent works, a key difference between shamanic and pathological states of consciousness was held to lie in the fact that shamans tend to have control of altered states of consciousness, entering and leaving them voluntarily. In these more recent works, individuals such as Ioan Lewis (1971), who compared shamanic trance to involuntary possession states, are criticized for failing to recognize the distinctive intentional nature of shamanic states of consciousness. Indeed, it is held that shamanic states of consciousness differ from psychopathological states precisely because of the fact that shamans voluntarily enter into these states of consciousness, creating a sharp contrast with the involuntary nature of those states of consciousness associated with individuals suffering from various forms of psychopathology (see Winkelman 2000, 79; Mitrani 1992; Walsh 1995, 1997)

A more descriptive and less evaluative assessment of shamanic states of consciousness is also found in the work of scholars like Richard Noll (1983) who have sought to do systematic comparisons of the phenomenological properties of those states of consciousness associated with shamanic practice and schizophrenia as described in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM). According to these thinkers, there are distinct differences between shamanic and schizophrenic states of consciousness, not only in terms of the intentional and voluntary nature of these states, but also in terms of the affective, perceptual, and cognitive entailments associated with each. One such phenomenological distinction includes the fact that shamans are able to discriminate between experiences had in alternative states of consciousness and those had in everyday life, a capacity that is not readily evident in schizophrenics (see also Winkelman 2000). Moreover, in contrast to schizophrenics, whose hallucinatory experiences are largely auditory, shamans tend to have experiences that are primarily visual in nature. When shamans do have auditory experiences, they are often of "a helpful and healing nature rather than the accusatory, intrusive, and paranoia inducing auditory experiences that are characteristic of schizophrenia" (Winkelman 2000, 80). In the same way, the emotions associated with shamanic practice are in general far more positive than those associated with schizophrenia. Schizophrenics tend to experience hallucinations as confusing and totally real, as well as frightening.

In response to accusations that shamans are individuals suffering from various dissociative disorders, including hysteria and hysterical neurosis, many of these more recent works draw a clear distinction. They point out that there is no evidence of amnesia, but rather a persistent self-awareness reported by shamans who enter into these states of consciousness, making shamanic states of consciousness radically different from experiences associated with hysterical and dissociative disorders. In those disorders, defense mechanisms are understood to block an individual's awareness of psychologically disturbing conflicts (Winkelman 2000).

These same scholars also answer the often cited accusation that shamans are epileptics by pointing out that those behaviors comparable to epileptic seizure displayed by some shamans (shaking, tremors, apparent involuntary motions) occur primarily during voluntarily induced alternative states of consciousness. Moreover, they point out that problems associated with diagnosing shamans as epileptics also stem from the fact that this claim is most often based on shamans' recollections of undergoing "fits" during their "initiation crises" (Walsh 1997). The difficulty with basing any diagnosis on recollection lies in the fact that in clinical situations the recollection of past illnesses has proven to be notoriously inaccurate, and therefore a shaman's memory of undergoing "fits" cannot be used as a reliable basis for a clinical diagnosis of epilepsy (Walsh 1997, 105). In addition, many of these same thinkers suggest if these "shamanic fits"

were indeed generalized or grand-mal seizures, clinical data suggests that there would be no conscious memory of the epileptic attack for the shaman to recall at a later date. Finally, whereas organic epilepsy is usually a chronic condition, "shamanic fits" are reported to occur only at the specific occasion of the initiation crisis, following which they spontaneously disappear (Walsh 1997, 106–107).

Some scholars have also questioned the long held assumption that all shamans share distinctive personality types and psychological characteristics (Atkinson 1992, 309)—a perspective that is still evident in the work of a number of scholars who discuss in some detail the "nervous" and "hysterical" tendencies that are deemed to be characteristic psychological traits of practicing shamans. These scholars have failed to closely examine the phenomenological properties of specific individuals' experiences while practicing shamanism, leaving their psychopathological interpretations of shamanic practices open to criticism for all too often conflating the shaman's role with the shaman's psychology (Mitrani 1992). Also, they have not taken into account that "it is very likely that there are as many different kinds of shamans as there are different kinds of personalities within the group in which they live" (Mitrani 1992, 160).

Cultural Neurophysiological Perspectives

During the late seventies and early eighties, a nonpathological rendering of shamanic states of consciousness was also established through a number of insights into the neurophysiology of ritually induced trance states (d'Aquili and Laughlin 1979; Lex 1979; Prince 1982; Winkelman 2000). The work of Barbara Lex (1979) and Eugene d'Aquili and Charles Laughlin (1979) explored the relationship between ritually induced trance states and alterations in the functioning of the autonomic nervous system. For instance, they suggested that participation in ritual activities often serves to affect the balance and functioning of participants' autonomic nervous systems, which in turn may engender healing. Coining the phrase "symbolic penetration," Laughlin and his colleagues (1990) have also extended this model to account for the often powerful psychophysiological effects of symbols in the context of ritual forms of healing cross-culturally. According to these scholars, the symbolic imagery utilized by such religious practitioners as shamans works to directly affect alterations in the connectivity of neuronal pathways in the brain, which may in turn affect both the individual's psycho-physiological response to illness and organization of lived experience.

Further insights into the neurophysiological effects of shamanic practices have been reviewed in a special edition of the journal *Ethos* (Prince 1982; see also Atkinson 1992 and Winkelman 2000), which importantly sets out to demonstrate how shamanic states of consciousness may be intimately associated with the release of endorphins, our brain's endogenous opioid compounds, which produce euphoric, immune-enhancing, and analgesic effects. More recently, Michael Winkelman (2000) has provided an extensive review of the positive neurophysiological and psychoneuroimmunological effects of shamanic practice, ritual, and concomitant nonordinary states of consciousness. According to Winkelman, the positive and health-inducing properties of shamanic states of consciousness are tied to interhemispheric synchronization and coherence, limbic-cortical integration, and integration across the neuraxis that is effectively induced in conjunction with these alterations in conscious modalities.

Conclusion

There has been a long history of trying to understand the relationship between psychopathology and religious experience more generally—see for instance William James's (1991) early writings on the "sick soul." The literature on this subject includes debates over the merits of psychopathologically based explanations of religious and mystical behavior, explanations that range from multiple personality disorder (Bourguignon 1989) to obsessive-compulsive disorder (Dulaney and Fiske 1994) to anorexia (Banks 1996). The ultimate question raised by this literature is whether or not there exists a continuum of psychological propensities that various cultures parse in differing ways, such that individuals can be viewed as "pathological" or "normal" depending on the cultural context in which their propensities are nurtured.

As for shamanism, the weight of evidence seems to suggest that the cultures in which

shamanism is practiced do not often classify these individuals as mentally ill. Moreover, even if only Western criteria are used, according to phenomenological and neurophysiological assessments shamanic states of consciousness differ significantly from psychopathological states. Finally, there is abundant evidence for a strong "monophasic bias" (see Laughlin et al. 1990) in Western thought: nonordinary states of consciousness have been seen in negative terms, and normalcy tends to be defined in "reference to the rationality of ordinary [waking] consciousness" (Winkelman 2000, 78; see also Walsh 1997, 104). At the very least, then, it seems that those who want to see a relationship between shamanic experience and psychopathology must be especially careful to give a close, scientifically based look at the phenomenological, cultural, social, and neurophysiological underpinnings of shamanic states of consciousness.

C. Jason Throop
Jennifer L. Dornan

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Ethnocentrism and Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism; History of the Study of Shamanism; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Psychology of Shamanism; Trance, Shamanic; Transformation; Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives

References and further reading:

Ackerknecht, Erwin Heinz. 1943. "Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine and Primitive Culture." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 14: 30–67.

Atkinson, Jane M. 1992. "Shamanism Today." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 307–330.

Banks, Caroline Giles. 1996. "'There is No Fat in Heaven': Religious Asceticism and the Meaning of Anorexia Nervosa." *Ethos* 24: 197–135.

Bogoras, Waldemar. 1907. "The Chuckchee Religion." In *The Chukchee.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 7. Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert.

Bourguignon, Erika. 1989. "Multiple Personality, Possession Trance, and the Psychic Unity of Mankind." *Ethos* 17: 371–384.

d'Aquili, Eugene and Charles Laughlin. 1979. "Introduction." In *The Spectrum of Ritual.* Edited by E. G. d'Aquili, C. D. Laughlin, and J. McManus. New York: Columbia University.

Devereux, George. 1956. "Normal and Abnormal: The Key Problem of Psychiatric Anthropology." In *Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied.* Edited by J. B. Casagrande and T. Gladwin. Washington: Anthropological Society of Washington.

———. 1961. "Shamans as Neurotics." *American Anthropologist* 63: 1088–1090.

Dourley, John P. 1996. "C. G. Jung's Appropriation of Aspects of Shamanism." Pp. 51–59 in *Shamanism and Northern Ecology.* Edited by Juha Pentikäinen. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dulaney, S., and A. P. Fiske. 1994. "Cultural Rituals and Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder: Is There a Common Psychological Mechanism?" *Ethos* 22: 243–283.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fabrega, Horacio, Jr., and Daniel B. Silver. 1970. "Some Social and Psychological Properties of Zinacanteco Shamans." *Behavioral Science* 15: 471–486.

James, William. [1902] 1991. *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* New York: Triumph Books.

Laughlin, Charles, et al. 1990. *Brain, Symbol, and Experience.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. [1949] 1963. *Structural Anthropology.* New York: Basic Books.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1971. *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism.* New York: Penguin Books.

Lex, Barbara. 1979. "The Neurobiology of Ritual Trance." In *The Spectrum of Ritual.* Edited by E. G. d'Aquili, C. D. Laughlin, and J. McManus. New York: Columbia University Press.

Linton, Ralph. 1956. *Culture and Mental Disorders.* Springfield, IL: C. C. Thomas.

Mitrani, Philippe. 1992. "A Critical Overview of the Psychiatric Approaches to Shamanism." *Diogenes* 158 (Summer): 145–165.

Noll, Richard. 1983. "Shamanism and Schizophrenia: A State-Specific Approach to

the Schizophrenia Metaphor of Shamanic States." *American Ethnologist* 10: 443–459.
Prince, Raymond. 1982. "Shamans and Endorphins: Hypothesis for a Synthesis." *Ethos* 10, no. 4: 409–423.
Silverman, Julian. 1967. "Shamans and Acute Schizophrenia." *American Anthropologist* 69: 21–31.
Spiro, Melford. 2001. "Cultural Determinism, Cultural Relativism, and the Comparative Study of Psychopathology." *Ethos* 29, no. 2: 218–234.
Wallace, Anthony F. C. 1966. *Religion: An Anthropological View.* New York: Random House.
Walsh, Roger. 1995. "Phenomenological Mapping: A Method for Describing and Comparing States of Consciousness." *Transpersonal Psychology* 27, no. 1: 25–56.
———. 1997. "The Psychological Health of Shamans: A Reevaluation." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 65, no. 1: 101–124.
Winkelman, Michael. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport: Bergin and Garvey.

PSYCHOPOMP

A psychopomp is a conductor or guide of the dead, someone who escorts the spirits of the dead to the place where they will spend their afterlife. Cultural myths concerning psychopomps are found throughout the world.

The shaman's role as psychopomp is a direct extension of the shaman's power to walk between the worlds. Both personal experience and training impact the shaman's ability to conduct the soul to an appropriate afterlife when a person dies. Many shamanic initiations mimic the dying experience, and it is not unusual for a person who has a close brush with physical death at an early age to be chosen to become a shaman.

The souls of dead shamans may contact a person chosen to become a shaman in order to impart knowledge, power, and guidance. In Siberia, a new shaman becomes initiated through contact with the spirits of dead shamans and their spirit helpers (Eliade 1989, 34). Initiation by dead shamans has been known to be common in South America also. Mircea Eliade noted that among the Bororo, a spirit chose the person who would become a shaman by making that person a receptacle for the spirit (1989, 92). Apinaye shamans were chosen by the spirits of relatives, who then put them in touch with other spirits (Eliade 1989, 83). Once a person had direct access to spirits, he or she became capable of doing a shaman's work.

The shaman escorts the souls of the dead to protect the living as well as to aid the deceased. Due to the common belief that newly dead souls can haunt the living and cause all manner of trouble, the shaman's ability to safely remove the departed person's spirit to the afterlife is essential to societal welfare. In some cultures, professional mourners assist in placating the soul of the recently dead, and other people may play important roles in funeral ceremonies. But it is always a shaman who enters trance, leaves his or her body, and conducts the soul to its last home.

In the Tibetan region, the Na-khi and the Moso believed that the soul should rise to heaven, but that there were demons that would try to force the soul into hell. The mythical founder of Na-khi shamanism, Dto-mba Shi-lo, received the power to conquer demons and send souls to the realm of the gods. Dto-mba Shi-lo is the archetype of a psychopomp in this culture and is imitated by those who followed him. Na-khi shamans invoked Dto-mba Shi-lo before conducting souls through the nine infernal regions that must be crossed to have any chance of getting into heaven. Na-khi shamans left the soul in the ninth region; from there the soul ascended seven golden mountains and received the fruit of immortality from a sacred tree before entering heaven (Eliade 1989, 444–445).

Culturally held myths and cosmology are reflected in the shaman's journeys while performing as a psychopomp. For example, if a people believe that the road of the dead scales a mountain and crosses a river, then the shaman must journey up the mountain and over the river to escort the dead on their way. The Bakairi of South America believed the shaman is the person able to safely do this because the shaman already knows the way (Eliade 1989, 326). Among the Manacica of South America, the shaman is reported to have undertaken the journey after the funeral ceremony. This jour-

ney was considered to be very dangerous, fraught with difficulties and challenges that would be impossible for the unaccompanied soul, hence the role of the shaman was altruistic in that the shaman took a risk to benefit the deceased (Eliade 1989, 326).

Different props and procedures may be involved in the shaman's psychopomp work. Indonesian shamans may use a boat in the ecstatic journey that transports the deceased to the afterlife. Among the Lolo of Yunan Province, China, the shaman priest read prayers describing the beauty of heaven at the deathbed. During the funeral rite, the shaman opened the way to heaven by removing beams from the house roof and exposing the sky (Eliade 1989, 355, 441).

Mongolian shamans, historically and currently, work with the dead in several ways. In addition to sending souls to the Lower World in the role of psychopomp, Mongolian shamans also work with the souls of the dead that are still in this world. Shamans still travel to the Lower World to commune with the dead, as well as to find and return the soul of someone who died to this world (Shirokogoroff 1935, 142; Sarangarel 2000, 53). Part of the variety of work with dead souls in Mongolia and Siberia may be related to the belief that people have three separate souls—the *suld* soul, the *suns* soul, and the *ami* soul. (Sarangerel 2000, 50–54). All work with the spirits of the dead is considered extremely dangerous, but it can be undertaken by shamans because of their spirit helpers and allies.

Shamans are considered to be dwellers in two realities, that of the visible world and the invisible. Their ability to peer into the invisible world and take action there gives them the power to be psychopomps.

Trisha Lepp

See also: Mongolian Funeral Ceremony

References and further reading:

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original English edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964. Originally published in French as *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase.* Paris: Librairie Payot, 1951.

Sarangerel (Julie Ann Stewart). 2000. *Riding Windhorses: A Journey into the Heart of Mongolian Shamanism.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei M. 1935. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trebuer and Company.

RITUAL

See “Magic,” Power, and Ritual in Shamanism

ROCK ART AND SHAMANISM

Rock art consists of motifs painted (pictographs) or engraved (petroglyphs) on natural landscape surfaces, such as cave walls and ceilings, open cliff faces or boulders. Rock art is nearly ubiquitous among hunter-gatherer groups living in regions containing natural rock outcrops. Because shamanism is also commonly associated with hunter-gatherer cultures, it has long been assumed that rock art too might be shamanistic in origin. Ethnological and ethnographic studies, along with archaeological analyses (based in part on neuropsychology), support this hypothesis, although shamanistic rock art is more prevalent on some continents and in some regions than others.

Ethnological studies and ethnographic syntheses of hunter-gatherer rock art have been completed primarily in the Americas, Australia, and southern Africa, which is to say those regions where significant hunter-gatherer groups existed at the time of recent European contact. Robert Layton (2001) has usefully distinguished between totemic and shamanistic rock art traditions in these regions. Totemic traditions include those where the creation and use of conventionalized rock art images is tied to some type of group membership, such as a totem, moiety, or clan; often totemic rock art is created as part of increase rituals. Shamanistic traditions, in contrast, are associated with shamanistic belief systems, which themselves typically involve direct individual interaction with the supernatural world through an altered state of conscious or trance. Shamanistic traditions commonly include or emphasize the depiction of hallucinatory imagery resulting from experiences of altered states of consciousness.

Although Australian aboriginal cultures had ritual practitioners who used shamanistic techniques—“men of high degree” (Elkin 1945)—much aboriginal religion was totemic rather than shamanistic. The majority of recent Australian aboriginal rock art, as a result, is interpreted as totemic in nature (Layton 1992), although it has been argued that one tradition of purely prehistoric Australian rock art, discussed below, is shamanistic in origin.

African Rock Art

Synthesis of the ethnographic record for the San (or Bushmen) of southern Africa has demonstrated the fundamentally shamanistic nature of the rock art produced by these hunting and gathering peoples (Lewis-Williams 1981, 2002a). San shamanism emphasized the communal trance dance where, through repetitive clapping, singing and dancing, and hyperventilation, numerous individuals in the group fell into an altered state of consciousness in order to perform cures and other supernatural tasks. Although the Kalahari San still practice these rituals, the Kalahari itself is effectively devoid of rocks, and its residents do not make rock art. San rock art is thus found in other portions of southern Africa where, during the last 2,000 years, the San were isolated in marginal mountainous and desert environments by Bantu-speaking pastoralists.

The Drakensberg Mountains of southern Africa contain a particularly rich and detailed corpus of finely painted rock art, found on the walls of large, open rock shelters that also served as habitation sites. These pictographs are linked to the trance dance and the supernatural experiences that resulted from it, with shamans

responsible for painting the designs. For paint the shamans used, in part, the blood of the bull eland in their pigment, reflecting the centrality of this large antelope to their symbolism, including its dominance as a motif in the rock art and this animal's role as an alter ego of their trickster creator deity, /Kaggen, thereby suggesting that it was extraordinarily potent. Use of this blood infused the painted images with the antelope's supernatural potency, or *n/um,* allowing the paintings to serve as a kind of storehouse of this power. During the trance dance, shaman dancers would turn to face the painted images, heightening their own n/um as the power in the eland's blood flowed from the images to the shamans themselves (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1989).

San rock art, as a result, is dominated by depictions of the eland; human figures shown with ritual accouterments; ritual scenes, especially of the trance dance and rainmaking; and therianthropes—conflations of different animal species into supernatural beings. Included are "flying-bucks," combinations of birds and antelopes, and, especially, combinations of humans and antelopes. Among these are examples showing the hooves, forelegs, and faces of antelope combined with human rear legs and torso, posed in the bent-over and arms-back posture characteristic of San shamans going into a trance, and bleeding profusely from the nostrils, another common occurrence during the trance dance (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1989). The quantity and detail of San rock art in fact is much greater than the sometimes fragmentary evidence provided by the ethnographic record. The art in such cases has provided a kind of graphic ethnography that has greatly amplified our understanding of shamanism among these now largely extinct indigenous groups.

North American Rock Art

Much of the hunter-gatherer rock art in North America is shamanistic in origin, with the ethnographic record on shamanistic rock art particularly rich in the Far West (Whitley 2000). This includes the Californian, Great Basin, and Columbia Plateau culture areas, each of which was occupied by hunter-gatherer cultures into the late nineteenth century. The ethnography in the Far West illustrates the potential diversity in origins and meanings of shamanistic rock art, in part reflecting differences in the social position of the shaman in various societies more generally. This diversity refutes any argument that shamanism necessarily implies a monolithic or unitary rock art interpretation. Throughout this broad area, for example, rock art was made by shamans at the conclusions of their vision quests to portray their experiences during altered states of consciousness. Yet these vision quests themselves could vary in nature and intent. Commonly, and probably initially, they were undertaken to obtain supernatural power, which was usually manifest in an animal spirit helper. Regionally important animal species, accordingly, are common components of the art and typically these portray the spirit helpers. Stylized human figures, sometimes in dancing postures or with elaborate ritual gear, are also common, illustrating the shaman. But vision quests might also be undertaken to make rain, find lost objects, cure the sick, control game, and, especially, to bewitch an enemy. Each of these may be illustrated in the art in its own way.

In the Great Basin, for example, the bighorn sheep was the special spirit helper of the rain shaman. Because the shaman and the shaman's helper were considered indistinguishable, and because entry into a trance to make rain was considered as a metaphoric "death," "killed" bighorn sheep motifs served as indications of a shaman's ritual self-sacrifice, through trance, intended to make rain. Rainmaking is understandably emphasized in the Great Basin, especially in the dry Coso Range region of eastern California (adjacent to Death Valley), which contains perhaps 100,000 petroglyphs, the majority of which are bighorn sheep. Ethnographic accounts indicate that shamans traveled from great distances to the Cosos, apparently to obtain this special power and to make rain. The very large Coso sites were thus communally used, even if for private rituals undertaken at great distances from an individual's home territory. In the nearby southern Sierra Nevada to the west, in contrast, shamans painted the spirits and events they experienced during their altered states of consciousness at small sites that they owned, which sometimes were handed down patrilineally when shamanism ran in a family line (as commonly occurred). These small sites were often adjacent

to or within a village, even though as potentially dangerous places of power they were avoided by the village's inhabitants (Whitley 2000).

In both cases the supernatural world was considered distinct from the mythic past, and little or no connection existed between mythology and rock art sites, visionary experiences and shamans. More specifically, the art does not portray mythic actors or events. Among Yuman speakers along the Colorado River Valley, however, the supernatural world of the shaman was intimately tied to the mythic past, with the shaman acquiring supernatural power by reexperiencing the creation of the world by the culture hero Mastamho during a vision. Rather than spirit helpers, Yuman-speaking shamans' power was embodied in a vision of the "essence" or "pattern" of the creation, and the acquisition of a song recounting this etiological event. The primary vision quest site for Yuman-speaking shamans, accordingly, was at the foot of Avikwa'ame, "Spirit Mountain," Newberry Peak in southern Nevada. This is the home of Mastamho and the spot where creation took place, and it is the biggest rock art site in this region. But note that (for reasons discussed below) the images created by shamans to portray their visions of creation do not represent identifiable actors or composed events, but instead are intricate geometric patterns, just as their origin songs are made up mostly of nonsense syllables rather than a narrative account of events.

Rock art was also created during shamanistic puberty initiations in southwestern California, along the Colorado River, and on the Columbia Plateau. In southwestern California these initiations involved formal group rituals for cohorts of either boys or girls. These ceremonies concluded by ritual races to a special rock where the spirit helpers, received in their visionary experiences during the initiation, were painted. Along the Colorado River, boys took long ritual runs across the desert, during which their nasal septa were pierced, they had a visionary experience, and they created rock art at designated locations.

On the Columbia Plateau, in contrast, vision questing was both very important and common for all members of society, but was undertaken as a solitary event. Individual boys or girls, usually under the direction of their parents, would go on a vision quest to prescribed, isolated locations. The quest would commonly occur over a period of days, sometimes involving trips to high locations (such as Mount Hood, Oregon), where rock cairns and alignments were built as part of the physical exertion required of the supplicants. The culmination would occur with the painting or engraving of rock art, often at a relatively low spot on the landscape, intended to portray the spirit helper the seeker had received. Non-shaman adults would also conduct vision quests during life crises, such as the birth of a child, in order to reinvigorate their potency. Shamans of course also vision quested in solitary rites, although shamans' assistants were in some areas responsible for repainting the shamans' motifs when these became faint. Columbia Plateau rock art sites were sometimes associated with cemeteries and sometimes with locations of mythic events. But the supernatural world visited by individual supplicants does not appear to have related to mythology or ancestors, and there does not seem to have been any necessary distinction between those sites used by shamans and those used by others (Whitley 2000).

Despite these regional, social and functional variations, some characteristics appear to have been shared by the various rock art traditions in the Far West of North America. Included is the fact that, everywhere, rock art sites were considered to be portals into the supernatural realm. Similarly, the motifs resulting from shamanistic traditions are almost invariably representations of visionary imagery, which of course can be strongly influenced by cultural and personal expectations and training.

The importance of visionary imagery in shamanistic rock art has particularly important implications for the study of prehistoric rock art—that is, bodies of art that have no link to the ethnographic record, such as the Paleolithic cave art of western Europe, dating from about 33,000 to 10,000 years before the present. Likewise, research on visionary imagery has assisted in the identification of the time depth of shamanistic traditions in those regions, such as far western North America and southern Africa, where the recent art is ethnographically known to be shamanistic. Use of neuropsychological information on trance has provided the key to this research (Lewis-Williams 2001).

Rock Art and Altered States of Consciousness

For over fifty years, neuropsychologists had observed regularities in the forms of the mental images experienced by individuals during altered states of consciousness. In the late 1970s, archaeologists began to notice correlations between characteristics of hallucinations, as described by clinicians, and rock art motifs. These clinical reports, along with cross-cultural observations, were synthesized by David Lewis-Williams and Thomas Dowson (1988) into a neuropsychological model (called the N-P Model) of the mental imagery of altered states of consciousness. This model is applicable cross-culturally because all humans share the same neurological and neurochemical systems.

The N-P Model describes the form—but not personal or cultural meaning—of the images resulting from trance and provides a predicted range of image types and characteristics that can be used to test if graphic art in fact portrays visionary experiences. The model has three components: (1) seven common entoptic forms, (2) seven principles of perception during altered states of consciousness, and (3) three progressive stages of trance. The entoptic images (which include phosphenes or form constants) are geometric light patterns that are generated in an individual's neural and optical systems. They include grids, dot patterns, parallel lines, zigzags, filigrees, nested curves, and concentric circles. The seven principles of perception are based on the fact that the mental images of an altered state of consciousness are not normal vision of exterior events but instead are at least partly images in the mind that are unconstrained by real world physics. The images, hence, may be depicted in standard fashion, or they may reduplicate, rotate, fragment, integrate with, superimpose on, or juxtapose against other images. Experiences of altered states of consciousness also commonly progress through three stages: Initially the entoptics are perceived alone; next they are construed or interpreted as culturally or personally meaningful iconic images; finally, full-blown iconic imagery is seen. The principles of perception apply during each of these three stages.

Initially Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988) used the N-P Model to test whether European Upper Paleolithic rock art was shamanistic in origin. They concluded that at least some of it was. This conclusion has been supported by subsequent analyses (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998; Layton 2000; Lewis-Williams 2002b). The N-P Model has also been applied to the European Neolithic (Bradley 1989; Dronfield 1996), leading to the inference that the imagery on passage tombs was inspired by altered states of consciousness.

The somatic and emotional effects of trance have also been examined, allowing for the identification of a set of common metaphors for an otherwise ineffable altered state of consciousness (Whitley 1994, 1998). These metaphors correspond to the widely identified shamanic themes of death and rebirth, aggression, flight, sexual arousal, and bodily transformation. In this case, however, they are linked to a predictable range of embodied experiences that occur during trance, rather than to some nebulous and archaic symbolic substrate. In combination with the expectations of the N-P Model, the identification of these metaphors has helped establish the time depth of shamanistic rock art in those areas where its presence is known ethnographically. Notable in this regard is far western North America, where neuropsychological, iconographic, and archaeological evidence have been combined to suggest that shamanistic rock art was created for at least 10,000 years (Whitley et al. 1999). In southern Africa, similar evidence suggests that shamanistic rock art was made for 27,000 years (Lewis-Williams 1984). And rock art analysis in northern Australia, based partly on the N-P Model and the somatic effects of altered states of consciousness, indicates that the so-called Dynamic figures, dating to approximately 10,000 years before the present, are shamanistic in origin (Chippindale, Smith, and Taçon 2000), despite the fact that later art in this same region is apparently totemic.

As this last circumstance suggests, not all rock art worldwide is shamanistic, nor is all hunter-gatherer rock art necessarily shamanistic. Indeed, some hunter-gatherer groups made and used shamanistic as well as non-shamanistic rock art, more or less simultaneously. Yuman-speaking tribes along the Colorado River in California, for example, created petroglyphs in two shamanistic contexts, shamans' vision quests and puberty initiations, both of which display the kinds of imagery expected in trance-

derived art. But these tribes also made large earth-figures, or geoglyphs, that portrayed and commemorated myths. These were used in group ritual pilgrimages that traced the paths of mythic actors across the landscape and, given their narrative nature and function, they understandably lack the kinds of graphic features predicted by the N-P Model. Still, in regions where hunter-gatherer religions were entirely or predominantly shamanistic, shamanistic rock art is the norm. Moreover it is clear that in western Europe, southern Africa, and the Americas, the earliest rock art is shamanistic, signaling the importance of shamanism in the earliest religious beliefs and ritual practices of anatomically modern humans.

David S. Whitley

See also: !Kung Healing, Ritual, and Possession; Archaeology of Shamanism; Art and Shamanism; Australian Aboriginal Shamanism; Entoptic Images; Initiation; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Peruvian Shamans; Yokuts Shamanism; Yuman Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bradley, Richard. 1989. “Deaths and Entrances: A Contextual Analysis of Megalithic Tombs.” *Current Anthropology* 30: 68–75.

Chippindale, Christopher, Benjamin Smith, and Paul S.C. Taçon. 2000. “Visions of Dynamic Power: Archaic Rock Paintings, Altered States of Consciousness and ‘Clever Men’ in Western Arnhem Land (NT), Australia.” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10: 63–101.

Clottes, Jean, and J. David Lewis-Williams. 1998. *The Shamans of Prehistory: Trance and Magic in the Painted Caves.* New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Dronfield, Jeremy. 1996. “Entering Alternative Realities: Cognition, Art, and Architecture in Irish Passage Tombs.” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6: 37–72.

Elkin, A. P. 1945. *Aboriginal Men of High Degree.* Sydney: Australasian Publishing.

Layton, Robert L. 1992. *Australian Rock Art: A New Synthesis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2000. “Shamanism, Totemism, and Rock Art: ‘Les chamanes de la prehistoire’ in the Context of Rock Art Research.” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10: 169–186.

———. 2001. “Ethnographic and Symbolic Analyses.” Pp. 311–331 in *Handbook of Rock Art Research.* Edited by D. S. Whitley. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Lewis-Williams, J. David. 1981. *Believing and Seeing: Symbolic Meanings in Southern San Rock Paintings.* New York: Academic Press.

———. 1984. “Ideological Continuities in Prehistoric Southern Africa: The Evidence of Rock Art.” Pp. 225–252 in *Past and Present in Hunter-Gatherer Studies.* Edited by C. Schrire. New York: Academic Press.

———. 2001. “Brainstorming Images: Neuropsychology and Rock Art.” Pp. 332–360 in *Handbook of Rock Art Research.* Edited by D. S. Whitley. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

———. 2002a. *A Cosmos in Stone: Interpreting Religion and Society Through Rock Art.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

———. 2002b. *The Mind in the Cave: Consciousness and the Origins of Art.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Lewis-Williams, J. David, and Thomas A. Dowson. 1988. “The Signs of All Times: Entoptic Phenomena in Upper Paleolithic Rock Art.” *Current Anthropology* 29: 201–245.

———. 1989. *Images of Power: Understanding Bushman Rock Art.* Johannesburg: Southern Book.

Whitley, David S. 1994. “Shamanism, Natural Modeling and the Rock Art of Far Western North America.” Pp. 1–43 in *Shamanism and Rock Art in North America.* Edited by S. Turpin. San Antonio, TX: Rock Art Foundation, Inc., Special Publication 1.

———. 1998. “Cognitive Neuroscience, Shamanism and the Rock Art of Native California.” *Anthropology of Consciousness* 9: 22–36.

———. 2000. *The Art of the Shaman: Rock Art of California.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Whitley, David S., Ronald I. Dorn, Joseph M. Simon, Robert Rechtman, and Tamara K. Whitley. 1999. “Sally’s Rockshelter and the Archaeology of the Vision Quest.” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9: 221–247.

SORCERY

See Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism

SOUL RETRIEVAL

Soul retrieval is the practice of recovering and restoring lost soul parts to the person who lost them. The practice is related to the belief that through trauma, abuse, voluntary surrender, soul theft, or black magic, pieces of a person's spirit may be lost. The idea of soul loss is accepted by some modern psychologists as well as by traditional tribal shamans.

The essence of soul retrieval is the shaman's use of the altered state of consciousness referred to as journeying. The shaman, who can be male or female, journeys into nonordinary reality to find the missing parts, heal them if necessary, persuade them to return, and bring the parts back to be restored to the client experiencing soul loss. Restoring the lost soul to the client is believed to increase that person's level of energy, to cure disease, and to recover memories associated with the lost soul part.

Both traditional shamans and modern urban practitioners believe disease results from soul loss. Traditional shamans believe soul loss creates a hole in the person's spirit, and that a psychic intrusion can invade the weakened spirit, leading to physical disease. For this reason, an extraction is often performed before the soul retrieval. Traditional shamans also recognize that apathy, depression, amnesia, and other psychological illnesses can result from soul loss.

Traditional shamans who have practiced soul retrieval techniques include Native Americans, notably the Coast Salish, Tlingit, and other Puget Sound tribes, as well as the Crow and other Plains Indian people. The concepts of soul loss and soul retrieval are also widespread throughout Siberia and South America, particularly in the Amazon and Andean regions. Some traditional shamans distinguish between a "free soul," which is capable of taking flight away from the body, and the "life soul," which sustains physical life (Hultkrantz 1992, 66, 67). If a person is in a coma, for example, the traditional shaman will assume that the free soul is wandering loose or held captive by a practitioner of black magic.

Mircea Eliade noted that some shamans, such as the Buryat, attempt to call the soul back before going out to look for it. If the soul does not come back of its own volition, the shaman will descend to the land of the dead, recapture the soul, and bring it back (Eliade 1989). Calling lost souls is not confined to human sickness alone. The Karen of Burma use the technique of imploring the soul to return to a crop of rice to treat crop failure (Eliade 1989).

Traditional shamans will go into trance to diagnose the problem affecting a client. If the shaman discovers that soul loss is at the root of the client's problem, she will perform a soul retrieval. The shaman journeys to the Underworld to recover the lost part, always with the help of power animals, spirit helpers, or other guides. Once located, the lost soul parts may require persuasion or outright trickery to return with the shaman. The shaman may cajole or offer gifts to the soul part in exchange for its cooperation. The shaman may capture the soul parts in a spirit catcher or with her hands, or the soul part may return with the shaman voluntarily.

On returning to her body, the shaman takes the recaptured soul parts and blows them into the client, typically into the crown of the head, the heart, or the abdominal area. A ceremony

A woman who has become possessed after hypnotic chants and drumming, Haiti, ca. 1950. The men on either side are assistants to the high priest, or houngan, and help to guide the woman through the unseen world. Voudou spirits are usually good. (Bradley Smith/Corbis)

to ensure that the lost parts don't take flight again is often performed. The client who receives the shaman's services may also be required to perform a task, complete a ritual, or tender an offering in thanks for the return of the lost soul parts.

Some traditional cultures believe that soul parts can be stolen, usually as a result of sorcery or black magic. If untreated, the person weakened by the act of soul theft may become ill and die. The shaman called upon to rescue soul parts taken by force may find himself wrestling with the thief during the journey. The shaman calls on the power of his spirit helpers to assist him in defeating the soul thief, rescuing the lost soul parts, and returning the parts to the victim. If the shaman is not strong enough to accomplish this task, he may die during the journey or soon after. The belief that soul theft is possible is not common to all cultures practicing shamanism and is rejected outright by most urban shamanic practitioners.

Modern urban shamans usually subscribe to the traditional shaman's beliefs that soul loss can cause disease. However, contemporary psychological theories, particularly the concepts of self-integration and individuation, often have a greater impact on the urban shaman's practice of soul retrieval. There are classically trained, licensed counselors who use soul retrieval as an adjunct to conventional psychotherapeutic techniques. There are also both licensed and unlicensed shamanic counselors who practice healing techniques that involve trance states as the core of their work.

Carl Jung's concept of the unconscious opened the door for modern psychotherapists to examine less orthodox curative techniques. As psychologists began to understand the link between the conscious, subconscious, and unconscious aspects of the mind, the use of altered states of consciousness as a means of accessing wisdom and memories became more commonly practiced in the psychotherapeutic community. Some psychologists and anthropologists theorize that the shaman enters the collective unconscious while in the altered state of consciousness known as shamanic journeying. The shaman, as well as the psychologist's client, may access race wisdom and experience instinctual drives directly while in trance.

The use of altered states of consciousness has emerged as a significant adjunct to more conventional talking therapies. Hypnosis, neurolinguistic programming, guided meditations, and now shamanic journeying are becoming accepted methods of assisting clients in making changes in their lives. Soul retrieval is a practice that makes use of the altered state of consciousness and the nurturing of the counseling relationship.

One influential proponent of soul retrieval in psychotherapy is Sandra Ingerman, a leading teacher and practitioner of soul retrieval in psychotherapeutic counseling. Her book *Soul Retrieval* is an anecdotal work that describes the practice of soul retrieval in detail and includes many stories of clients who experienced psychological healing after participating in soul retrieval. Ingerman pointed out that for the psychologist, the soul parts are lost in the undifferentiated region called the unconscious, from which the client recovers disassociated contents. (Ingerman 1991, 20). Ingerman's book helped further the examination of shamanic healing techniques within the conventional world of psychotherapy.

A more recent examination of shamanic healing appears in Jeanette Gagan's work. Gagan outlined the wounding of the infant psyche and concludes that parts of the psyche are sequestered from conscious recall as a result of early wounding. In order to complete the developmental task linked to these early childhood traumas, Gagan teaches her clients to do shamanic journeying. Gagan proposed a new branch of modern psychotherapy, which she calls shamanic psychotherapeutics (Gagan 1998, 93).

Gagan's practice involves teaching clients how to engage in shamanic journeying. The journey is recorded and analyzed by both client and practitioner in the context of the client's healing process. Gagan noted that this practice generally leads to faster insight into psychological issues confronting the client. The expression of instinctual drives and repressed emotional states in the safe context of journeying allows clients to release emotional patterns that interfere with developmental processes. Destructive emotional states find expression in and are contained by the boundaries of the journeying experience. Power animals and other internal allies found during the journey can take the place of external nurturing sources that failed to meet needs for bonding in earlier life.

The practice of soul retrieval gives the client the impetus to move forward. The soul retrieval itself demonstrates to the client that he is worthy of effort and attention. The shaman takes personal risks on the client's behalf, facing frightening phenomena in nonordinary reality in order to find, heal, and return lost soul parts. The ritual practice of soul retrieval fills the client's need to be the center of attention, cared for, and nurtured. When returned soul parts symbolize repressed aspects of the psyche, the client is given permission to allow those aspects of self to manifest in his personality. This process furthers self-integration and individualization.

Contemporary traditional shamans still practice soul retrieval with the same beneficial effects that urban shamans provide for their clients. Soul retrieval continues to gain acceptance as part of the repertoire of trance-based practices used by modern psychotherapists. New studies of the way the brain processes ex-

perience, patterns of activity during altered states of consciousness, and the long-term effects of using soul retrieval and trance to heal psychological dysfunction demonstrate the viability of shamanic practices in the modern world.

Trisha Lepp

See also: Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Psychology and Shamanism; Urban Shamanism

References and further reading:

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original French edition, Paris: Librairie Payot, 1951.

Gagan, Jeannette. 1998. *Journeying—Where Shamanism and Psychology Meet.* Santa Fe, NM: Rio Chama Publications.

Halifax, Joan. 1982. *Shaman: The Wounded Healer.* New York: Crossroad.

Harner, Michael. 1990. *The Way of the Shaman.* 2d ed. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco.

Hultkrantz, Ake. 1992. *Shamanic Healing and Ritual Drama.* New York: Crossroad.

Ingerman, Sandra. 1991. *Soul Retrieval: Mending the Fragmented Self.* San Francisco: Harper San Francisco.

———. 1994. *Welcome Home: Following Your Spirit's Journey Home.* San Francisco: Harper San Francisco.

SPIRIT POSSESSION

Spirit possession, the intrusion or influence of an external spirit, is closely related to shamanism, but the nature of this relationship is debated. Some scholars believe that spirit possession is a type or attribute of shamanism, whereas others believe that spirit possession and shamanism are essentially different though related phenomena. The degree of their relationship depends to a large degree on how each is defined. Spirit possession, like shamanism, is used to describe a wide range of ethnographic phenomena, and the term is often used in imprecise ways. Erika Bourguignon (1973 and 1976) and others have pointed out that spirit possession cannot be defined in terms of certain behaviors, states, and personal experiences in themselves, but rather in terms of the cultural interpretations of those behaviors, states, and experiences. These cultural interpretations vary from culture to culture, and often within a particular culture as well. Modern Western society is often uncomfortable with the concept of possession and tends to reduce it to other types of explanations: medical, psychological, sociological, and the like. Nonetheless, the concept of spirit possession is widely found throughout the world, both in the past and the present. Moreover, contrary to Western scientific expectation, belief in it seems to be increasing rather than decreasing (Behrend and Luig 1999).

It is not easy to provide a definition of spirit possession that will apply in all cultural contexts. The most general definition speaks of the concept of spirit possession as a cultural explanation for perceived changes in a human being in terms of the intrusion of an external spirit. Changes in other animate or inanimate beings or things may also be explained in this manner—thus perceived changes in an animal or even a plant or object such as a stone may be explained in terms of spirit intrusion. Most studies of spirit possession, however, focus on possession experienced by human beings. Similarly, whereas an alien spirit may possess a dead human body, most studies are interested in the possession of a living person.

The form and degree of spirit intrusion may vary greatly. The intrusion may be viewed as the spirit's inhabiting the human body and even taking it over completely, so that the actions and speech of the possessed human is that of the spirit rather than that of the human being. However, possession can also be viewed simply as the spirit's exerting control or influence over a person, which leads to states, abilities, or actions that the person would not otherwise exhibit. Bourguignon observed that possession can involve "alterations in consciousness or in capacity" (1973, 15). Hence possession is often used as an explanation for illness, fortune or misfortune, and the like, as well as for altered forms of consciousness. Many scholars of possession use the term trance to refer to altered consciousness, but as Vincent Crapanzano pointed out, trance is merely the

most common form of altered consciousness associated with spirit possession, not the only form (1977, 7–8).

Altered states of consciousness, including trance, however, are not always explained as possession. Scholars have noted that there are mystical, supernatural, or religious explanations as well as nonmystical, naturalistic, nonreligious explanations, and that both can coexist in the same culture. Nonmystical explanations include modern Western psychiatric and psychological or physiological explanations, but nonmystical interpretations can also be found in indigenous non-Western cultures. For instance, Ioan Lewis pointed out that the East African Samburu interpret certain trance states exhibited by young warriors as an emotional expression of assertive masculinity (as do other related groups such as the Masai) (Lewis 1989, 35–36).

Many scholars have observed that the most common type of mystical explanation besides spirit possession is that of the absence or journey of the affected individual's soul, an aspect of it, or (in cases in which humans are believed to possess multiple souls) one of the individual's souls. This explanation is often connected with shamanism. Lewis pointed out that the explanations of possession and soul loss can both exist in the same culture, and that in some cases at least some degree of soul loss may be seen as necessary for possession to take place. In the case of Haitian Voudou, for example, a possessing spirit is believed to displace one aspect of the human soul known as the *gros bon ange* (big good angel). Lewis disagreed, however, with Luc de Heusch's suggestion that soul loss, or a depossession of the self, is always a precondition for possession (Lewis 1989, 40).

Spirits that engage in possession include a wide range of spirit types and characters. They include the souls or ghosts of once living people, both ancestors and unrelated persons from both inside and outside the society. Some are supernatural entities that have never been human beings. These spirits may be conceived as benevolent or malevolent (such as angels or demons), though many are more ambiguous in character, being harmful in some circumstances and helpful in others. Many can bring their human associates supernatural gifts of healing, divination, and ability to communicate and interact with the spiritual realm and to manipulate fortune and misfortune to achieve their desires for themselves and others.

There are also various ways that societies view and deal with spirit possession, often depending on the character of the spirit involved. In some cases, possession is sought or encouraged as part of the group's essential public religious practices. This is often the case where the spirit is seen as benevolent, as with possession by the Holy Spirit in some Christian Protestant denominations (e.g., the Pentecostals), though in some cases possession by demons is also desirable in certain ritual contexts (e.g., Balinese religion). Spirit possession may also be sought if the possessed acts as a spirit medium who can communicate messages to and from the spiritual world. If a spirit comes uninvited, however, especially to private individuals in nonritual contexts, the response may vary considerably. If the spirit is seen as malevolent or otherwise undesirable, it is often exorcised (forced to leave the person). On the other hand, if the spirit can be useful, a relationship may be cultivated with the spirit. In many cases the spirit may be initially harmful to the human victim, but the nature of the relationship can be changed. Hence the spirit is often kept but tamed or domesticated so that it can be used for beneficial purposes, or at least no longer harms its human associate. The latter is also trained how to be the host of the spirit and often learns how to be a spirit medium.

Gilbert Rouget (1985) has mapped out a series of useful contrasts that Mircea Eliade, Raymond Firth, and other scholars have made between what they call true shamanism and spirit possession: (1) Whereas in shamanism the human soul journeys to visit the realm of the spirits, in spirit possession the spirits come to visit humans. (2) Whereas the shaman is a master of the spirits and controls those embodied within her, the spirits control the one who is possessed by them. (3) Whereas the shaman's interaction with the spirits is voluntary, this interaction is involuntary on the part of someone who is possessed. Rouget admitted that there are intermediate cases where the spiritual encounter involves elements of both shamanism and possession, as well as cases where the same individual may experience both shamanistic and possessive episodes, but he maintained that the difference between them is still fundamental. Many other scholars, however, believe that the

distinction is too rigid to describe what individuals actually experience (e.g., Crapanzano 1977, 10). Ioan M. Lewis (1989) pointed out that a spirit medium with possessive spirits is essentially a shaman, and a shaman is initially a possessed patient. What Rouget outlined as distinctive contrasts Lewis saw merely as different stages in an individual's spiritual career. Individuals start out as involuntary patients who do not control the spirits that afflict them, and gradually learn to domesticate the spirits so that they can control them and interact with them voluntarily as healers.

The frequency of spirit possession beliefs among the world's many cultures has been examined by a group of scholars from Ohio State University, directed by Erika Bourguignon. Using a sample of 488 societies from all areas of the world drawn from George Peter Murdock's *Ethnographic Atlas,* they found that 74 percent had possession beliefs. In terms of geographic regions, the most possession beliefs occurred among the cultures of the Insular Pacific area and East Eurasia and the least among the indigenous cultures of North America (although the latter figure was still considerable, at 52 percent). The Ohio State group also examined the distribution of trance states and found that trance interpreted as possession was most prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa and the circum-Mediterranean area (Bourguignon 1973, 17, 19).

Possession is important, not only in many indigenous religions, but also in many syncretic religions that have developed from the interaction of world religions with indigenous religious concepts. Among these are a number of syncretic possession cults that have developed from the interaction of Christianity and Islam with indigenous African spirit beliefs and practices. In Latin America and the Caribbean, new Afro-American religions of great creativity and vitality have resulted from the combination of African, and some Native American, religious traits with Catholicism. Among the best known are Voudou (often referred to as voodoo) in Haiti, Santería in Cuba, and a number of Afro-Brazilian religions such as Candomblé, Xangô, and Umbanda. The importance of these religions, (sometimes considered cults) is often underestimated. They play a major role in Latin American and Caribbean society. For example, almost all of the Haitian population practices Voudou, and in 1977 O'Gorman estimated that one third of the Brazilian population practiced some form of Afro-Brazilian religion (O'Gorman 1977, 25). In addition, many of these neo-African religions have taken root in New York City, Miami, and some other cities in the United States.

Syncretic African spirit cults have also developed in Islamic contexts, including sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, and to some extent in the Middle East, where they have been carried by African slaves or immigrants. Examples include the *bori* cult among the Hausa in Nigeria and Niger, the *zar* cult in Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Egypt, the *holle* cult of the Songhay/Zarma in Niger, the *sheitani* or *pepo* cult among the Swahili of the East African coast, and certain Islamic brotherhoods *(tariqa)* like the Hamadsha in Morocco. Often these cults do not have distinct boundaries but merge with one another. They are not mere pre-Islamic survivals but represent a creative synthesis with Islamic and Middle Eastern concepts concerning spirits, saints, and religious ritual, as well as with the trance practices of the Islamic Sufi brotherhoods. Orthodox Islam is often hostile to spirit cults. Muslim authorities usually believe that spirits exist (since they are mentioned in the Qur'an) and that they can possess people, but maintain that these spirits must be exorcised rather than bargained with or cultivated. Hence, unlike the situation in the Caribbean or Latin America, only a minority of the people, or certain segments of the population, belong to such cults, although many others make use of the services of practitioners as mediums and healers.

There are a number of common elements that can be found in these African-inspired possession cults. Spirits are called by drumming, dancing, special songs, and sometimes certain incenses or libations. Each type of spirit has its own distinctive rhythm and dance style. Often it also has distinctive colors, attire, and other insignia. Spirits require offerings of their appropriate foods and beverages as well as the blood of animal sacrifice. In the Americas, African gods or spirits are often integrated with Catholic saints; for example, the Haitian Voudou god Ogun is also seen as Saint Peter. In North Africa, possessive spirit cults are sometimes integrated with Islamic saint cults. Whereas this is not often true in other Islamic

African areas, certain types of possessive spirits are equated with Islamic spirit categories and viewed as devout Muslims. Another characteristic of possessive spirits in both Africa and the New World is that they often represent certain ethnic groups or cultural areas that have played a role in the history of the society, both internally and externally. In Haitian Voudou, spirits belong to different nations that reflect ethnic groups or regional areas in Africa, for example, Igbo, Kongo, Wangol (Angola); in Brazilian Candomblé there are spirit groups that are Old Indians and Black Slaves; and in Africa there are often various spirits of foreign ethnicity, including Europeans.

Personal case histories and treatments also follow common patterns. Generally a person can acquire a possessive spirit in a number of ways. It may be inherited from ancestors, or it may simply like the person. Frequently spirits can also be sent by witchcraft. On the other hand a spirit sometimes attacks indiscriminately if someone passes the place where it resides. A spirit may immediately take over the person's body as its own vehicle of expression. During these possessive episodes, the spirit is often said to "climb," "ride," or "sit" on the person. Thus in Haitian Voudou the possessed are called "horses of the gods," whereas in the Swahili pepo cult and the northeast African zar, the possessed is referred to as the "chair" of the spirit. It is more usual, however, for the first signs of possession to be physical or mental illness, barrenness, bad luck, or other misfortunes. Hence these types of spirit complexes are often called "cults of affliction."

The patient is usually sent to a medium or diviner for diagnosis. If spirit possession is diagnosed, the patient is sent to a specialist for treatment, who may recommend exorcism or appeasement. These two opposite types of treatment, however, are sometimes accomplished in very similar ways, with the spirit being enticed to speak through the patient or the attending spirit medium and say what it wants in terms of an offering of food, drink, and other desired items (e.g., flowers, incense), sacrifice, dress, or ceremonial or musical performance. If a permanent relationship is envisioned, these desires should continue to be met periodically. In such cases, the relationship between the spirit and its human associate is basically contractual and is often envisioned as a marriage. If such a spirit is one that normally interacts with its human associates through possession trance, it will also usually ask for initiation into an organized spirit cult group, generally requiring an elaborate and expensive ceremony that lasts at least several days and sometimes much longer. Often possessed people are reluctant to do this because of the cost of such a ceremony as well as the ritual obligations it will bring, but will concede to the spirit's demands once they are reminded through additional illness or other troubles that initiation is necessary for their well-being. After initiation, the spirit may want further rank within the cult, which entails the payment of fees, special ceremonies, and demonstration of competency in healing and divining. Cult members may eventually reach the stage where they head their own cult groups.

Non-African spirit possession may show both similarities and differences from these patterns. One Pacific island culture that is well known for its spirit possession practices is Bali, a small island in the Indonesian archipelago. Bali practices its own version of syncretic Hinduism. Possessive trances are very common in Balinese society and integral to its religion. Jane Belo (1969) reported that spirit trances take a wide variety of forms. There are cases like those described above where possession is signaled by physical illness, strange behavioral episodes, or altered consciousness, which, after diagnosis, lead to careers as healers and mediums. Belo listed two types of spirit mediums that follow this pattern. One type consists of shaman-like healers and diviners who use possessive trance to contact the deceased ancestors of their clients. The second type are institutionalized trance mediums for their possessive gods during temple ceremonies. As in many African-inspired spirit cults, these mediums undergo an initiation that is spoken of as marriage to the god. The gods are also called to possess them in similar ways through music, incense, and offerings; once possession occurs they are dressed in their god's preferred attire.

In contrast to these two types of mediums, there are people who regularly undergo ceremonial possessive trance without experiencing a prior diagnostic illness or altered state. These include (1) dancers who fall into a wild possessive state because of wearing the masks of the Barong dragon and the Witch Rangda during public ritual performances; (2) followers of the

Barong dragon who also go into a wild but very prescribed trance, first attacking the witch, then falling unconscious to the ground, then being revived by the Barong and stabbing themselves in the chest with their daggers, before being carried off and revived in the temple; 3) people who occasionally go into possessive trances at temple festivals; and 4) young girls who are chosen by their villages, because of their ability to go into trance, to become possessed by the gods and dance during village rituals. Thus in Bali there is unsolicited possession that is transformed into controlled mediumship; solicited possession that is expressed as dance; and possession that, although culturally encouraged in ritual contexts, remains violent and uncontrolled, even though it follows a prescribed pattern.

Although most members of modern Western societies view spirit possession as exotic and unusual, spirit possession was not all that uncommon in the past. Possession beliefs were found in ancient Greece, the best known cases being the possession trance of the Delphic oracle at the temple of the god Apollo and the wild ecstatic behavior of the devotees of the god Dionysus. Many of the ancient peoples of the Middle East, including the Jews and early Christians, believed in possessive demons. In the New Testament, one finds both negative and positive possession, the former as illness-causing demons that Jesus cast out, and the latter in the possession of the disciples by the Holy Spirit, which resulted in their speaking in unknown tongues. Exorcism of demons, or the Devil, continued in Christianity, especially within the Catholic tradition, where it still occasionally takes place. Possession by the Holy Spirit has often received less emphasis due to its revolutionary potential, but it has been common during certain revival periods, including the transatlantic Protestant revival of the early eighteenth century, the formation of independent Pentecostal and Holiness churches in the early twentieth century, and the more recent Pentecostal and charismatic movements. Mediumistic possession by spirits of the dead also appears in the Spiritualist tradition, which gained a large following for a period of time in nineteenth-century United States and Europe. In France a unique form of spiritualism known as Kardecism also developed during the nineteenth century. Both the Pentecostal movement and Kardecism have considerable influence in current Latin American religious practice (Bourguignon 1976; Taves 1999).

Western conceptions of spirit possession have often caused misunderstanding of spirit possession in other societies. The Christian emphasis on the exorcism of demons has made it difficult to understand that in many non-Western traditions possessive spirits are often not viewed as demonic and that treatment often involves appeasement or negotiation rather than exorcism. Similarly, Christians often fail to see the similarities between Christian possession by the Holy Spirit and spirit possession in other contexts, especially because it is often not the Supreme Deity who possesses but other, often intermediary, spirits. One of the most misunderstood religions in this regard is Haitian Voudou, perhaps because of its obvious syncretism with Christian Catholicism.

Nonmystical explanations of possession in Western society have also led to questionable interpretations. Possession has often been explained as psychological pathology. Possessed people were described as "mad" or "crazy," and as the fields of psychology and psychiatry developed, those who were possessed were described as suffering from weak nervous integration, or mental problems of neurosis (quite often hysteria) or psychosis (e.g., paranoia, schizophrenia, or multiple personality disorder). Many more recent psychologists and anthropologists suggest that instead of being pathological, possession beliefs and practices may be psychotherapeutic. Moreover, many have pointed out that in cultures where possession is seen as a normal and expected occurrence, it should not be viewed as abnormal (e.g., Bourguignon 1973; Crapanzano 1977. See Lewis 1989, chapter 7, for a useful discussion of possession and psychiatry.)

Psychological interpretations have often been combined with sociological observations about the role that possession plays in various societies and the social positions of those who usually undergo possession. Bourguignon and the Ohio State group observed from their statistical studies that possession trance was correlated with large complex societies with a high degree of social stratification and rigid social roles (Bourguignon 1973). Many others have focused on internal social correlations, pointing out that many possession cults are primarily associated with women and secondarily with

lower-class members of highly stratified societies. The explanatory theories offered for these latter associations tend to focus on one central argument: that such cults act as therapeutic outlets for psychological frustrations and socioreligious exclusion suffered by marginal members of the society (e.g., Kennedy 1967; Crapanzano 1973).

One of the most influential elaborations of this argument is Ioan M. Lewis's theory of peripheral possession, expressed in his *Ecstatic Religions,* originally published in 1971, which proposes that persons in "peripheral situations" (women in male-dominated societies and other subordinate groups) are afflicted by "peripheral spirits," which are not central to the maintenance of the society's morality system and are, in fact, often of extraneous origin. Lewis suggested that such spirits are used as "oblique strategies of attack" in order to command attention, redress grievances and exact concessions from superiors (Lewis 1989, 26–27 and 105). In contrast to peripheral possession, Lewis posited "central possession religions" where "men of substance compete for positions of power and authority in society at large" through possession by spirits which directly sustain public morality (28). Lewis pointed out that, like peripheral possession, central possession arises in response to acute societal pressures, but that here such pressures affect the society at large in the form of harsh environmental or external political constraints (30).

Many subsequent studies of possession have continued to rely on Lewis's model, but others have challenged his characterization of peripheral possession cults by arguing that they involve more intrasexual than intersexual competition, provide a legitimate avenue of power and authority, are not vindictive weapons against the more powerful, and are not amoral or even peripheral (e.g., Wilson 1967; Bourguignon 1976; Crapanzano 1977).

More recently, scholars have pointed out that although possession may serve the functions that Lewis and others have noted for certain individuals or subgroups in certain circumstances, possession cannot be explained adequately in functional analyses that do not also address spirit possession as a symbolic system that conveys meaning. A number of scholars have stressed possessive events as communicative texts and applied various techniques of textual and semiotic analysis. Many have also stressed that the idiom of these texts, possession, is culturally constructed, and adopts the model elaborated by Clifford Geertz (1972) of the cultural text, as stories that the society tells itself about itself.

Since the language of possession is highly symbolic, it can convey many different levels of meaning and personal interpretation. Moreover, it can reflect unavowed aspects of society that could not be expressed through other means, and expresses them in powerful metaphorical dramas, enacted in human form but attributed to the spirits. Some scholars have noted that those possessed often occupy a position in society that makes them culturally appropriate to play this role, to become mediums for the expression of the unexpressed. Hence spirit possession can be seen as a positive social role rather than an indication of social deprivation, and possession itself can be seen as "an integral part of the whole culture" (Lambek 1981, 83).

Various studies have proposed certain core messages that are expressed through possession in specific societies, often pertaining to societal, cultural, or cosmic contradictions. Others see the messages as more diverse, expressing many different aspects of cultural identity as well as historical consciousness, where different spirits represent the various internal and foreign influences that have impacted the society and the wider world connected with it (see, e.g., Giles 1999). Some recent scholars have thus viewed possession as "a form of knowledge" as well as "a way of knowing" through embodiment (Boddy 1994, 424). The possessed person not only knows the spirit world, but also the knowledge encoded through it, by embodying spirits.

A number of studies have examined how possession relates to modernity and the new global society. Far from disappearing, possession seems to be increasing, serving as a means of interpreting and sometimes contesting sociocultural change and globalization (Behrend and Luig 1999). Another recent line of inquiry concerns how the self is perceived, how it is viewed as an agent of action, and once again, how this relates to the body. In possession, neither the body nor the self are self-contained, and the self as acting subject (possessing spirit) is also divorced from the self as object (person possessed), hence pre-

senting a very different model from that usually found in modern Western culture.

Linda L. Giles

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Demonic Possession and Exorcism; Hausa Shamanistic Practices; New Orleans Voudou; Santería; Spirit Possession in Rajasthan; Sufism and Shamanism; Swahili Healers and Spirit Cult; Trance Dance; Trance, Shamanic; Zarma Spirit Mediums; Zulu Shamanism

References and further reading:

Beattie, John, and John Middleton, eds. 1969. *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa.* New York: Africana Publishing.

Behrend, Heike, and Ute Luig. 1999. *Spirit Possession, Modernity, and Power in Africa.* Madison and Oxford: University of Wisconsin Press and James Currey.

Belo, Jane. 1969. *Trance in Bali.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Boddy, Janice. 1989. *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women and Men in the Zar Cult in Northern Sudan.* Madison: University of Madison Press.

———. 1994. "Spirit Possession Revisited: Beyond Instrumentality." *Annual Review of Anthropology* (1994) 23: 407–434.

Bourguignon, Erika, ed. 1973. *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness and Social Change.* Columbus: Ohio State University.

———. 1976. *Possession.* San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp.

Brown, Karen. 1987. "Voodoo." Pp. 296–301 in *Encyclopedia of Religion,* vol. 15. Edited by Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillan. Reprinted in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion.* 4th ed. Edited by Arthur Lehman and James Meyers. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield, 1997.

———. 1991. *Mama Lola: A Voudou Priestess in Brooklyn.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Crapanzano, Vincent. 1973. *The Hamadsha: A Study of Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1977. "Introduction." In *Case Studies in Spirit Possession.* Edited by Vincent Crapanzano and Vivian Garrison. New York: Wiley and Sons.

Crapanzano, Vincent, and Vivian Garrison, eds. 1977. *Case Studies in Spirit Possession.* New York: Wiley and Sons.

Geertz, Clifford. 1972. "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight." *Daedalus* 10, no.1: 1–37. Reprinted in Geertz, *Interpretation of Culture.* New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Giles, Linda L. 1989. "Possession Cults on the Swahili Coast: A Re-Examination of Theories of Marginality." *Africa* 57, no. 2: 234–258.

———. 1999. "Spirit Possession and the Symbolic Construction of Swahili Society." Pp. 142–164 in *Spirit Possession, Modernity, and Power in Africa.* Edited by Heike Behrend and Ute Luig. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press/Oxford: James Currey, Ltd.

Kapferer, Bruce. 1983. *A Celebration of Demons: Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri Lanka.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kennedy, J. G. 1967. "Nubian Zar Ceremonies as Psychotherapy." *Human Organization* 26: 185–194.

Lambek, Michael. 1981. *Human Spirits: A Cultural Account of Trance in Mayotte.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1989. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 2d ed. London: Routledge.

Murdock, George Peter. 1967. *Ethnographic Atlas.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

O'Gorman, Frances. 1977. *Aluanda: A Look at Afro-Brazilian Cults.* Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Francisco Alves Editora.

Rouget, Gilbert. 1985. *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession.* Revised and translated from the French by Brunhilde Biebuyck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Originally published in French as *La Musique et la trance* by Editions Gallimard, 1980.

Sharp, Lesley A. 1993. *The Possessed and Dispossessed: Spirits, Identity, and Power in a Madagascar Migrant Town.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Taves, Ann. 1999. *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Walker, Sheila. 1972. *Ceremonial Spirit Possession in Africa and Afro-America.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Wilson, P. J. 1967. "Status Ambiguity and Spirit Possession." *Man* 2, no. 4: 366–378.

SPIRITS AND SOULS

The ethnographic literature on shamanism is predominantly written by individuals who were socialized in a Judeo-Christian cultural context. From the time of the sixteenth-century French Jesuit priests taking Roman Catholicism to South and North America and the Russian Orthodox explorers of Siberia in the seventeenth century, the tribal epistemologies of indigenous shamans have been filtered through Judeo-Christian cognitive categories for supernatural concepts. Thus, the literature on shamanism is unfortunately filled with accounts of "spirits" and "souls" as supernatural agents interacting with shamans. How much understanding is lost in the translation of indigenous concepts of the supernatural into Judeo-Christian ones is incalculable. However, the literature on shamanism generally makes the following distinction: Spirits are entities or energies that act as agents of both ill and good on the person of the individual shaman and on the community. Spirits are originally external to the individual identity, physical body, and essence of the shaman, though they can merge with it. This can happen through possession of the shaman by spirits or through the possession of spirits by the shaman, thus enabling the shaman to draw upon an external power source to assist in healing and divination. Souls, on the other hand, are inextricably bound to a physical body. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, one human body hosts one immortal soul. However, in European pagan antiquity as well as in many shamanic societies, an individual body can have two or more souls. One of the shaman's souls can leave the body and then return to it, a phenomenon called magical flight. After the death of the physical body, souls can then become spirits (for example, ancestor spirits).

Spirits

There is no single satisfactory definition of the term *spirit* that can be universally applied to all shamanic cosmologies. Mircea Eliade put it best: "Several volumes would be needed for an adequate study of all the problems that arise in connection with the mere idea of 'spirits' and of their possible relations with human beings; for a 'spirit' can equally well be the souls of a dead person, a 'nature spirit,' a mythical animal, and so on" (Eliade 1989, 5–6). Eliade therefore focused on the relationship between shamans and spirits. Shamans may be possessed by spirits either voluntarily or not, they may control spirits (spirit mastery) to the point that spirits become the instruments or slaves of the shaman, they can summon the spirits to be present during a ritual, or they can serve as mediums for communicating with the spirits and receiving vital information from them. Many shamans have reported over the centuries that some spirits even act as teachers during the long and difficult period of training to become a shaman. For example, Waldemar Jochelson reported meeting two Koryak shamans in Siberia who claimed that, while in solitude, "the spirits appear to them in visible form, endow them with power, and instruct them" (Jochelson 1905, 47).

The sheer magnitude of trying to comprehend the spirit world of even a single indigenous form of shamanism is illustrated in the massive volume *The Psychomental Complex of the Tungus* by Sergei Mikhailovich Shirokogoroff. In his classic 1935 study of the forms of shamanism among the Tungus "ethnical units" of Siberia, Manchuria, and Inner Mongolia, Shirokogoroff included an "Index of Spirits" that contains no less than 514 spirits—and this does not include a list of hundreds of other Manchu spirits printed elsewhere in the book. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the spirits at work in a given tribe or geographical region are in constant flux, endlessly coagulating and dissolving. Shirokogoroff compiled these lists in the five years prior to 1917, the date of his last fieldwork among the Tungus, and he admitted that by the time of the writing of his book in the early 1930s, some of these spirits might have disappeared from the lives of the Tungus and other new and unclassified spirits might have introduced themselves. Although change has certainly occurred since that time, prior to the Russian Revolution, there is still a strong belief in spirits and souls in Siberia at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

One of the most glaring examples of cognitive bias generated by the Judeo-Christian worldview of interpreters of shamanism is the tendency to label indigenous spirits as either "good" and "beneficial" or "bad" and "harmful." As is the case with current Western folk psychology about the influence of "good" and "bad" genes on a person's life and fate—analog-

ical constructs that essentially function as "spirits" do in indigenous societies—to label spirits good or bad is to bring in moral absolutes where they have no place. Again Shirokogoroff's classic ethnographic work, which contains the most comprehensive material on the natures and roles of spirits and souls in a specific ethnic complex of shamanism, is useful:

> In fact, the Tungus spirits cannot be classified according to the schemes of evil and good, malevolent and benevolent spirits, as is often done by authors adapting the spirits of other ethnical groups to that of their own or to that with which they are most familiar. The Tungus actually do not distinguish such two extremities—any spirit may be malevolent, benevolent or neutral, which depends chiefly on the human attitude and human art of managing the spirits. Perhaps some of the spirits are particularly malevolent or benevolent or neutral, but in the Tungus mind there is no such a grouping as "evil" and "good" and the most benevolent spirits may become malevolent, and the most malevolent spirits may become neutral and even benevolent. The Tungus distinguish spirits according to their power. (Shirokogoroff 1982, 121–122)

Spirits *are* power.

Spirit Mastery

Definitions of what constitutes a shaman generally cast spirit mastery in a central role (Shirokogoroff 1982, 271; Ohlmarks 1939, 353; Eliade 1989, 93; Firth 1967, 296; Lewis 2003, 51; Landy 1977, 417; Siikala 1978, 334; Harner 1980, 20; Noll 1985, 448; Vitebsky 1995, 10–11, 22). Shirokogoroff's definition of a Siberian (specifically, Tungus) shaman is often applied cross-culturally in the literature on shamanism: "persons of both sexes who have mastered spirits, who at will can introduce these spirits into themselves and use their power over the spirits in their own interests, particularly helping other people, who suffer from the spirits; in such a capacity they may possess a complex of special methods for dealing with the spirits" (Shirokogoroff 1982, 269). Only certain spirits in a given culture can be mastered by shamans, for others may be higher up the ladder in a hierarchy of spiritual powers. For example, among the Tungus the Supreme Being and certain master spirits may be propitiated and appealed to by shamans for their assistance—usually in calling the animals for a hunt or mastering lesser but still powerful spirits—but they cannot be enslaved by shamans for their ritual activities.

Some spirits are energy sources embedded in sacred environments (certain groves or forests) or geological structures (such as mountains, caves, or quartz crystals) and can be propitiated but not directly mastered by shamans. Some animal spirits (e.g., bear), some nature spirits, and even dead ancestors—particularly if they were shamans—can be mastered. Many spirits are vain and must be praised by shamans even though the praise is a sham, and many are greedy, especially for food, and must be left delicious treats. *Tutelary spirits, helping spirits,* or *assisting spirits* are the terms for the mastered spirits, and the more spirits a shaman masters the more powerful that shaman is judged to be. Among the Tungus, a master shaman may have more than 100 spirits under his relative control, assuming he treats them individually with the proper respect by offering appropriate sacrifices and by singing their songs to summon them. If a shaman forgets a spirit song or makes mistakes in singing it, the spirits will be offended and will not appear. But spirit mastery is a highly precarious activity. The shaman attempts to control powers that often resist him, and often these spirits are at war with one another and can cause great calamity, which can result in the failure of a healing or divination ritual. Additionally, the shaman risks madness, physical disease, or even death if he cannot control the spirits.

Spirit Possession

Few issues concerning shamanism have generated such disagreement among scholars as the notion of spirit possession. Do shamans master, or possess, their spirits, or are they possessed by them during their rituals? There is evidence for both in the literature, and it is not always an easy distinction to make in practice. Spirit possession is a universal theory of mental distress and disease, and shamans do report becoming possessed during their initiatory illnesses, and sometimes even later in their lives, if they lose power or are weakened by sorcery or other mis-

fortunes. Among the Tungus, as with many other groups around the world, people can only practice healing as shamans after first being healed. For shamans, recovering from the initial sickness means they can now master the spirits that caused the illness. Shamans routinely administer exorcisms to their clients as the recognized treatment for healing diseases caused by spirit possession. After the paradigmatic 1968 study of Erika Bourguignon of Ohio State University, which found that possession trance was correlated with societies of a higher complexity than the hunting-gathering-fishing ones associated with shamanism, the literature on shamanism has tended to downplay spirit possession as a core constituent of shamanism. However, there are magico-religious practitioners, still commonly referred to as shamans, who are essentially spirit mediums who experience possession and who may not even engage in magical flight to other worlds (e.g., Korean shamans).

Souls

The Judeo-Christian worldview allows for only one immortal soul per human body. In centuries past there was much discussion of a more trinitarian concept of human nature—that of body, soul and spirit (mind)—but dualism now reigns in the folk psychology of Christianity. In the earliest European pagan antiquity, the mind-body problem was a trinity. Besides the physical body, there was the seat of personal identity, personal memories, and personal consciousness, called the *thymos* (Greek) or *animus* (Roman), which resided in the chest cavity and which died when the physical body died. Localized in the head was the *psuche* (Greek) or *anima* or *genius* (both Roman), the life force, which was immortal and survived death but which did not carry one's personal identity or memories but instead entered Hades as a simulacrum of the living person, a shadow or shade. Thus, about two thousand years ago, the folk psychological theory of the common person in Europe was that each human body housed two souls.

Åke Hultkrantz of the University of Stockholm, Sweden, has argued that soul dualism is a core belief of most shamanic societies worldwide (1984). The shaman's "body-soul," which can leave his or her body only at death (with some exceptions in some cultures), is associated with the waking, conscious identity of the shaman, and is the seat of his or her personal memories. The "separable soul" or "free soul" is the one that leaves the body during altered states of consciousness (sleep, trance, coma, trauma-induced shock). The shaman learns to bring the separable soul under voluntary control and make it leave his or her body, travel to other sacred realms via magical flight to engage or do battle with spirits, or to retrieve the lost soul of a sick client. Since soul loss is one of the most common theories behind many physical diseases and mental distresses, retrieving lost souls is one of the primary healing techniques of shamans worldwide.

Shirokogoroff admitted that there are multiple concepts among the Tungus (the Manchu, the Reindeer Tungus, etc.) that may be interpreted as multiple souls, but he personally was skeptical of this notion: "I believe that in some instances of very multiple souls . . . we have the ethnographer's complex, his creation and not that which exist in [the indigenous population's] mind" (1982, 54). He therefore wrote of the unitary soul of the shaman, which leaves the body during trance. For the Tungus, shamanism is not only about the relation of the shaman to spirits, but also to souls: "The aim of shamanizing may be: (1) a sacrifice to the souls of dead people, personally and known by their names, and to ancestors in general; (2) the bringing back of the soul captured by spirits, but which can be brought back; (3) the transfer to the Lower World of souls which do not leave this world, without the shaman's interference" (Shirokogoroff 1982, 307). This latter ritual, in which the shaman plays the role of psychopomp (one who escorts souls to or from the world of the dead), is an important one in all shamanic cultures: Souls are considered pathogens that cause disease or death if they do not leave the human world and complete their passage to the other world where the dead reside, hunt, squabble, and long for the company of the souls of the living.

Richard Noll

See also: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Evenki Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Manchu Shamanism; Psychopomp; Siberian Shamanism; Spirit Possession; Trance, Shamanic

References and further reading:

Bourguignon, Erika, ed. 1973. *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Bremmer, Jan. 1983. *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Firth, Robert. 1967. *Tikopia Ritual and Belief.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Harner, Michael. 1980. *The Way of the Shaman.* New York: Harper and Row.

Hoppál, Mihály. 2000. "Death Experiences in Siberian Shamanism." Pp. 131–142 in *Studies on Mythology and Uraltic Shamanism.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1984. "Shamanism and Soul Ideology." Pp. 28–36 in *Shamanism in Eurasia.* Part 1. Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Göttingen, Germany: Edition Herodot.

Jochelson, Waldemar. 1905. *Religion and Myths of the Koryak.* Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 10. New York: G. E. Stechert.

Landy, David, ed. 1977. *Culture, Disease and Healing: Studies in Medical Anthropology.* New York: Macmillan.

Lewis, Ioan M. 2003. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 3d ed. London: Routledge.

Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley, eds. 2001. *Shamans through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge.* New York: Jeremy Tarcher/Putnam.

Noll, Richard. 1985. "Mental Imagery Cultivation as a Cultural Phenomenon: The Role of Visions in Shamanism." *Current Anthropology* 26: 443–461.

Ohlmarks, A. 1939. *Studien zum Problem des Shamanismus.* Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup.

Onians, R. B. 1951. *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time and Fate.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

Siikala, Anna-L. 1978. *The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman.* Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.

Vitebsky, Piers. 1995. *The Shaman: Voyages of the Soul, Trance, Ecstasy, and Healing from Siberia to the Amazon.* Boston: Little, Brown.

STUDY OF SHAMANISM

See History of the Study of Shamanism

SUFISM AND SHAMANISM

The historical interaction between Sufism and shamanism has been studied by anthropologists rather than by specialists in Islamic studies. At present there exists no study that takes the relationship between Sufism and shamanism as its main focus. One of the reasons for this lack is the controversy about the extent to which Sufism can be considered a genuine Islamic phenomenon. This controversy is closely connected to the question of how Sufism has been influenced by external factors (such as Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, shamanism, and animism) throughout its emergence and development all over the Islamic world, where it came into intensive contact with non-Islamic and pre-Islamic belief systems.

The mutual contact and influence between Sufism and shamanism became particularly intensive on the geographical and political peripheries of the Islamic world (Central/Inner Asia, the Caucasus, Anatolia, India, and Indonesia). This may be explained by the fact that, compared to the center, Islam was introduced into these regions later (tenth to twelfth century), and it spread primarily in its mystical form. It was the Sufis who transformed the nominal affiliation of the local populations to Islam into active participation. In this form of Islamization it was not so much the contents of beliefs and practices as religious identity that underwent changes. What before had been practiced in the name of an earlier form of be-

lief system came to be practiced in the name of Islam. A similar development may also be observed in West Africa, in the relationship between mystical Islam and animistic practices (the marabout as Muslim mystic, saint, and animist healer).

First of all, the strong syncretism characteristic of Sufism has resulted in its accommodation of numerous pre-Islamic customs, traditions, and belief systems, including shamanism in the above-mentioned regions. This process was not limited to the integration of earlier religious beliefs but also involved the acceptance of popular cult places, such as sacred tombs, springs, and trees, many of which had belonged to shamanism. Secondly, Sufi religious propaganda proved to be influential on account of its simplicity. This simplicity has contributed to the fact that large segments of the population, who insisted on their shamanic beliefs after the victory of Islam, could be won over for Sufism. So, for example, many Turkic speaking tribes of Inner Asia and Anatolia accepted Islam in its mystical form, because it had integrated many shamanic elements successfully.

At the same time, it is also possible to speak of the Islamization of shamanism. Shamanism could survive only in an Islamized form. Since it was incompatible with Orthodox Islam, shamanism had to change as it developed within the diverse forms of Sufism. As a result, shamanism has lost many features and rites that stood in obvious contrast to Islamic religious teachings. Shamanism continued to be practiced by both men and women. In Sufi practice, it has been possible for women to be Sufis. They could meet separately or together with men. In this way, Sufism and shamanism shared a community. The social and ritual functions of the shaman became considerably more limited. The shaman's ritual costume had largely disappeared by the twelfth century. The latest form of that costume appears, however, to have survived (according to some scholars, e.g., Sukhareva 1960; Basilov 1992) in the clothing of the Sufi dervishes (mystical mendicants). The shamanic cosmology with its tripartite division of the universe has been forgotten and taken over by Islamic cosmology.

The interaction and mutual influence between shamanism and Sufism can be demonstrated particularly well in five areas: the cult of saints, healing rituals, ecstasy, ritual clothing, and the preparation of charms. This interaction should not be understood as meaning that Sufism developed directly out of shamanism. In the historical development of religious ideas, shamanism and Sufism are divided by a long period of time. At the same time, there has never been an obvious break in the contact between shamanism and the later forms of Sufism. Although, for example, the shamanic ritual meal, during which the shaman's protective spirits were nourished, is absent from Sufism, some specialists in Islamic studies assume that the ritual consumption of wine in Sufism constitutes a parallel to this (Sukhareva 1960). (The communal eating in some Sufi brotherhoods of Inner Asia did not form part of the ritual, but took place after the ritual.)

Muslim saints have typically replaced shamanic protective spirits. A shaman might have a vision of the Prophet Khydr who came to give a blessing to the shaman. Many shamans imagined their protector spirits in the shape of Sufi leaders *(ishan)* or religious practitioners *(mollah).* In some parts of Inner Asia many people believed that there existed Islamic saints who were the patrons of the shamanic profession as well as of music and singing. Those who were convinced that they were destined to become shamans would go to certain saintly tombs and spend some time there. Legends from Inner Asia, the Caucasus, and Anatolia concerning outstanding Sufi saints who could bring the dead back to life, an ability that Orthodox Islam ascribes to God (Allah) only, emerged from ideas about the power of "big" shamans in Siberia. In Inner Asia, the Caucasus, and Anatolia, as well as in parts of India that had been conquered by Turkic-speaking nomadic groups, the cult of saints became integrated into shamanic ritual practice. Shamans prescribed to their clients that they should spend the night at an Islamic holy place in order to become healed from their illnesses, since it was assumed that the Sufi saint would either heal the patient during his or her sleep or advise the patient what to do in order to regain health. According to the shamanic diagnosis, one cause of the illness could be the displeasure of a Sufi saint. In such cases the shaman assumed the role of a mediator and helped to reconcile the Sufi saint. In Central Asia, traditions of shamanism and the practice of male and female shamans in Uzbekistan, Kazakstan, and

A group of Muslim dervishes, who are devotees of sufism, perform a vigorous twirling dance to render themselves into a state of near trance, mid-twentieth century, Syria. (Paul Almayy/Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Tadjikstan have been preserved and continue (Basilov 1997, 44–46).

The Sufis took over the shamanic healing and its rituals, as well as some functions of the shamans. This is well demonstrated by the role of the dervishes known as *baba*s (men who are sheiks, leaders of a group of sufis) in some Anatolian villages. The similarities between their rituals and shamanic performances were so striking that one could mistake them for old Central Asian Turkic shamans, who had simply assumed an Islamic appearance. They interpreted dreams, acted as rainmakers, healed illnesses, and controlled fertility. In Inner Asia, for example, Sufis were assumed to possess helping spirits who aided them in working miracles, in fortune telling, in healing, and in conducting other shamanic rituals. Sufis accommodated shamanic practices to the extent that it is difficult to tell the difference between a mystic and a shaman. Often the separation of the two is rendered impossible, because one and the same person could simultaneously pose both as a mystic and as a shamanic healer. This became obvious, for example, in the shamanic ritual known in Central and Inner Asia as *kamlanye* (a Russified word from the stem *Kam*).

For some Central Asian and Anatolian groups the concepts of shamanizing and conducting a Sufi *dhikr* ceremony are practically synonymous. In both regions the Sufi dhikr (the central ceremony of Sufi rituals, whose literal meaning is “remembrance of God”) was integrated into the shamanic ritual. It was possible for a shaman to recommend that a patient attend a dhikr ceremony. In spite of the external similarities of some practices applied to induce ecstasy (dance, music, drugs, and the like), there was a great ideological difference between the assumptions surrounding the ecstatic state of the Sufi and the shaman. One of the important characteristics of the mystical state of ecstasy has been recognized and discussed by Islamic scholars. According to them,

the Sufi, whose purpose is to unite with God *(fanā),* does not try to get beside or outside himself. The Sufi stays in himself, sunk in the "sea of the soul," and for this reason it has been suggested that the Sufi ecstasy should more appropriately be called an "in-stasy" (Schimmel 1995, 253). In contrast, during an ecstatic state the shaman's soul is stolen and taken temporarily away by the protector spirits. Even when a shaman is powerful enough to summon his helping spirits, his soul must leave his body in order to enter into contact with the summoned spirits. The shaman's soul tries to establish personal contact with the supernatural world outside his own body. This difference is often ignored, and the two types of ecstasy are regarded as identical, but in actuality one can only talk about similarities in the techniques, not in the contents of the ecstasy.

This technical similarity certainly greatly contributed to the mutual interaction and influence between shamanism and Sufism. Especially in Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Anatolia, the mystical ecstasy was understood in the spirit of the shamanic tradition. The relationship between Sufism and shamanism was often not understood by the practicing Sufis themselves, but it was recognized by some medieval scholars. For example, Navoi (d. 1501), himself a Naqshbandi mystic and a Chaghatay poet from Herat, North Afghanistan, recognized the sexual background and connectedness to shamanic practices of some of the dhikr ceremonies that also characterized shamanism (Sukhareva 1960, 49).

There are numerous cases when the dhikr ceremony was used by shamans as a healing ritual. At the same time, the Central Asian shamanic ritual (kamlanye) also adopted many elements of the dhikr ceremony. Either the shamans invited the Sufis to perform the loud dhikr *(jahr),* or they performed it themselves. In many areas the dhikr became the central element of the shamanic ritual (Khorezm). During the kamlanye the participants used the same magical formulas employed during a dhikr (consisting of different names of God), and the shaman could summon both shamanic protector spirits and God and the Sufi saints to help (Sukhareva 1960).

Since dance and spinning around are among the most ancient religious techniques, it is impossible to tell from which source Sufism took over these techniques. The *samā*ʿ (from the Arabic word for "hear") or ritual dancing and singing were techniques used by many Sufi brotherhoods, the best known being the Mevlevis in Turkey (the "whirling dervishes," the order associated with the great mystic and poet of the thirteenth century Mevlana Jalal-ud-din Rumi).

Some of the external characteristics of the Central Asian mendicant dervishes *(qalandār)* are reminders of shamanism. Dervishes who let their hair grow were well known everywhere, a practice reminiscent of some Siberian shamans, who never cut their hair. That could of course be coincidence, but some cases of shamanic influence are much harder to deny. A particularly good example is the remarkable attire of the Central Asian *divana* (mystics possessed by spirits). They wore a hat made of swan feathers and carried a stuff decorated with jingling objects, as well as the jaws of an animal decorated with iron rings (Basilov 1992). The shaman's ritual clothes made out of animal hide or bird feathers, as well as the stuff, are well known in Siberian shamanism. Of course, many other features, such as the contempt for Muslim behavioral norms (for example at the Malamatiya brotherhood) may not have had any direct connection to shamanism.

In addition, mention must also be made of the making of charms, which served the purpose of protecting the wearer from various diseases, the evil eye, jinns, malevolent spirits, and misfortune. Such charms prepared with various magic formulas and Qur'anic verses could be made by shamans as well as Sufis. In shamanic rituals, prayer rugs, rosaries, and Islamic books also played an important role (Basilov 1997, 40).

The interaction between shamanism and Sufism described above cannot be regarded only as a phenomenon of the past. It can still be observed in Central Asia, Anatolia, Pakistan, and other regions of the Islamic world.

Bahodir Sidikov

See also: Hausa Shamanistic Practices; Kazak Shamanism; Kirghiz Shamanism; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Marabouts and Magic; South Asian Shamanism; Spirit Mediums; Spirit Possession; Tajik Shamanism; Uyghur Healers; Uzbek Shamanism

References and further reading:

Basilov, V. 1992. *Shamanstvo u narodov Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana.* Moskva: Nauka.

———. 1997. "*Chosen by the Spirits.*" Pp. 3–48 in *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Cenrtral Asia.* New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Levtzion, Nehemia. 1979. *Toward a Comparative Study of Islamization.* In *Conversion to Islam.* Edited by N. Levtzion. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Schimmel, A. 1975. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

———. 1995. *Mystische Dimensionen des Islam.* Muenchen: Die Geschichte des Sufismus.

Schluchter, W., ed. 1987. *Max Webers Sicht des Islams.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkampf.

Sukhareva, O. 1960. *Islam v Uzbekistane.* Taschkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk UzSSR.

Turner, Bryan S. 1974. *Weber and Islam. A Critical Study.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Weber, M. 1972. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.* Tübingen: Studienausgabe.

T

TANTRISM AND SHAMANISM

It is possible that Tantrism, since it is so widely accepted, may originate in a shamanic past and that it may have the ability to incorporate and to influence shamanistic beliefs and practices. Similarities between Tantrism and shamanism can be found in the areas of possession, ritual performance, and the local and secret nature of the transmission.

Tantrism is a stage in the history of all the great Indian religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. The oldest texts in which Tantrism is reflected may be dated to the seventh century, but it certainly extends its roots further back, into an obscure past. This obscurity and the complex character of its beliefs and practices still make Tantrism controversial in the scholarly world. Few of the basic and central Tantric texts are available in critical editions, and even fewer can be read in acceptable Western translations. The interest in Tantric research is, however, growing, and contemporary scholarship has produced important results in the fields of, for instance, Tibetan and Kashmiri Tantrism. Some of these results reveal that Tantrism is an even more diversified tradition than had been thought, but on the other hand they also establish a chronology according to which the Buddhist Tantras, as the texts and rituals are called, are seen as later than and dependent on the Hindu Tantras.

Origin, Beliefs, and Practices

The features of magic, sexual practices, the eating of repulsive or otherwise forbidden substances, and ecstasy, to mention a few of the elements in mature Tantrism, seemed to earlier researchers difficult to connect to earlier phases of Hinduism. Thus, Tantrism's origin in tribal cultures within or outside Hindu India was brought up for discussion. The Himalayan area, especially the lands of Tibet, and even China, was considered a possible place of origin of Tantric practices. Later research, however, has often stressed the possible root of Tantrism in ancient ascetic practices hinted at in Hindu and Buddhist texts. These practices, however obscure, probably began to a great extent in local cults, without a common ideology or terminology (but all probably to some extent shamanistic) and were normalized at a later stage, "Sanskritized," and finally made parts of a greater tradition and provided with texts.

The development is thus from local ascetic and folk traditions of various kinds to a textual subsystem in the great tradition of Hinduism. Due to the lack of evidence, this process cannot be traced in detail, but it seems that possession cults of a shamanistic nature, involving the ritual identification in one way or the other of the practitioner with a divinity, were important elements. This identification, ritual or psychological, was evidently seen as a prerequisite for the acquisition of the power to carry out, among other things, divination, curing, and exorcism; at a later stage, this identification was seen as a prerequisite for attaining supreme union with the divinity. In the latter development, these sophisticated and advanced trends culminate in the eleventh century Kashmiri Saiva, Tantrism's radical monist speculation and extremely rich symbolism using the human body, the nature of language and words, and the ritual process of recreating oneself and attaining the absolute reality, Śiva.

There is now convincing evidence of the primacy of Hindu Tantrism, from which much of Buddhist Tantrism can be derived. There is thus much in common between the two traditions. In brief, Tantrism can be regarded as an aesthetic form of religion, one in which the

A seer from the tantric sect of Hinduism holding a skull, 150 km (95 miles) south of the eastern Indian city of Calcutta on 14 January 2001. An estimated 300,000 people are expected to take a holy dip at the confluence of the river and the Bay of Bengal for the "Makar Sankranti," a festival marking an auspicious day in the Hindu calendar. (Jayanta Shaw/Reuters/Corbis)

participants use a symbolically rich dress, ritual instruments such as yantras and mandalas, geometric patterns or schematic pictures of the palaces of gods and Buddhas, powerful words, mantras, and the like. Using ritual, a master directs the adept through a series of initiations and empowerments, from a state of ignorance to ever deeper knowledge, understanding, and realization. Central are visualization exercises during which deities are made present. In the process the body of the adept loses its human nature and becomes subtle and deified. Every stage in the ritual process leading up to the identification with the deity is symbolically emphasized in various ways. There is in the beginning of the process a stage usually called "the entrance into the mandala," discussed further below, which seems to involve a kind of possession experience during which the adept loses individual human consciousness. This fits into the Tantric basic ideology, with its focus on striving after divine identity.

In addition to this often complicated ritualism and sophisticated psychology, other points of interest may be found. The Tantric traditions incorporate vast mythologies as well as extensive hagiographic literatures. Here a rich corpus of legends and folklore is woven around famous Tantric masters and illustrates the ritual process and its parallel activities in the human mind. In these hagiographies, Buddhist and Hindu, the masters, accomplished magicians and perfected ones, *nāths* and *siddhas,* demonstrate many abilities that may be called shamanic, such as the ability to fly, to become invisible, and to contact supernatural beings, often female, in order to gain knowledge and receive initiations. These powers are often said to be gained after considerable difficulties, pain, and suffering. Scholars interested in comparative mythological or folkloristic motive studies will find here a rich field of research.

Hindu Tantrism and Shamanism

What has been mentioned above in a general description of the basic elements of Tantrism is of course true for Hindu Tantrism. In the ritual process, attention has been drawn especially to one moment, the so-called *āveśa,* the "entering," or "entrance into the mandala," also evident in the Buddhist Tantras; what happens during this stage can be compared with shamanistic possession. The term *āveśa,* variously prefixed, is found carrying different meanings in Hindu texts from the Upaniṣads and onwards. It also occurs in Kashmiri Saiva texts, such as the *Mālinivijayottara Tantra* and the monumental exegetical commentary *Tantrāloka* by the eleventh-century sage Abhinavagupta. As has been seen, one of the basic purposes of Tantrism is the ritual and psychological transformation of the performer into the

deity, and the term *āveśa* denotes this very process. Thus it can point to the deity's subtle penetration of the ritualist, as well as to the taking of possession of the ritualist at the initiatory entrance into the mandala. As with shamanistic trance, the description of this experience in the texts makes it possible to interpret it as possession in the psychological sense, as the adept is said to tremble, shake, and lose consciousness.

The texts do not offer many explicit details, but it seems evident that what is found here is ritual possession, also found in other stages of the ritual, where the identification with the deity, leading to the acquisition of the divine power and ability, is emphasized.

Buddhist Tantrism and Shamanism

Buddhist Tantrism is based on the same concepts and practices as Hindu Tantrism, and seems in fact to be derived from it. To ritually transform oneself by creating a subtle body, to visualize the deity, and then to become one with it is also here the central process. The āveśa ritual is found also in Buddhist texts, among which the *Kālacakra Tantra* commentaries, the *Subāhuparipṛccha Tantra,* and a few accounts of Tantric activities in Tang, China, may be mentioned.

In one of the subcommentaries in the *Kālacakra* corpus of texts, the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā,* we are offered a few details. The passage in question concerns the initiation or consecration, *abhiṣeka.* The initiation is carried out in the mandala, which is purified and protected from the demons. The purification also includes the candidate and all the other participants, as well as the ritual instruments. After the purification, the deities are invoked, and contact with them is established, just as a shaman enters trance, having been possessed by a local spirit. As the candidate is about to enter the mandala, the moment of *krodhāveśa,* "the entrance of the Wrathful One" has occurred. A later Tibetan commentator explained this stage by saying that the candidate has to generate a *krodha,* a wrathful god, and get hold of its identity. The text then says that the candidate will threaten the demons and evil forces with his body, dance even if he never has been able to do that before, and sing with sounds incomprehensible to men and other beings. He has acquired all the qualities of the god and has lost all sense of modesty and shame. Thus, the candidate behaves as he does because the deity has entered his body and is in control of his body and mind. Other texts mention that this possession is established for the purpose of prognostication. If the state of possession ceases by itself, the ritual goes on with further purifications, after which the candidate finally is led into the mandala. If the possession does not cease by itself, the master responsible for it stops it with the appropriate mantras. Thus the significance of possession in Tantric rituals seems to be parallel with that of shamanism.

Interestingly enough, a ritual very similar to the one just described is carried out by contemporary Newar Buddhists in Nepal. As David Gellner (1992) reported, the participants, especially the women, are apt to tremble and shake, that is, show signs of possession, when about to enter the mandala. This can be compared with other shamanistic performance practices of other Nepalese peoples.

Further details of the āveśa ritual are given in some texts found in the Chinese Buddhist canon. A few of these texts are associated with the Indian Tantric masters Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghasiddhi, both active during the Tang dynasty. In the biography of Vajrabodhi, for instance, it is said that a princess was dying and lying unconscious. The Tantric master chose two young girls, wrapped their faces with red silk, and had them laid out on the ground. Vajrabodhi then entered into *samādhi* (a state of concentration attained through meditation) and sent the two girls to Yama, the lord of the Land of the Dead, who allowed the princess's spirit to return for a short while; thus Vajrabodhi used his power to accomplish something similar to what a Siberian shaman accomplished by his own descent to the Underworld. In other episodes, the Tantric master used children in a similar way. They had to be young, preferably seven or eight years old, without any marks on their face, perfect physically and mentally. After fasting, the child was placed on a platform, and its eyes were covered while mantras were recited. Then the child started to shake, which is the sign of possession, and those present could start to ask the deity questions concerning the future and otherwise hidden things.

In the process described above, it seems that the Tantric master first identified himself with

the deity, thus acquiring the power to invoke other gods and make them take possession of the children, in order to answer questions. This model, a master controlling his spirit mediums, has molded segments of Chinese shamanistic folk religions and Daoism.

In the article on Tibetan shamanism in this encyclopedia, the beliefs and rituals of the *dpa'-bos* are described. It is evident that a number of features mentioned there are derived from Tantric Buddhism. It suffices here to mention the beliefs of the spirit mediums that the human body contains "channels" along which the consciousness can leave the body and gods enter and take possession, that the spirit mediums carry a crown almost exactly like the one used by the Tantric practitioners, and that the mediums, just like the Tantrics, have a close relationship with female supernatural beings, who protect then during their séances, and who teach them and inspire them. Similarities also exist between the Tantric visualizations of the deities and the spirit mediums' visions of their gods.

Final Remarks

Possession involving exorcism and divinations are features of Tantrism. The term for possession, *āveśa,* covers a range of meanings, from possession in the psychological sense to the subtle and mystic union or merging with the supreme reality. There are scholars who see the Tantric identification with the god as having its root in older possession cults, while others see Tantrism as a sort of hiding place for heterodoxy and alien practices entering at later stages. Thus Buddhism, which otherwise stresses meditation and the calming of the mind, is according to this view still able to offer shelter to possession and similar phenomena. According to a third view, the meeting of Indian Buddhism with Tibetan and Chinese culture led to syncretism and the absorption of local ritual practices, sometimes of a shamanic nature. No final answer can be given here, and it seems probable that what has happened has been a combination of all these processes.

Per-Arne Berglie

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions; Ladhakhi Shamans and Oracles; Nepalese Shamans; South Asian Shamanism; Tibetan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Berglie, Per-Arne. 1998. "The Gods Appear. From Vision to Possession: Remarks on Visualization and Visibility in Tibetan Religion." Pp. 36–42 in *"Living through the Eyes." Studies in Religious Iconography and Iconology. A Celebratory Publication in Honour of Professor Jan Bergman.* Edited by Peter Schalk. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library.

———. 2000. "The *āveś*a Ritual in Tantric Buddhism and Ritual Possession in Tibet." Pp. 25–34 in *La politique des esprits* [The politics of spirits]. Edited by Denise Aigle, Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière, and Jean-Pierre Chaumeil. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

Chou, Yi-liang. 1944–1945. "Tantrism in China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8: 241–333.

Davis, Edward L. 2001. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Gellner, David N. 1992. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Rituals.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Padoux, André. 1999. "Transe, possession ou absorbtion mystique? L'āveśa selon quelques textes tantriques cachemiriens" [Trance, possession or mystic absorption? According to several Kashmir tantric texts]. Pp. 133–147 in *La possession en Asie du Sud: Parole, corps, territoire* [Possession in South Asia: Speech, body, territory]. Edited by Jackie Assayag and Gilles Tarabout. Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

Samuel, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies.* Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

———. 1997a. "Some Reflections on the Vajrayāna and its Shamanic Origins." Pp. 325–342 in *Les habitants du toit du monde. Études recueillies en hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald* [Inhabitants on the roof of the world. Studies collected in homage to Alexander W. Macdonald]. Edited by Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

———. 1997b. "The Vajrayāna in the Context of Himalayan Folk Religion." Pp. 843–850 in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995.* Vol. 2. Edited by Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst

Steinkellner, Helmut Tauscher. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sanderson, Alexis. 1994. "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function." Pp. 87–102 in *Buddhism into the Year 2000.* Bangkok: Dhammakaya Foundation.

The Sekoddeśaṭīkāof Naḍapāda (Nāropā). 1941. Edited by Mario Carelli. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

Stablein, William. 1976. "Mahākāla the Neo-Shaman: Master of the Ritual." Pp. 361–375 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Strickmann, Michel. 1996. *Mantras et mandarins. Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine.* Paris: Gallimard.

TRANCE DANCE

Dance is central to much of the ritual in which direct contact with the spirit world is sought by means of altered states of consciousness, or trance. Dance is involved in the induction of trance, the central events of the ritual, and often the termination of trance as well. Such rituals may be shamanistic in the narrow sense; for example, among the Paiute Indians of the American Southwest, a shaman/healer goes into trance to fetch the patient's abducted soul. The spirit journey is acted out in dance. Such a shaman receives his ritual dances in dreams. By contrast, in sub-Saharan Africa and the African diaspora, spirits may be invited to possess the bodies of their faithful. The purpose of these rituals may be healing, divination, exorcism, veneration, or some combination thereof.

Historically, there has been a movement from trance rituals to "attenuated" ritual, as in Japan, where the trancing is mimed, to outright theatrical performances, nowadays often to entertain tourists, whether in Brazil or in Bali.

Though dance is virtually universal in human societies, its definition is strikingly complex. Some students of the subject (e.g., Kaeppler 1996) prefer to speak of "structured movement systems," noting that not all such systems may correspond to a local concept of dance. In Western societies, marching is such a system, but one distinct from dance. Some societies may not have a concept of dance at all. For J. L. Hanna, "dance is human behavior [that is composed of] purposeful, intentionally rhythmical and culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal body movements . . . [having] aesthetic value" (1979, 5). G. P. Kurath wrote: "Out of ordinary motor activities, dance selects, heightens or subdues, juggles gestures and steps to achieve a pattern, and does this with a purpose of transcending utility" (1960, 234).

Among the common features mentioned are patterned body movements, rhythmic behavior, symbolic meaning of specific steps, movements and gestures, and aesthetic criteria, which permit one to judge the competence of the dancer. Consequently, dance has local and traditional meanings that may not be evident to outsiders. Music is intimately linked to dance; whether vocal or instrumental, it may even be supplied by the dancers themselves, as among the !Kung. In its absence, dance is unlikely.

Rather than dealing with religious dance in general, this discussion focuses on ritual dance in relation to trance. Trance, here used in the sense of an experience of an altered state of consciousness, is a psychophysiological state other than that of the ordinary wakefulness of workaday life. When integrated into a system of religious rituals, its cultural meanings vary, but they fall into two broad groups: visionary experiences, which are remembered, as in the case of the shaman, and possession experiences, which are generally followed by amnesia. In the former, trancers encounter one or more spirits in their visionary experiences, in the latter the spirits are temporarily embodied in humans, who enact the presence of spirits to an audience. In spite of their diversity, altered states of consciousness share a number of features, such as modifications of perception of time, space, and self, and of sensory modalities, including the perception of pain. They also involve changes in memory, suggestibility and learning and are often followed by euphoria and heightened levels of energy.

Altered states of consciousness are induced in numerous ways, among which various combinations of dance, music, chanting, incantations, and other ritual activities are most frequent. Other induction techniques are austerities, such as isolation, fasting, and mortifications, meditation, and the use of plant sub-

stances, notably hallucinogens. These techniques rarely involve danced rituals.

Dance is used primarily where altered states of consciousness are induced intentionally. Ritual altered states of consciousness are best understood in terms of dissociation, a psychological phenomenon involving a temporary narrowing of the focus of attention, where one part of the personality takes over the whole field of awareness and behavior. Dissociation may also occur spontaneously in response to stress. Other spontaneous, involuntary altered states of consciousness also occur, such as seizures, fever states, and so-called mass hysterias. Such negative trances, whether explained as possession or in some other way, for example as attack by witches or hostile spirits, require curing, either by accommodation with the spirits or by exorcisms.

So-called dancing manias, as in the European Late Middle Ages (Hecker 1970), are rare. Here, as in certain neurological illnesses, such as the so-called Saint Vitus' dance (Sydenham's chorea), the term "dance" is applied to disordered involuntary movements. C. Casey (1999) reported an instance of contagious compulsive dancing among Hausa school girls in Nigeria, in which this behavior followed the watching of Indian movies. Locally, this was interpreted by some as due to spirit possession, by others as resulting from witchcraft.

Where trance is desired, dance may be used as one element in its induction and also to act out the interaction with the spirit. Among the Hunza of Northern Pakistan (Sidky 1994) a shaman *(bitan)* acts as a diviner and healer. He puts himself into trance during a public ritual by inhaling the smoke of burning juniper branches. Dancing as musicians play, he invites the mountain spirits to come. When they come, his movements are said to be no longer voluntary but to be controlled by them. He listens to the voices of the spirits as they emerge from the drums. A sacrifice is performed and the bitan, in trance, drinks the blood, which is believed to be passed through him to the spirits. He then conveys their messages to the audience. This sequence is repeated several times. The last phase of the ritual is a rapid circling dance, ending in the collapse of the bitan.

Rapid circling, whirling, twirling are frequently noted both in the induction and the termination of trance. Trancers speak of dizziness as a sign of the oncoming trance or of disturbances of equilibrium as a way of (temporarily) separating the soul from the body. Where possession is considered desirable, trance is taken to be evidence of the genuineness of the possession. Its suspected imitation may then cause questioning of the ritual's efficacy, or invite punishment by the spirits.

Dance may be used to induce trance, and it may also be expressive of it, and vice versa: The dance that expresses the interaction with spirits is also used to bring on the trance. J. G. Moore (1982) described a pattern in Jamaican revival services where people are possessed by the Holy Spirit. In what is called trumping and laboring, the dancers imitate the movements and breathing patterns characteristic of trance. This imitation is used to induce the trance state. Here, trancing clearly is learned behavior.

Perhaps the most famous example of dance as a means of entering into a state of religious transcendence as well as of experiencing it is that of the Mevlevi dervishes of Konya (Turkey). The ritual performances of these "whirling" dervishes, an order founded in the thirteenth century by Rumi, the great Sufi teacher and poet, can now be seen on their international tours. The ritual, called the Sema, begins with a eulogy of the prophet Mohammed and ends with a reading of the Qur'an. The dance is repeated four times, each section having its own mystical theme; the music, movements, and clothing all have symbolic meanings. Beginning with arms crossed, then stretched out, one hand pointing downward and the other up, the men dance with eyes closed. They circle about the dance space while rotating, keeping a fixed distance from each other. Their faces remain calm and there is no evidence of a loss of balance, even when the music changes and a period of walking ensues. The trance state they are said to experience is a subjective, interior one, for which there is no public evidence.

Possession trance occurs in all parts of the world, but it is most widespread in Africa and the African diaspora and in South and Southeast Asia. There are certain commonalities in each region, but also significant differences. The rituals range from very simple to highly complex, depending partly on the community's resources.

In West Africa (e.g., among the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fon of Benin) and in Afro-

America (e.g., Cuba, Haiti, Brazil), the spirits, often ancestors, are venerated and invited to participate in rituals. They may be questioned as to their wishes, feasted, asked for advice. Each spirit, or kind of spirit, has a choreographic signature and personal identity. It is this identity that the trancer assumes. This transformation into someone else is a key element in the experience and in the religious and social significance of the ritual. The personalities of the spirits are acted out. They have their own tastes and preferences, dance steps, colors, clothing, speech patterns, preferred food and drink, and so on. Only rarely are masks used, and then only by men. The majority of trance dancers are likely to be women, and they take on the characteristic of male as well as female spirits.

Among the Tuareg of Niger, possession is considered an illness. Most possessed individuals are women. During exorcism, a public occasion, the patient is put into trance while lying on her back. She then dances in a seated position, swaying with loosened hair until she falls back exhausted. The dance is that of the spirit; the collapse signifies the spirit's departure. Here, spirits communicate only by gestures and do not have individual characteristics (Rasmussen 1995).

In the *zar* cult, a spirit religion found in a broad region of Eastern Africa, from Somalia to Egypt, spirits are also said to cause illnesses. The healing rituals consist of induction of possession trance so that the spirit can be identified and questioned. However, healing does not require exorcism. Rather, a permanent relationship is established with the spirit, who is transformed into a helper. The patient becomes a member of the zar group. Spirits have individual characteristics, often, in these days of wide-ranging cultural contacts, those of foreigners (Boddy 1989).

In the Americas, the most elaborate traditions are linked to Catholicism, and African and local spirits are identified with Catholic saints. There are, however, other traditions as well. J. D. Dobbins (1986) described the Jombee Dance of Montserrat as he observed it in the 1970s. By the 1980s this ritual was dying out. Jombees are the spirits of the dead, and the dances were held to question them about illnesses and other life crises. In addition to music, there was food and drink. The musicians played concertinas, drums, and triangles, and also sang. Dancing started with a waltz and four quadrilles, followed by a polka. This sequence would be repeated with increased tempo until someone began to "turn," that is, entered into trance, as shown by disordered, darting movements. Revealed information made the presence of a jombee credible. In the 1990s, the island and its culture were virtually destroyed by a series of volcanic eruptions.

Cuban Santería, Haitian Voudou, and a number of Brazilian religions such as Candomblé, Umbanda, and Macumba are also examples of the Afro-American traditions. These religions are now also found in many cities in the United States and Europe. There are both similarities and differences among them. Many of their rituals are public or semi-public performances in which the spirits are feasted and behave in their characteristic ways. In Haiti, as in Montserrat, European formal dances may start the proceedings. Trance typically starts with the disordered movements of a dancer, who then starts to dance in a manner appropriate to that person's particular spirit with the help of music. There are many spirits: Gran Ezili (grandmother Ezili) is understood to be a powerful old woman. Her dance is called *dos bas* (low back): she is old and bent, dancing in an almost crouching position. Other manifestations of Ezili may be flirtatious and vain. The male spirit Ogou is a powerful angry warrior and behaves accordingly.

Perhaps the greatest elaboration of the South Asian ritual tradition is found in Bali, with its profusion of possession trance rituals and performances, ranging from seated spirit mediums, mostly women, to presentations of masked classical dramas in which female roles are enacted by men (here the spirits are said to reside in the masks, not in the masked dancers).There are male hobbyhorse dancers, male and female kris dancers, and most spectacularly, little girl trance dancers. They are put into trance through the rotational motions of objects, so that they perform like puppets on a string. They embody the visiting village goddess. Their acrobatic dances, performed on the shoulders of men, are not taught.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, beliefs in possession by harmful spirits have long existed in various forms, and they have made a comeback, particularly in the United States, since the

1970s. Such spirits require exorcism, which includes trancing on the part of the patient so that the spirit can be questioned, identified, and dispatched. Rarely is dance involved. A notable exception was *tarantism,* an affliction whose healing ritual gave its name to a famous dance, the tarantella. Tarantism still existed in Apulia, in Southern Italy, in the 1950s. E. De Martino (1966) reported on the illness, which affected mostly young women. It was thought to be caused by the bite of a tarantula, leading to possession by it. Although the illness was manifested largely by depressive states, it was believed that the tarantula's bite could cause the patient to dance wildly. The therapeutic ritual, repeated annually, had the patient dance to exhaustion. With musicians playing, the patient first lay on her back, then slid about in a circle on hands and knees, beating her head on the floor. Rising, she circled the dance area, holding a colored scarf. She moved about briskly until she collapsed into the arms of family members. This sequence was repeated several times. At the end she felt healed. This outcome was held to be a miracle, credited to Saint Paul. The next day the patient and others like her performed a shorter version of this dance at the church of Saint Paul. Tarantism, both the possession illness and its therapeutic ritual, was once widespread throughout the Mediterranean region.

Erika Bourguignon

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Indonesian Shamanism; New Orleans Voudou; Santería; Spirit Possession; Trance, Shamanic

References and further reading:

Boddy, Janice. 1989. *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men and the Zar Cult in Northern Sudan.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bourguignon, E. 1968. "Trance Dance." *Dance Perspectives* 35.

———. 1991. *Possession.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Casey, C. 1999. "'Dancing Like They Do in Indian Film': Media Images, Possession, and Evangelical Islamic Medicine in Northern Nigeria." Paper presented to the Meetings of the American Anthropological Association.

De Martino, E. 1966. *La Terre du Remords.* Paris: Gallimard.

Dobbins, J. D. 1986. *The Jombee Dance of Montserrat: A Study of Dance Ritual in the West Indies.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Hanna, J. L. 1979. *To Dance is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hecker, J. F. C. 1970 [1837]. *The Dancing Manias of the Middle Ages.* Trans. B. J. Babington. New York: B. Franklin.

Kaeppler, Adrienne Lois. 1996. "Dance." Pp. 309–313 in *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology.* Edited by David Levinson and Melvin Ember. Vol. 1. New York: Henry Holt.

Kurath, G. P. 1960. "Panorama of Dance Ethnology." *Current Anthropology* 1, no. 3: 233–254.

Lems-Dworkin, C. 1996. *Videos of African-Related Performances: An Annotated Bibliography.* Evanston, IL: Carol Lems-Dworkin Publishers.

Moore, J. G. 1982. "Music and Dance as Expressions of Religious Worship in Jamaica." Pp. 265–289 in *African Religious Groups and Beliefs.* Edited by S. Ottenberg. Merut, India, and Cupertino, CA.: Folklore Institute.

Rasmussen, Susan J. 1995. *Spirit Possession and Personhood among the Kel Ewey Tuareg.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sidky, M. H. 1994. "Shamans and Mountain Spirits in Hunza." *Asian Studies Journal* 53: 67–96.

TRANCE, SHAMANIC

The term trance derives from the Latin verb *transire,* "to cross over," and generally indicates a state in which the subject is sensorially detached from the world and from the surrounding reality. This condition may be either induced or spontaneous, and in many cases, when the subject in question is believed to come into contact with the nonhuman world in the course of the trance, also involves extrasensory abilities.

The trance is an important part of shamanism, since the shaman functions as an intermediary between the world of humans and that of the supernatural. In general, altered states of

consciousness allow communication with the other, nonhuman world. The authors of past anthropological studies have engaged in an ongoing debate on the phenomena of the trance and altered states of consciousness, particularly in the seventies and early eighties (Bourguignon 1973, 1976; De Heusch 1971; Lewis 2003; Rouget 1980).

As part of the debate, some scholars made a differentiation between the trance of possession and shamanic trance, based mainly on the point that shamanic trance entails some form of travel on the part of supernatural beings toward the human sphere, whereas in the trance of possession it is the human or shaman who travels to the supernatural sphere. In shamanic trances the shaman has the ability to dominate the spirit that has possessed him or her, whereas this ability is absent in trances of possession. Finally, the shamanic trance is a voluntary trance, while that experienced by the possessed is not (see Rouget 1980, 73ff.). In fact, it is not always possible to define the boundaries between the trance of possession and shamanic trance clearly. In any case, these and other studies on the subject have formed the basis for an initial attempt at classification and ordering of the so-called ecstatic religions, a category that groups together religions very different from each other, such as shamanism and African Voudou (Voodoo) with its various descendants throughout the American continent and in the Caribbean.

Most of Mircea Eliade's famous work (Eliade 1989) concerned journeys engaged in during the course of trances, focusing mainly on those carried out toward the realm of the heavens by shamans from various parts of the world. It must be noted that though the aspect of travel for the soul of shamans in the course of a trance is one of the main features of shamanism, this is not universally present, nor is it, in fact, the only point at which shamans experience and use altered states of consciousness. The trance is present in the lives of shamans from the moment when they are called to the profession by the spirits, through initiation and for the rest of their lives, manifesting itself in particular during the séances they are called upon to perform. It was most likely these exterior, more theatrical and dramatic manifestations of the trance that for many years prompted various studies to conclude that there must be some link between shamanism and hysteria or other conditions of a psychopathological nature. Fortunately, this interpretation has now for the most part been dismissed, though there are still certain tendencies that continue to persist in applying terminology and interpretations clearly associated with the world of psychiatry and psychoanalysis to shamanism and the shamanic trance in particular.

Generally speaking, shamans are perfectly normal men and women with abilities of concentration, sensitivity, and mental control in most cases clearly superior to those of the average person. Shamans the world over are usually in complete control of their own trances, which they elect to enter into and come out of at will. They dictate the duration of the trance and often decide which supernatural beings they will allow themselves to be possessed by and to which zone they will send their souls.

Shamans may facilitate access to states of trance with the use of psychotropic substances, in particular by using plants with hallucinogenic properties, such as the peyote and ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*), widely used in Central and South America, or *Amanita muscaria,* a mushroom used mainly in Siberia. They also enter into trance by using techniques involving deep concentration, in which the marked rhythm of percussion instruments such as drums probably plays an important role. This aspect has been examined in studies on the effects that certain types of intermittent sonorous stimulation produced by the sounding of a drum can have on the brain (Neher 1962), though it must be noted that there is still no convincing proof that the rhythmic sounding of a drum can produce neurophysical effects.

Furthermore, it must also be noted that, in many parts of the world, drums or other types of percussion instruments do not make up part of shamanic paraphernalia. Korean shamans use a fan, whereas in the shamanism practiced in India, particularly in Orissa, shamans from different ethnic groups enter into altered states of consciousness by merely rotating their heads or rhythmically moving a branch with leaves. A chain of thirty-one amino acids called beta-endorphins, produced directly by the human body in particular conditions, was located in the seventies, and it was discovered that these

Bodka, Mongolian shaman, singing in trance to the spirit of her mother. Tsaagan Nuur, Hövsgöl province, Mongolia, 2000. (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman)

had similar effects to those induced by morphine and opium. This discovery was very quickly applied to shamanism, as, apart from their analgesic effects, endorphins can also induce states of euphoria and altered states of consciousness (Prince 1982). These studies recognized that shamanic trances did not consist of a pathological condition linked to upsets in equilibrium and disturbances of a psychiatric nature, but consisted of a state dictated by physical conditions alone, which therefore could, in theory, be experienced by anyone.

On the other hand, it is certain that none of these theories allow a full comprehension of the significance of the shamanic trance, which cannot be understood apart from the cultural context in which it functions. More recently, Roberte Hamayon has discussed the question of whether concepts such as shamanic trance and ecstasy are in fact of any use in understanding the significance of Siberian shamanism (Hamayon 1995). Hamayon saw the application of these terms as masking the tendency, in some way, to demonize shamanism, first on the part of missionaries. Later the more important religions and the excessive medicalization of terms contributed to this tendency. There are, in fact, no words in any of the Siberian languages to describe what we define as trance (see Hamayon 1990, 33). The term *trance* is extremely generic and is used to define manifestations and states with completely different meanings, whose only common features are the physical and exterior aspects (Riboli 2002).

The main function of trances and altered states of consciousness is to allow the shaman to come into contact with the supernatural world, which explains why such states are manifested from the beginning of shamanic activity. In the first phase, that in which the neophyte is called to the profession by the spirits, both the neophyte and community to which he or she belongs believe it is actually the supernatural beings, divinities, spirits, or souls of the ancestors that send and provoke the altered states of consciousness involved. In this first phase, the neophyte has almost no control over his or her trances. The manner in which new candidates

are recruited to the profession may vary according to culture and geographical area, but altered states of consciousness are always present. Whether the neophyte is chosen by his or her group, inherits the profession from a shaman within the family, usually deceased, or is believed to have been chosen directly by the world of spirits and divinities, he or she will in any case have to undergo a fairly long period of apprenticeship during which he or she will be possessed repeatedly by supernatural beings.

Generally speaking this is the phase in which instruction is imparted to the neophyte. Instruction may take place in the course of dreams and visions, and at times may even be stimulated by the use of hallucinogenic substances or take place in the course of conditions that are perceived as states of confusion or illness. In many cases the repeated altered states of consciousness are often profound and violent, and they may be facilitated by factors such as deprivation of food, water, and sleep, exhausting exercise, exposure to very high or very low temperatures or continuous auditory stimulants such as the beating of drums and chants, and social and sensorial deprivation (Winkelman 2000, 70).

The neophyte loses his normal role within the social group, and trances, still uncontrolled, provoke behavior judged to be dangerous, which often infringes on the moral and social rules of the group. In many cases, altered states of consciousness involve cataleptic states of apparent death during which neophytes lie inert in their habitations without giving any signs of life. This particularly critical phase usually corresponds to the period in which the neophyte is kidnapped by supernatural beings and taken to their realm or places of residence. Here the candidate is tortured, often operated on, cut into pieces, purified, and then resuscitated by the spirits responsible for initiation.

The phase in which the neophytes undergo these involuntary body experiences that seem to come from outside agencies does not usually last long, though the process of initiation can last for years. The neophyte comes out of this experience a new person, a shaman, perfectly reinserted into his or her social group. The apprenticeship conducted by the spirits or in many cases by expert shamans means that the shamans can control their altered states of consciousness, once they have been acquainted with the mysteries governing the delicate equilibrium with the supernatural world, a world that from this time onward they will have to be able to control and manage. In this initial phase and up to the moment at which initiation takes place, it is very difficult and probably not correct to make a clear distinction between shamanic trance and the trance of possession, in that the altered states of consciousness that affect the neophyte for the most part bear the signs of possession. Generally speaking, the neophyte who has completed this initial period successfully will be presented as a shaman to the community in the course of initiatory ceremonies. During this time, candidates will demonstrate their skill in public and their ability to control their own trances, which from this moment onwards will cease to be a source of danger for the community.

The relationship has now changed. Initially it was the supernatural world that sought some form of contact with the world of humans and that dictated the rules of the relationship with the neophyte shaman. Now it is the shaman who uses his or her states of consciousness at will to communicate with the world of the spirits, maintaining a balanced position in his or her relationship with the latter and adopting strategies and different types of relationship with the latter for the good of the community as a whole.

Shamans enter into trance on different occasions, mainly to determine the cause of an illness or some form of calamity that has befallen the whole village or a single individual and establish the cure or most appropriate solution for the latter. Altered states of consciousness may also be used to carry out divinations, look for people or objects that have been lost, transform into an animal or another form, fight with enemies (mainly opposing shamans, witches, or wizards), or hold various types of ceremonies, particularly funerals during which shamans exercise their function of psychopomp (one who escorts souls to or from the world of the dead).

The reasons behind the uses, motivations, and causes that require the shamans to enter into trance are many and varied, but as noted above, despite the fact that external physical manifestations of the trance may be similar, at least two different typologies of trance are experienced by most shamans the world over (Ri-

boli 2002). The first type includes those altered states of consciousness in the course of which a specific supernatural being comes to the world of humans and is lodged within the body of the shaman. Shamans then assume the characteristics of the being who has possessed them—usually their guiding spirit, a divinity, the soul of an ancestor, a deceased person, or some other supernatural being. Shamans will take on characteristics, particularly when the possessing spirit is in animal form, such as a change in voice and the use of incomprehensible or unfamiliar languages belonging to another world. These trances also entail some form of possession, on the same level as initiatory trances, but the real difference lies in the fact that it is the shaman who has control over the latter and is no longer a passive participant. The shaman can now, to a certain extent, select the supernatural being he or she will be possessed by and for how long.

The second type of shamanic trance, the one on which Mircea Eliade based his work (Eliade 1989), is the journey to other cosmic zones carried out by the shaman in the course of the trance, during which the shaman's body remains on the earth and the soul travels to the heavens or the Underworld. This is no longer a case of possession but rather a state in which the soul of the shaman travels, often together with auxiliary spirits or upon his or her drum, to the worlds that, according to most of the different cultures or ethnic groups, exist above or below the level inhabited by humans. Shamans may also undertake magical journeys throughout the natural (often called middle) world while in a state of trance. As already indicated, the physical manifestations of both types of trance can be very similar: The shaman's body jerks and trembles, he begins to sweat profusely, he experiences sensorial detachment. In both instances, there is a journey. However, in a state of possession, the journey is undertaken by the supernatural being toward the shaman, whereas in the case of the shaman's journey, he is moving toward the world of the supernatural.

In general, travel to other cosmic zones is perceived as being much more dangerous than the phase in which supernatural beings come to the world of humans and possess the body of the shaman. The *Historia Norwegiae* (1880) presents the oldest account of shamanism practiced by the Saami (as reported by Hultkrantz 1992, 139), in which a shaman, in order to cure a woman who had fallen ill after witchcraft practiced by another shaman, decided to send his own soul in the form of a whale to the bottom of the sea. However, this move was anticipated by the other shaman, who transformed his guiding spirit, or more probably his own soul, into sharp poles on the seabed. The poles punctured the stomach of the whale and therefore also of the shaman in his state of trance; he died as a result. Following this, a friend of the deceased shaman, himself a shaman, embarked on another ecstatic journey, and managed to avoid the danger and cure the woman. This account highlights the dangers shamans can incur in the course of ecstatic travel, despite their ability to control their trances, in that they apparently have no control over unexpected events or obstacles encountered in the course of journeys to other worlds.

In conclusion, it is obvious that altered states of consciousness are absolutely necessary for both initiatory trances and the other two types, in order to allow communication and exchange between the world of humans and that of the supernatural to take place.

Diana Riboli

See also: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Ethnocentrism and Shamanism; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; New Orleans Voudou; Psychology of Shamanism; Psychopathology and Shamanism; Psychopomp; Siberian Shamanism; Spirit Possession; Trance Dance; Visions and Imagery: Western Perspectives

References and further reading:

Bourguignon, Erika. 1973. *Religion: Altered States of Consciousness and Social Change.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

———. 1976. *Possession.* San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp.

De Heusch, Luc. 1971. *Pourquoi l'épouser? Et autres essais.* Paris: Gallimard.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1990. *La chasse à l'âme. Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien*

[The hunt for the soul: Sketch of a theory of Siberian shamanism]. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

———. 1995. "Are 'Trance,' 'Ecstasy' and Similar Concepts Appropriate in the Study of Shamanism?" Pp. 17–34 in *Shamanism in Performing Arts.* Edited by Tae-gon Kim and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hultkrantz, Ake. 1992. "Aspects of the Saami (Lapp) Shamanism." Pp. 138–145 in *Northern Religions and Shamanism.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Juha Pentikäinen. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Lapassade, Georges. 1990. *La transe* [The trance]. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Lewis, Ioan M. 2003. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 3d ed. London: Routledge.

Neher, A. 1962. "A Physiological Explanation of Unusual Behaviour in Ceremonies Involving Drums." *Human Biology* 6: 151–160.

Prince, Raymond. 1982. "Shamans and Endorphins in Altered States of Consciousness." *ETHOS: Journal of the Society for Psychological Anthropology* 10: 410–421.

Riboli, Diana. 2002. "Trances of Initiation, Incorporation and Movement: Three Different Typologies of the Shamanic Trance." *Shaman* 10: 161–180.

Rouget, Gilbert. 1980. *La musique et la transe* [Music and trance]. Paris: Gallimard.

Winkelman, Michael. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport: Bergin and Garvey.

TRANSFORMATION

Shamanic transformation and shape-shifting has been documented and is well known worldwide, despite the fact that not much specific research has been conducted on the subject. Shamans from many parts of the world are believed to have the ability to change themselves into animals or other forms. In describing shamanism practiced by the Gran Chaco Indians, Alfred Métraux noted how a particularly able shaman transformed his soul into a bird, rodent, and even a piece of wax in order to overcome the obstacles encountered during one of his ecstatic journeys (Métraux 1967, 113). Transformation or metamorphosis into animal form is remarkably common and takes place for several different reasons. First of all, in many geographical and cultural contexts, animals represent the totem and mythical ancestors. On the subject of Siberian shamanism, Basilov reported that the link between shamanism and the more ancient cults of the clan was preserved in rituals and ceremonies; moreover, the shamanic costume emphasized the animal spirit from which the shaman as well as the whole clan descended. The relationship between the clan and the totem animal was later to be abandoned to some extent, but the image of the ancestor-animal still remained for a certain period (Basilov 1990, 31).

Uno Holmberg and Hans Findeisen classified four different types of animals dominant in Siberian shamanic costume: the reindeer, bear, bird, and deer (Holmberg 1922, 14–18; Findeisen 1957). The costumes represented the physical appearance of the animal, which in many cases also functioned as the initiator and guiding spirit, and they often included the representation of the skeleton of the animal in question. The zoomorphic symbolism of shamanic costumes was also an immediate indication of the specific cosmic area in which the shaman was operating: The figure of the bear was linked to the Underworld, the bird to the celestial spheres, and the reindeer or deer to both realms or even to the world in between these two. The Yakut and Buryat, like other groups, also differentiated between white and black shamans according to the world in which the shamans operated (Basilov 1990, 36–37). This distinction did not appear to be particularly clear, but in any case it is interesting to note that for several groups, the Tuvan in particular, one of the main spirits of the Underworld was the spirit of the bear. This is why Tuvan shamans often impersonated the bear in the course of séances dedicated to the Underworld. Another element that links shamanism to the animal world is represented by the connection to the world of hunting and the relationship of the shaman to the Lord of Animals and wild animals in general. The usage of animal skins, such as that of the bear as was the custom in ancient China, was and still is interpreted by the shaman as being equivalent to ac-

quiring the characteristics and powers of the animal itself.

A distinction must be made within the category of transformation according to whether it is only the soul of the shaman that transforms into an animal or other form or whether some form of physical metamorphosis is believed to actually take place. The different interpretations vary according to geographical area and according to different cultures, examples of which are described below.

Wolf-Shaman

One of the best and most complete indications of metamorphosis, training, and ceremonial cycle required for the shaman to be able to transform himself into a wolf was reported by Susana Eger Valadez among the Huichol Indians of Mexico (Valadez 1996, 267–305). Her account tells of the shaman Ulu Tennay, who spent six years training to become a wolf-shaman. The myth surrounding the origins of the Huichol describes that, in the beginning, men were part wolves, who lived in darkness without yet having acquired the art of hunting. One day, a Deer Person allowed the Father of the Wolves to hunt him. While the wolf was devouring him together with his companions, the Deer Person transformed into a peyote. The wolves ate him and acquired great wisdom. They came out of the darkness and into the sun, which gave them the option of choosing to become either wolves or human beings. They chose the second option, and the Father of the Wolves was the first person to construct a temple for the divinities, where a special place was set aside and dedicated to the Kumukemai Uruyare, the Arrow of the Wolves, so that human beings could always communicate with them. For the Huichol, wolves represented their mythical ancestors and were cultural heroes, fast, powerful, cooperative in hunting, carnivorous animals like man, and monogamous animals who chose their companions for life, which meant that the shaman who wished to obtain the status of wolf-shaman had to observe the same rules. It comes as no surprise that many Huichol shamans desire to attain the characteristics and power of wolves.

The account of Ulu Tennay describes the apprenticeship for those who wish to become wolf-shamans, which may continue from five to ten years, during which the candidate must visit five different wolf shrines and complete a precise ceremonial procedure, making offerings of various types. The shrines are dedicated to different colored wolves: red, yellow, white, blue, multicolored, or gray. The gray and multicolored wolves are the most powerful and the weakest are the red. In fact, only in the last two shrines, those dedicated to the blue and gray or multicolored wolves, will the candidate actually learn how to transform himself (it seems that this is a male-only transformation) into a wolf. Not all shamans reach the last level, though this does not affect their ability to become good and powerful shamans.

Only toward the end of the apprenticeship does the candidate meet real wolves, who take him to their lair over the course of various nights where the shaman learns to lose his fear and dance with them. It is believed that the wolves can induce the shaman to see various visions similar to those provoked by peyote. For this reason the candidate also takes the so-called wolf-kiéri plant *(Solandra Guttata).* At the end of the apprenticeship the wolves will show the shaman the place where he will return in the course of the next full moon. At a prearranged time, the candidate will go to this place and perform five somersaults, at the end of which his physical transformation into a wolf will be complete and he will be able to remain in this form for five days and five nights, after which he will have to revert back to human form.

Ulu Tennay, one of the wolf-shamans who completed this apprenticeship successfully, recounted that during his transformation he continued to see his human form though others only saw his animal form. Ulu Tennay's grandfather had also been a great wolf-shaman who would often come to the house with his wolf friends. This theme of the physical metamorphosis of the shaman into animal form is recurrent through Asia, Europe, and North and South America too. In California, different ethnic groups had medicine men called "bear-doctors" who were believed to be able to transform themselves into bears, their tutelary spirit, by simply putting on the bear's skin (Hultkrantz 1963, 99).

The famous Wolf-Rituals were celebrated by many ethnic groups in North America, and Franz Boas reported that for the Kwakiutl, as was the case with the Huichol, the wolf repre-

sented the mythical ancestors of the group, who had lived in times when the difference between humans and beasts was still unclear. The wolf and the marine killer whale were the most important figures in the initiation into the profession, and shamans preserved the shamanic powers of these two animals in the form of quartz crystals, which they could remove from their mouths. The Kwakiutl also maintained that the souls of hunters of terrestrial animals were reincarnated into wolves and those of hunters of marine animals into the killer whale (Boas 1935, 570).

The Copper Eskimo shamans are supposed to have been able to transform themselves into animals by whom they were possessed, sometimes assuming only a few characteristics and other times reaching actual metamorphosis, which would appear to have taken place in the presence of spectators (Jenness 1970, 193). Among the most common forms of metamorphosis were those involving transformation into the white bear, brown bear, wolf, dog, and even white man. Not only did the shamans of different Eskimo groups appear to know the secrets of metamorphosis, but some of them would even appear to have had the power to transform inanimate objects into living beings. Diamond Jenness reported that a shaman by the name of Pannatok, accused of not being very powerful by some of his onlookers, removed one of his mittens and transformed it first into a small, thin man and then back into a mitten and finally transformed both mittens into bears (Jenness 1970, 199).

Jaguar-Shaman (South America)

Shamanic metamorphosis is extremely common in South America, particularly in the Amazon area, where the most powerful shamans are believed to be able to transform themselves into jaguars. The role of the shaman, or *payé* as they are known by most ethnic groups, is seen within the society as being in many ways similar to that of the jaguar in the forest world (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, 100). The jaguar represents the sun, fertility, and the energy contained in nature. It is the protector of the forest and because of its color is often associated with fire, its roar being likened to thunder. It is also the only animal who is not controlled by the Master of the Game Animals. Throughout tropical America it is believed that shamans can transform themselves into jaguars and that, in this guise, they can take on the role of the assistant, protector, and even aggressor (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975, 43). Many groups, among them the Desana and the Tukano, believe that even the souls of deceased shamans are transformed into jaguars. This identification with the feline form is even more evident in certain tribes in Columbia such as the Páez and the Kogi, who call themselves the Jaguar People and believe themselves to be the "children of the jaguar." Araucan shamanism believes that both shamans and sorcerers can transform their auxiliary spirits into animal form, usually that of a bird (Métraux 1967, 206–231).

It would appear that, particularly in tropical and subtropical areas of the American continent, the theme of metamorphosis can be related to the consumption of various hallucinogenic substances. The Kogi in Columbia take the *nebbi kuái* ("jaguar's testicles," or "sperm of the jaguar"), which is actually a substance with hallucinogenic properties whose ingredients are secret (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975, 58–59). These substances may well give the shaman the illusion of undergoing actual metamorphosis. Once the shaman has assumed the characteristics of the animal, he may carry out both moral and immoral acts. In this new guise, he will be able to destroy an illness and interpret natural phenomena and dreams, or cause harm by possibly intentionally confusing reality with his visions. Jaguars, as large felines, are greatly feared by ethnic groups in the Amazon, and this is probably one of the reasons behind the potential ambivalence of the role of the shaman-jaguar. As is the case with the Tukano, for example, a society with a complex and oppressive series of regulations, the transformed payé may actually be exempt as shaman-jaguar from this society's rigid regulation (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975, 131). The jaguar, or payé in the guise of a jaguar, may kill and eat any man without distinction, and might also satisfy his insatiable sexual desires by raping women and breaking the moral and social regulations of the group.

Shamanic Metamorphosis in Asia

Metamorphosis is also widespread on the Asian continent. In Mongolia, the Daur believed that

certain animals such as fish, birds, insects, and invertebrates were vehicles for shamanic spirits (Humphrey and Onon 1996, 101). In this case, as with many Siberian groups, it was not the body of the shaman that was believed to be subject to metamorphosis, but his or her soul. A similar concept is present in Malaysia with the Batek (Endicott 1979, 132–141). The members of this Semang-Negrito group believe that some particularly powerful shamans have tiger bodies that they can use in the forest. In the course of the night, when the shaman is sleeping, his shadow soul abandons his human body to enter that of the tiger. In the morning, when the shaman wakes up, his shadow soul returns to his human form and the tiger form that he had adopted in the course of the night goes to sleep in the depths of the forest.

Shaman-tigers are thought to protect those people who belong to their own ethnic group, who believe that without the shaman-tigers the whole community could be attacked by real tigers. Shaman-tigers are as likely to die as normal tigers, except for the fact that, in the case of illness or wounds, they, as shamans, know the cure. But if they were to be caught in a trap, they would face the same fate as a normal tiger, and there would be no escape. For this reason, when the shaman is in tiger form he stays as far away as possible from people, especially hunters, since the shaman-tiger, who often retains some of his human features, may well not be recognized by these features and could easily be killed. In this case, when the tiger body of a shaman is killed by mistake, the human body of the shaman also dies immediately. The opposite may also happen.

A similar concept has also been noted among the Chewong in Central Pahang of peninsular Malaysia, though the shamans, the *putao,* can also take on other forms apart from that of the tiger (Howell 1984, 103–104). The putao has several spirit-guides that enter into his body and unite with his persona. These spirits are often animals, and therefore it is believed that the putao may have one or more *ruwai,* vital spirits of the different animals representing his auxiliary spirits, within him. The putao may take on the features of these animals at will and may teach their disciples or fellow beings the mysteries of acquiring these abilities, on condition that the candidate is not afraid, as any sign of fear means that all teaching will have gone to waste.

In Nepal, the idea that certain shamans can transform into animals is linked to a mythical time, a golden age when shaman had many more powers than they have at present (Riboli 2000, 49). In many ethnic groups, particularly in southern Nepal, shamans who have the ability to transform into animal form, in particular that of a tiger, are known as *gurau,* or *gurao.* At present it is believed that very few gurau exist, and it is maintained that they have more powers than other shamans.

It must be noted that shaman-animals in different cultural and geographical contexts have characteristics different from normal animals. This is generally the case when the shaman is held to be physically transformed, as well as in those cases in which it is believed that it is only the soul of the shaman that undergoes transformation. The Tukano describe the payé transformed into jaguar form as being upside down. Its heart is on its back, and the spinal cord is in the place of the chest. This reversal is to allow these beings extra protection, as a payé-jaguar must be struck on its back, where its heart is, to be killed, whereas hunters usually strike a normal jaguar on its chest.

The Malaysian Chewong believe that putao-tigers will never attack man, and when they hunt in animal form, they always keep a piece of meat to one side for members of their social group (Howell 1984, 103). For the Batek, the faces of shaman-tigers bear similar features to those of the human forms of the shamans (Endicott 1979, 132). The Chepang in southern Nepal believe that in certain cases, the souls of dead shamans may transform into animals whose features or forms are not normal—such a being may not have a face or be missing one of its legs, and if a shaman's soul transforms into bird form, its beak or legs will be much larger than normal (Riboli 2000, 48–49).

In any case, some of the human features are carried over into the animal form taken on by the shaman, who, thanks to this metamorphosis, becomes much more powerful and almost invincible. In most Western religions, animals are considered inferior beings, but in indigenous religions, especially the shamanistic ones, animals are believed to be creatures with unusual powers, abilities, and strength. They do not belong to the world of humans and in many ways are closer to the supernatural world. Many ethnic groups believe that animals have

their own social order, language, and precise rules, often very similar to those of the world of humans. It is therefore not surprising that shamans in various parts of the world, as intermediaries between the world of humans and that of the supernatural, have always sought the means by which they could acquire part of the extraordinary powers attributed to the animal world.

Diana Riboli

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Buryat Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Dark Shamanism; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Huichol Shamanism; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Malay Shamans and Healers; Mongolian Shamanism; Nepalese Shamans; Peyote Ritual Use; Sakha Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1990. "Chosen by the Spirits." Pp. 3–48 in *Shamanism: Soviet Studies of Traditional Religion in Siberia and Central Asia.* Edited by Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer. New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Boas, Franz. 1935. "Kwakiutl as Reflected in Mythology." Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, no. 28. New York: The American Folklore Society: G. E. Stechert.

Endicott, Kirk. 1979. *Batek Negrito Religion: The World-View and Rituals of a Hunting and Gathering People of Peninsular Malaysia.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Findeisen, Hans. 1957. *Schamanentum* [Shamanism]. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag.

Holmberg, Uno. 1922. "The Shaman Costume and Its Significance." *Annales Universitatis Fennicae Aboensis* series B, 1, no. 2: 14–18.

Howell, Signe. 1984. *Society and Cosmos: Chewong of Peninsular Malaysia.* Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Hultkrantz, Ake. 1963. *Les religions des Indiens primitifs de l'Amérique* [The religions of the primitive Indians of America]. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Humphrey, Caroline, and Onon Urgunge. 1996. *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Dagur Mongols.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Jenness, Diamond. 1970. Reprint. *The Life of the Copper Eskimo.* New York: Johnson. (Original edition, 1922).

Métraux, Alfred. 1967. *Religions et magies indiennes d'Amérique du Sud* [Religions and Indian magic of South America]. Paris: Gallimard.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1971. *Amazonian Cosmos. The Sexual and Religious Symbolism of the Tukano Indians.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1975. *The Shaman and the Jaguar: A Study of Narcotic Drugs among the Indians of Columbia.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Riboli, Diana. 2000. *Shamanism in the Chepang of Southern and Central Nepal.* Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.

Valadez, Susana Eger. 1996. "Wolf Power and Interspecies Communication in Huichol Shamanism." Pp. 267–305 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

TRANSVESTISM IN SHAMANISM

Transvestism in shamanism is a well-known phenomenon in the traditional cultures of the peoples of North and Central America, Siberia (paleo-Asians or northern Siberians), Central Asia, Malaysia, and Indonesia. In the nineteenth century it was already thought to be disappearing among, for example, the Kamchadals, Itelmens, and Koryaks in Siberia. But despite the struggle against remnants of the past within Uzbek (Basilov 1975), Chukchi, Koryak, and Chuvant communities, this phenomenon could be found in the former Soviet Union, even at the end of the twentieth century.

Most researchers think that the origin of transvestism in shamanism can be found in human psychology, psychophysiology, and psychobiology, which brought into being the archaic dualistic vision of the world. The phenomenon of a man taking on the attributes of the female gender is the most common, whereas the phenomenon of a woman taking on the attributes of a man is seldom mentioned.

Transvestism in shamanism may appear in several ways, from wearing parts of a woman's or a girl's dress during shamanic ceremonies to the phenomenon of a (supposedly) complete sex change. Ritual dressing as a member of the opposite sex during rites is more widespread than shamanism itself and very popular in, for instance, the practices of sorcery and magic. At one extreme, total adoption, even in everyday life, of the clothing, behavioral patterns, and habits of the opposite sex is the most vivid expression of transvestism in shamanism. However, shamans may adopt a less extreme course, changing the way they wear their hair (also practiced by ordinary shamans) and putting on women's adornments. They continue, however, to fulfill their traditional gender role; they are married to women, have children, and do a man's work.

There is also another type of shaman, those who feel the need to change their sex because of psychobiological motivations. They not only change their clothing and habits but also completely change their sexual and social orientation. Such a man would feel feminine, lose his physical strength and dexterity, and speak with a woman's pronunciation (in those cultures where there is a division into men's and women's language variants). He would do only women's work, communicate with women as his close friends, and, finally, "get married" to a man (preferably a close relative, for instance, a cousin). Marriage with a shaman of changed sex is considered to be quite normal in such societies, and usually the partners in such a marriage are faithful to each other, and the marriages last for a long time. The changed-sex shaman takes the whole responsibility of being a wife in such a marriage. Many of them start experiencing a mother's feelings; although they still are physiologically normal males, they want to have children like a woman. In cultures with this practice, the belief is that after a certain period of time, such a shaman can be so deeply involved in a woman's role that all sex indications change. Sometimes it is even believed that a shaman of changed sex can give birth to children.

Vladimir G. Bogoraz (1910) distinguished three stages in the transformation of Chukchi male shamans into shamans of changed sex: (1) change of hairdo, (2) wearing women's clothing, and (3) acquisition of women's habits and skills (involving pronunciation, work, feelings, and emotions), as well as the choosing of a husband and marriage. The first two stages are a characteristic feature of magic and mysticism specialists of lower rank.

Bogoraz observed the same transformations among women shamans of changed sex. They wore a man's clothing, spoke with a man's accent, did a man's job, and sometimes had weapons and participated in men's competitions. Some of them (among the Chukchi, for example) married young girls and fulfilled a husband's "duties": They wore a reindeer leg muscle on a stick and used it as a penis. Such a transformation in a woman often took place after the reproductive period was over, when a woman would have grown children. In the new "family," such a shaman might share her wife with men, but she was considered to be the father of newborn children.

This phenomenon reached its most developed expression among the Zuni *berdache* (Southwestern native North America). Although some of these men may have been individuals born with anomalous genitals, most were normal males (Roscoe 1991, 25). This phenomenon disappeared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Roscoe 1991, 194).

The phenomenon of transvestism in shamanism is closely connected with the widespread idea of marriage between a shaman and a spirit, well known to researchers of shamanism in the Far East, the northeast of Siberia, and Central Asia (Sternberg 1925). A marriage between a shaman and a spirit could take different forms. It might occur a single time (during the rite of shamanic initiation), or it might involve episodic sexual contacts with the spirit. It also might be a relationship with the spirit as a constant sexual partner, a relationship that required a sex change from its inception. In such a case, the spirit either filled the sexual needs of the spouse, or required the shaman to be celibate. There have been several hypotheses concerning the sexual link between shamans and spirits based on the phenomenon of transvestism: There is, however, some disagreement among researchers with respect to interpretation.

The idea of a sexual link with a spirit is certainly not always present wherever transvestism in shamanism has been observed. For instance, the Ngadzhu-Dayak and Iban, peoples of

Malaysia and Western Indonesia, do not believe in the idea of a sexual link with a spirit, but they may use the euphemism that refers to such a link to describe the process by which a spirit enters the shaman's soul (Revunenkova 1980). This fact requires further investigation, because this is not the controlled process of spirit incorporation, but rather a shaman's obsession with a female spirit—*sangiang.*

Probably the idea of a lasting sexual partnership with a spirit prevailed in those areas where the shaman actively called or attracted spirits, because, as a rule, the first spirit who visited the shaman was the one who lived with him and whose appearance made the shaman experience a strong sense of ecstasy, sometimes even openly revealed sexual excitement. Usually the partner was the protector spirit, the spirit that initiated the election of the shaman of "changed sex." The first experience of sexual contact with this protector spirit by a shaman of changed sex might be experienced during the rite of initiation. A similar phenomenon might be observed when the shaman was totally possessed by the spirit. This experience, however, was not essential to the incorporation of the spirit, whether of an ancestor, animal, or bird, into the soul of the shaman.

Once a spirit had completed the sexual act with the shaman, it might appear later as a spirit helper, or it might not appear again. The various roles of a spirit in a shaman's life are known not only from observation of actual shamans, but also from folklore known to shamans. For instance, some shamans in Tuva were able to complete their initiation rites only after they had had sexual relationships with spirits of nature, and they observed that in this respect they were like heroes of folklore who had had such relationships (Kenin-Lopsan 1999, 34–44).

Such sexual emotions are quite normal for shamans, and it is possible to explain them by psychophysiological changes that occur when the shaman sinks into an altered state of consciousness: In some stages of this process, a shaman experiences strong sexual excitement and even deeper feelings.

In most cultures, a shaman of changed sex has been considered to be the strongest. This attitude may be connected with the idea that women's shamanism is powerful or, what is more likely, with the idea that the most powerful human being is the one who unites two opposed natures: male and female (and thus high and low, sky and earth, good and evil). From this point of view, transvestism is interpreted (and not only in shamanism) as the neutralization of the opposition of male and female, or as a search of balance between two contrary natures. For people of his own native group, a male shaman of changed sex is neither a man nor a woman, but at the same time both man and woman. Androgyny, a common feature of ancient religions (compare, for instance, the way Śiva is depicted with the left side of his body female, the right side, male) testifies to the same idea of the possibility of the union of two opposed natures reflected in transvestism.

It has been noted that women in certain societies play an important role in shamanism; therefore by the way of shamanic transvestism, male practitioners are also included in such societies (Basilov 1975). The priority of women in shamanism in certain societies is explained by the fact that, due to socioeconomic conditions of women in these societies, women are more inclined to religious activities and sink more easily into a changed consciousness, which is necessary for communication with the spirits. Other reasons for the prominence of women in shamanism in some cultures are not clear and may be closely connected with sexual issues in shamanism in general. A woman's activity as a shaman is very often limited to certain age periods; during the time a woman is able to bear children she is considered to be a weak shaman because giving birth to children damages shamanic inspiration. An interesting fact is that the men of the Kolima Chukchi only perform shamanic séances wearing clothes made of the skin of a foal—clothing that is usually worn by young unmarried girls (Vitashevskiy 1890, 38).

The study of transvestism in shamanism has a long history, the first observations having been made by travelers in the eighteenth century. Starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century, some hypotheses about the nature of transvestism in shamanism have been suggested, among them the idea of the psychopathological roots of this phenomenon; this theory continued to be popular on into the twentieth century (see, e.g., Devereux 1937). Transvestism in shamanism has also been seen as connected with creative development of the

personality. It is interesting to note that Chukchi shamans are often called inspired, referring to the maximal inspiration (creative, ecstatic, sexual) they experience during communication with their cohabitant spirits (Bogoraz 1910). Usually, the first time the shaman feels shamanistic inspiration is during the spirit's first visit, at the time of the initiation rite when the spirit orders the shaman to change sex and the first sexual experience with the spirit occurs. The activation of creativity is closely linked with the development of the shaman's full trance capacity. Modern neurophysiology has been seen as providing evidence for the theory that there is a close relationship between the development of creative potential and extrasensory (shamanistic) talents (Kharitonova 1995, 239–240; Sviderskaya et al. 2001).

Some recent scholars in the field have pointed out that ritual transvestism does not neutralize the gender gap between man and woman; rather the reverse—it enhances gender differences as the shaman takes on different gender qualities. Sexual transformation is thus seen as a symbol of the fact that both men and women have creative natures, an especially important symbol in those cultures in which one of the sexes has no outlet for expression in the sacred sphere (Revunenkova 1980). Transvestism in shamanism has also often been seen as growing out of the awe felt in many traditional societies for those people who had mental and physical abnormalities, who were (and are) considered to be connected with protective supernatural forces (spirits). In many cultures shamans are considered to be close to spirits and deities precisely because of their ability to sexually transform. Thus, a male spirit could find in a male shaman capable of sexual transformation an appropriate sexual partner.

Bernard Saladin d'Anglure draws a parallel between a baby getting the name of an ancestor of the opposite sex and a shaman getting a protector spirit of the opposite sex. This indicates the significance of a shaman (or a child) gaining protector spirits of the opposite sex. This balance of both male and female spirits is desirable in order to have potent supernatural or protective power. This desirability and negotiation between both gender elements might provide a key to understanding transvestism in shamanism.

Whatever the theory about the nature of the role of transvestism in shamanism, it is clear that it does play a significant role. Wherever it occurs, it is closely linked with the essential shamanic function of mediating between human beings and the world of spirits.

Valentina Kharitonova

See also: Cape Nguni Shamanism; Gender in Shamanism; Indonesian Shamanism; Malay Shamans and Healers; Priestesses of Eurasia; Psychology of Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism; Tajik Shamanism (Central Asia); Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1975. "Tashmat-bola." *Sovetskaja etnografija* 5: 112–124.

Bogoraz, Vladimir G. 1910. "K psihologii shamanstva u narodov Severo-Vostochnoj Azii" [On the psychology of shamanhood among peoples of northeastern Asia]. *Etnograficheskoje obozrenie* 1–2: 1–36.

Czaplicka, M. A. 1914. *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Devereux, G. 1937. "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians." *Human Biology* 9: 498–527.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fletcher, Christopher M., and Laurence J. Kirmayer. 1997. "Spirit work: Nunavimmiut experiences of affliction and healing." *Inuit Studies* 21, nos. 1–2: 189–208.

Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush B. 1999. *Tuvinskiye shamany* [Tuva shamans]. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Transpersonal'nogo Instituta.

Kharitonova, Valentina I. 1995. "Rol' i znachenie sexual'no-eroticheskogo nachala v magiko-misticheskoj praktike (k probleme ISS)" [The role and meaning of the sexual-erotic nature in magical and mystical practice (on the problem of altered states of consciousness)]. Pp. 180–232 in *Shamanism and Early Indigenous Beliefs.* Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 1. Edited by Dmitriy Funk. Moscow.

Revunenkova, Elena V. 1980. *Narody Malaizii i Zapadnoj Indonezii: Nekotorye aspekty duhovnoi kultury* [People of Malaysia and

Western Indonesia: Some aspects of spiritual culture]. Moscow: Nauka.
———. 1992. *Mif, obryad, religiya: Nekotorye aspekty problemy na materiale narodov Indonezii* [Myth, rite, and religion: Some aspects of problems in the material on the people of Indonesia]. Moscow: Nauka.
Roscoe, Will. 1991. *The Zuni Man-Woman.* Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard. 1994. "Tretij pol" [The third sex]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 2: 77–88.
———. 1997. "A New Look on Shamanism, Possession and Christianization." *Inuit Studies* 21, nos. 1–2: 21–36.
Sternberg, Lev Ya. 1925. "Divine Election in Primitive Religion" in *XXI Congrès International Des Américanistes.* Göteborg: Göteborg Museum.
Sviderskaya, Nina Ye, et al. 2001. "Sposob aktivizatsii tvorcheskih protsessov s uchastiem 'sverhsoznaniya'" [Way of the activation of creative processes with the participation of 'superconsciousness']. Pp. 85–93 in *Proceedings of the International Interdisciplinary Scientific and Practical Symposium "Ecology and Traditional Religious and Magical Knowledge."* Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology RAS.
Vitashevskiy, Nikolay A. 1890. "Material dlja izucheniya shamanstva u yakutov" [Material for studying shamanism among Yakuts]. *Zapiski Vostochno-Sibirskogo otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshestva po etnografii* 2, no. 2: 36–48.

TREES

When trees are associated with shamanic practices, they reflect the mythological attributes assigned to trees in the shaman's culture. Trees represent a connection between earth and sky, one that the shaman may use to climb into the Upper World or to descend, via the roots, to the Lower World. The branching of trees carries connotations of the interconnected web of life and spirit, which shamans must understand in order to perform their work.

Generally, trees and forests represent the realm of nature, and individual trees may be the repositories of clan, totem, or ancestor spirits. Certain species of tree may be assigned sacred attributes. Since shamans believe all plants have spirits, the souls of trees may be enlisted as spirit helpers in shamanic work.

A common motif is the Tree of Life, the *axis mundi,* or "world pole," whose roots are deep in the earth and whose branches disappear into the sky. This idea could be reflected in the tent or yurt pole that supports a house as the world tree supports the world. The World Tree is a representation of reality, located at a point considered to be the center of the world, as well as the connection between worlds in many traditional legends.

The concept of the World Tree is found in myths from the Mayan's First Tree of the World to the five-branched World Tree of India and Persia. (Eliade 1989). Both the divine mother goddess and martyrdom have been associated with this primal tree. The World Tree is symbolic of the axis of the earth, and to find it is to journey to the center of creation. Modern urban shamans may visualize a tree as a highway to the Upper and Lower Worlds, and this practice is found in many tribal cultures that practice shamanism (Cowan 1993, 111).

The Tree of Life represents immortality, due to trees' long lives and perseverance through seasonal cycles. The apparent death and resurrection of trees with yearly changes, or for evergreens the persistence of green when all other plants seem to die, led to the association of trees with the life of the human soul after death. In Indonesia, shamans will climb trees to search for lost souls. The souls of unborn children and of shamans are believed to perch in the branches of trees among the Goldi, Dolgan, and Tungus (Eliade 1989).

Sacred trees commonly figure in initiatory and healing rituals as well, both as symbols of the World Tree and because of powers associated with a specific type of tree. The culmination of the Samoyed shaman's initiatory journey was a visit to the Center of the World, where the Universal Land gifted the initiate with wood from the Cosmic Tree for making a sacred drum (Eliade 1989). The shaman's initiation among the Yakut also culminated in a visit to the World Tree, where gifts are received from the Supreme Being who resides there (Eliade 1989).

Odin hung for nine days from the World Tree in order to receive shamanic powers.

During the initiation of a Buryat shaman, the father shaman symbolically climbs into the sky by climbing a birch tree and making nine notches at the top to represent the nine levels of spiritual reality accessed by shamans. The candidates for shamanic initiation must climb nine birch trees in the ceremonial grounds to demonstrate their power to ascend into the nine levels of heaven, a necessity for successful shamanizing. Dolgan shamans also use nine trees to symbolize the ascent into nine heavens during healing rituals (Elaide 1989).

Funerary rites among the Lolo of western China included the shaman's accompanying the deceased's coffin while describing aloud the soul's journey back to the Lolo race's birthplace. The deceased then entered the realm of the dead from the Trees of Thought and Speech (Eliade 1989). Among contemporary Mongolian Buryat, it is believed that trees are the home of *gazriin ezen,* the ancestral souls of people who have died so long ago they are no longer remembered by their descendants. For this reason, trees must not be harmed or harvested needlessly in order to avoid offending these powerful ancestral spirits. Some Mongolian shamans were buried in pine trees, by peeling off some bark, carving a hollow for the shaman's remains, and closing the opening so the tree could heal itself (Sarangerel 2000, 37, 40–42).

The Yakut and other Siberian people relate certain species of trees with sacred birds, such as the birch and the eagle, which was the first shaman. The Irish associated the oak with the doorway between worlds, and ancient druids were initiated in sacred groves. The oak was seen as a store of solar fire, with links to sun worship (Frazer 1981, 369). Many who seek to revive pre-Christian European religions focus their ritual practices around oaks, holly trees, and forests.

Modern Mongolians also believe that certain trees are particularly sacred due to their growth patterns or location. Trees that grow in isolated areas must have power to grow where other trees do not. Trees growing near passes, springs, or other special places are treated like shrines and offered valuable items such as food or tobacco. Trees that survive being struck by lightning are thought of as shaman trees, since these trees have survived an "initiatory experience" that kills weaker trees (Sarangerel 2000, 40–42).

The way a culture views trees and forests can provide insight into the culture's worldview, as well as give clues to the meaning of ritual practices. Trees in particular are a rich source of information when studying associated shamanic activities.

Trisha Lepp

See also: Buryat Shamanism; "Celtic Shamanism": Pagan Celtic Spirituality; Indonesian Shamanism; Mayan Cosmology; Sakha Shamanism; Urban Shamanism

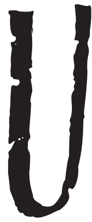
References and further reading:

Cowan, Tom. 1993. *Fire in the Head: Shamanism and the Celtic Spirit.* San Francisco: Harper.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Frazer, James. 1981. *The Golden Bough.* Volumes I and II. New York: Random House.

Sarangerel (Julie Ann Stewart). 2000. *Riding Windhorses: A Journey into the Heart of Mongolian Shamanism.* Rochester, Vermont: Destiny Books.



URBAN SHAMANISM

Urban shamanism is the contemporary practice of ancient ecstatic techniques by modern city dwellers. Urban shamanism usually is not centered on religious and cultural beliefs; it focuses on experiencing transcendental states of consciousness. The goal of urban shamanism is the same as that of tribal practitioners—to deliberately achieve and control an extraordinary state of consciousness.

The current interest in shamanism emerged during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The drug culture of that time led to exploration of altered states of consciousness through the use of psychotropic drugs. Since some tribal cultures traditionally use hallucinogenic drugs such as peyote, nightshade, and others, the initial interest was in the hallucinogen. The connection between use of a mind-altering substance and shamanism led to a greater interest in the shamanic practices themselves.

Renewed interest in Eastern religions, and particularly in consciousness-altering practices such as yoga and meditation, also impacted the present-day shamanic revival. Another contributing factor in the shamanic revival was the displacement of many traditional tribal peoples from their native lands to urban environments. For example, the growth of Native American populations in cities such as Albuquerque, New Mexico, has led to powwows where tribal drumming and dancing are performed in public. This type of direct exposure to native cultural practices is a less studied influence on contemporary shamanic practices.

Several publications have had an influence on urban shamanism. Carlos Castaneda's books brought Yaqui culture and shamanic practices into the popular consciousness. Although Castaneda's work was controversial and criticized as being fictional, his books were widely read, and they presented a portrait of Don Juan as a modern shaman. In the early 1980s, Michael Harner published *The Way of the Shaman.* Harner is a trained anthropologist who began studying tribal cultures in the 1950s. His initial fieldwork with the Jivaro and Conibo Indians in the Amazon led to his interest in shamanism, and he distilled the essence of shamanic practice into what is known as Core Shamanism.

Harner teaches Core Shamanism in workshops, as well as conducting special training sessions through the Foundation for Shamanic Studies in Mill Valley, California. Harner founded and is a director of this nonprofit organization.

The New Age movement's emphasis on the exploration of spiritual disciplines and alternative healing techniques influenced many to explore shamanism for enhancing self-knowledge and healing. Ecological awareness and the desire to heal the planet itself influenced some people to seek an earth-centered spirituality like that of the Native Americans or the Australian Aboriginals. As part of the New Age movement, a large number of books referencing shamanism and shamanic trance as ways to access spiritual healing powers were published in the 1980s and 1990s, and such books continue to appear today.

Psychologists following the theories of Carl Jung, Fritz Perls, and others began investigating shamanism as an adjunct to traditional methods of psychotherapy. Guided imagery, soul retrieval, and use of a drum to achieve a relaxed, receptive state are shamanic techniques that have been used in psychotherapy, typically with good results. As the field of psychology moves toward acceptance of anecdotal evidence, more studies of primitive methods for achieving emotional wholeness are being explored.

Investigation of human potential also dovetails with urban shamanism. Many human potential texts deal with pushing the boundaries

of human consciousness; ancient shamanic techniques have been reexamined in this context. Shamanism is still being explored as an effective method of altering consciousness without drugs, as are the methods of biofeedback, meditation, and hypnosis.

Interest in trance dancing and ecstatic movement is another thread in the pattern of urban shamanism. Gabrielle Roth's work in dance, ritual, and theater explored shamanic trance states in the context of urban environments. There are parallels with the rave movement, where achieving ecstasy through hours of dance to percussion-laden music is the goal, with or without the aid of psychoactive drugs.

During the 1990s alternative healing methods gaining wider recognition within the Western medical profession. Interest in the mind's abilities to effect physical cures led to exploration of meditation, trance, and shamanic techniques as ways to stimulate the body to heal itself. Medical professionals observed that prayer, imagery, and focusing the mind toward wellness could lead to faster healing. Rituals that use trance techniques can be used to achieve the physical and mental states needed to push the body toward health. Studies of shamanism in psychoneuroimmunology, a new field of scientific inquiry, are ongoing.

The core practices of most urban shamans are similar to those of traditional tribal shamans. Use of drums, rattles, bells, and other percussion instruments to aid in achieving a trance state is typical. Ecstatic dancing is common, as are healing rituals. Some urban shamanic practitioners may gather to seek information as a group, sharing their adventures as a way of validating their experience.

Because the focus of the practice is on direct experience and not cultural or religious ritual, urban shamanism occurs in diverse contexts. One common forum for city shamans is the drum circle, where a number of people gather in a park, under a bridge, or in a studio, church, theater, or private residence.

Drum circles vary in purpose. Participants may choose a common theme for a shamanic journey, such as visiting a specific location in nonordinary reality or seeking answers to a common problem. The focus may be on personal transformation, for example, to overcome a trait perceived as limiting, such as fear of change or chronic anger. Planetary healing rituals are common, during which the participants direct energy to cleaner air or water. There is often a sense of tribe as urban shamans gather to do their work.

Urban shamanism finds expression in the arts as well. Experimental theater and performance artists incorporate trance dance, drumming, and elements of ritual in public performances. Contemporary shamanic art, such as the paintings of Susan Seddon Boulet, appears in galleries throughout the world.

The current shamanic revival is the result of numerous historical, scientific, and cultural trends. These influences are dynamic, as is the ancient practice of shamanism itself.

Trisha Lepp

See also: Art and Shamanism; Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Psychology of Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Soul Retrieval

References and further reading:

Achterberg, Jeanne. 1985. *Imagery in Healing: Shamanism and Modern Medicine.* Boston: Shambhala.

Boulet, Susan Seddon. 1989. *Shaman: The Paintings of Susan Seddon Boulet.* San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks.

Castaneda, Carlos. 1972. *A Separate Reality.* New York: Pocket.

Gagan, Jeannette. 1998. *Journeying—Where Shamanism and Psychology Meet.* Santa Fe: Rio Chama Publications.

Halifax, Joan. 1982. *Shaman: The Wounded Healer.* New York: Crossroad.

Harner, Michael. 1990. *The Way of the Shaman.* 2d ed. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco.

Roth, Gabrielle. 1998. *Maps to Ecstasy.* Novato, CA: New World Library.

Tart, Charles. 1986. *Waking Up—Overcoming the Obstacles to Human Potential.* Boston: Shambhala.

Weil, A. 1972. *The Natural Mind: A New Way of Looking at Drugs and Higher Consciousness.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

VISIONS AND IMAGERY: WESTERN PERSPECTIVES

The anecdotal and ethnographic literature on shamanism has always contained reports of anomalous experiences in which the shaman "sees" or "hears" a sacred reality unseen and unheard by anyone else in a given social context. The literature names this class of experiences *visions,* after the primary sensory modality reported in the literature. However, this term has traditionally included auditory experiences, such as the common anomalous experience of the hearing of spirit songs. Visions are nonordinary experiences in which the private and subjective visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, and gustatory mental imagery of the shaman is described as achieving the intensity and vividness of normal sensory perception. This term is reserved, however, for experiences that are phenomenologically similar to, but ontologically distinct from, ordinary experience—they are sacred, as opposed to profane, or mundane. These different kinds of being, the sacred and the mundane (or profane), are of course not exclusive to shamanism-based societies but appear to be universal cognitive categories of human experience. Visions are perhaps best viewed as a medium through which shamans encounter spirits and sacred realms.

Historical Interpretations

Although there seems never to have been any dispute over the phenomenology of the visions of shamans, since the sixteenth century European travelers, explorers, and ethnographers have differed markedly in their interpretations of the ontological status of these visions. Western speculations about the "reality" of the subjective experiences of shamans reflect historically contingent, cognitive categories of meaning with regard to repugnant, unusual, bizarre, or "primitive" human behavior. Often such speculations mirrored Western attitudes toward the supernatural, evil, disease, madness, and medicine. Unlike disease or lunacy or apparent evidences of supernatural evil, shamanism was an exotic, distant anomaly not witnessed in the everyday life of most people. Therefore, reports of unusual ritual behaviors and anomalous experiences such as visions served as a powerful magnet for European cultural fantasies. Such social, medical, and scientific cultural fantasies about the visions of shamans can be viewed as comprising six models.

Supernatural Model

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Christian (usually Roman Catholic) clerics have left the oldest records of encounters with indigenous shamans. With the European witch hunts still fresh in mind, these observers interpreted the visions of shamans as deriving from a satanic source, and shamans as pagan servants of the Devil akin to European witches or necromancers. For example, French Franciscan priest André Thevet, who observed the shamanism of the indigenous Tupinamba inhabitants near Rio de Janeiro, tells us in his 1557 memoir that "by the end of his [the shaman's] invocations, the spirit comes to him whistling, as they say, and piping." However, Thevet then makes it clear he regards this as "abusive magic" and a form of forbidden communication with "evil spirits" (cited in Narby and Huxley 2001, 14–15).

Legerdemain Model

By the 1720s, shamans were commonly interpreted as nothing more than liars, charlatans,

tricksters, quacks, and jugglers. Hence, all reports of magical flights to sacred realms, or spirit songs, or the "seeing" of harmful objects or spirits in the bodies of patients were regarded by these new Age of Reason skeptics as pure bunk. The most famous proponent of this skeptical view of shamans and their visions was Johann George Gmelin (1709–1755), a German university professor of chemistry and botany at Tübingen who had traveled through Siberia between 1733 and 1743 and published a four-volume account of his experiences in 1751–1752. Such a view of shamans is also reflected in a play published in 1786 by Empress Catherine the Great of Russia, *Der sibirische Schaman, ein Lustspiel* (The Siberian Shaman, a Comedy).

Pharmacological Model

By the 1760s, the scientific rationalism of the era led to pharmacological explanations for the visions of shamans. Prominent among these materialists who acknowledged the reality of the shaman's visions while debunking their other claims was the Russian botanist Stepan Petrovich Krasheninnikov (1713–1755). During an expedition to Kamchatka in eastern Siberia (recounted in a memoir published the year of his death) he observed shamans entering trances and reporting visions after ingesting brewed potions made from hallucinogenic mushrooms, hence acknowledging a material cause for these very real experiences that were, in his view, mistakenly interpreted as supernatural in origin. At the time of the psychedelic era that began in earnest in the 1960s, anthropologist Michael Harner edited a 1973 volume on *Hallucinogens and Shamanism,* which revived this materialistic and deterministic thesis.

Romantic Science Model

Late eighteenth-century German romanticism influenced the sciences of that era, including the anthropological speculations of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) about shamans and the reality of their visions in the editions of his *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Ideas to a Philosophy of the History of Mankind] between 1784 and 1791. Herder reframed the shaman as an artist, poet, healer, and musician (like Orpheus), as well as a spiritual specialist and a practitioner of legerdemain. The German romantic exaltation of the imagination, particularly the visual imagination, is mirrored in Herder's emphasis on the positive, creative nature of the strength of the imagination exhibited by shamans.

Psychiatric Model

With the rise of "mad-doctoring," or psychiatry (as it was later called), as an emerging medical specialty circa 1800, a new scientific paradigm for interpreting anomalous experiences as symptoms of underlying mental disorder came into vogue. Although previous European observers had often commented on the similarity of the ritual behaviors and the reported visions of shamans to the behavior of European lunatics, the usual interpretation was that they were possessed by Satan or were faking. After 1800, however, observers of shamanism had access to a growing technical literature filled with diagnostic labels that could not be applied as "explanations" of the behavior and experience of shamans. The psychiatric model of the visions of shamans largely begins in the Russian literature of the 1860s. Following the literature of the French alienists, who dominated psychiatry until the Germans took the lead in the 1860s, Russian scholars began to interpret the visions and ritual behaviors of shamans as forms of monomania, "demonomania," hereditary degeneration, epilepsy, and hysteria. Russian ethnographers continued to rely primarily on the French psychiatric literature even in the twentieth century. For example, in *The Psychomental Complex of the Tungus* (1935), Sergei Mikhailovich Shirokogoroff built upon ideas about dissociation, trances, and hysteria derived from the works of French psychiatrist Pierre Janet published in the 1880s and 1890s.

With the widespread popularity of psychoanalysis in the United States, England, and France by the early 1920s, Freudian diagnostic terms such as *neurosis* were applied to shamans, and their visions were now seen as hallucinations caused by an underlying mental disorder and therefore a serious sign of a break with reality. The influence of Freudian psychoanalysis generated a mistaken literature equating shamans with persons who have psychotic disorders such as borderline psychosis and schizophrenia. Occasionally the visions of shamans

have been the victims of further "medical materialism" (to use William James's term) and have been reduced to neurological disorders such as the seizures of temporal lobe epilepsy, but this sort of neuromythological speculation seems to be disappearing.

Psychological Model

The ascendancy of cognitive psychology in the 1960s and 1970s forced interpreters of shamanism to rethink their interpretations of the visions that were reported by so many shamans as essential to their healing and divination work. This led to an extensive literature that explained shamanic visions as either byproducts of altered states of consciousness or as enhanced mental imagery, as understood in the experimental literature in cognitive science on mental imagery and the brain.

Altered States of Consciousness. In an effort to escape exclusively psychiatric and pathological interpretations of visionary phenomena, the "trances" or "ecstasies" in which visions occurred were reframed as "altered states of consciousness." These were unusual mental states, in which behavior, identity, memories, and subjective consciousness were altered, but they were not necessarily abnormal or psychopathological. It had long been noted by historians of comparative religion that many religious rituals around the world involved physiological and psychological techniques for inducing trances in order to enable the experience of sacred realms and spiritual entities. Fasting, sensory deprivation in vision pits, meditating, dancing, ingesting hallucinogenic plants, all were common "techniques of ecstasy," to use Mircea Eliade's famous phrase. The use of the concept of altered states of consciousness is at the core of many definitions of shamanism.

Although conceptual confusion still reigns when it comes to the various operational definitions of an altered state of consciousness, let alone different categories of altered states of consciousness, within anthropology a distinction offered in 1968 by Erika Bourguignon is still generally regarded as useful. In a survey of the use of deliberately induced altered states of consciousness in religious rituals around the world, Bourguignon found that one could group them into two distinct types, trance (T), and possession trance (PT), which were also correlated with societal complexity and certain aspects of the practitioner. Trance was an altered state of consciousness in which visions were the dominant experience. Visionary trance was found to be most characteristic of traditional, nonliterate, nomadic hunting-gathering-fishing societies in which shamanism was the primary religious expression, and the practitioners were mainly male. Possession trance was an altered state of consciousness in which the religious practitioner (usually female) became possessed by spirits during a community ritual; it was correlated with more complex societies that were not nomadic (evidencing at least the technologies of agriculture and livestock) and might even be urban. After Bourguignon's useful conceptual contribution, the literature on the use of altered states of consciousness in shamanism became rather repetitive and, by the mid-1980s, had essentially reached a dead end.

Mental Imagery. Following advances in the research by cognitive scientists, in 1985 Richard Noll argued that mental imagery was the most important psychological dimension of shamanism to investigate if the visions of shamans were to be understood. What was important was not that consciousness was altered, but that mental imagery was enhanced. Since mental imagery was being studied extensively in the lab, including neuroimaging studies that showed that the same neurological substrates in the brain were used in visual perception and visual mental imagery (suggesting the reason shamans report their visions as having the vividness and intensity of actual visual perceptions), the relevance of this new knowledge for understanding visions was obvious.

Shamans report both spontaneous and self-induced, or cultivated, visions. The spontaneous experience of visions occurs throughout the lives of shamans, but they are often reported prior to their training as signs of a "calling" to this healing profession. The classic "initiatory sickness" of many shamans that begins their role transformation often contains descriptions of spontaneous, uncontrollable visual or auditory encounters with spirits, who also often "possess" novices and afflict them with emotional and physical distress. The successful shaman who is healed from his initiatory illness is one who has mastered his spirits and who can

initiate and terminate his visionary trances at will. Perhaps shamanism is a tradition of *mental imagery cultivation* that has strong links to other magico-religious traditions worldwide. Step one of the visionary training of the shaman is learning to increase the vividness of his or her mental imagery, and step two would then be to increase the shaman's control of mental imagery. Controlling mental imagery may be analogous to the phenomenon of "spirit mastery" that is so essential to the practice of shamanism. A common metaphor for mental imagery enhanced through training is *the transformation of the shaman's eyes,* or the development of an "inner" or "spiritual" sight. Thus, with respect to the experimental literature on mental imagery and the brain, the visions of the shaman may have found a new cultural interpretation.

Richard Noll

See also: Entheogens and Shamanism; Entoptic Images; History of the Study of Shamanism; Neuropsychology of Shamanism; Psychology of Shamanism; Psychopathology and Shamanism; Trance, Shamanic

References and further reading:

Bourguignon, Erika, ed. 1973. *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Clottes, Jean, and David Lewis-Williams. 1998. *The Shamans of Prehistory: Trance and Magic in the Painted Caves.* New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Harner, Michael, ed. 1973. *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Kosslyn, S. M., et al. 1993. "Visual Mental Imagery Activates Topographically Organized Visual Cortex: PET Investigations." *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 5: 263–287.

Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley. 2001. *Shamans through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge.* New York: Jeremy Tarcher/Putnam.

Noll, Richard. 1983. "Shamanism and Schizophrenia: A State-Specific Approach to the 'Schizophrenia Metaphor' of Shamanic States." *American Ethnologist* 10: 443–459.

———. 1985. "Mental Imagery Cultivation as A Cultural Phenomenon: The Role of Visions in Shamanism." *Current Anthropology* 26: 443–461.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

VOUDOU

See Spirit Possession

W

WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY IN SHAMANISM

Witchcraft and sorcery are in many societies understood as essentially the same phenomenon, or at least closely linked; shamanism is usually held to be quite distinct from witchcraft and sorcery. Despite a clear distinction between these two categories, several lines of evidence indicate that phenomena labeled as sorcery and witchcraft have their deep origins in activities related to shamanism. The primary characteristics emphasized in the usual conceptualization of shamanism (e.g., the use of "ecstasy" and community healing activities) are very different from the predominantly negative characteristics of sorcerers and witches (e.g., causing illness and death), but some characteristics of shamans are similar to those associated with witches and sorcerers. These include nighttime activities; personal interaction with the spirit world and control of spirits; animal familiars and transformation into animals; the ability to fly; and causing illness and death through the theft of the victim's soul or projection of objects or malignant spirits into the body of the victim.

Evidence of the intimate relationships between shamanism and witchcraft is found in ethnographic studies, cross-cultural research, historical analyses, and linguistic data. Many cultures with shamanic traditions recognize that shamans may specialize in a good healing path or in an evil path of causing harm to others. Cross-cultural studies provide evidence of empirical similarities and support for an evolutionary theory, according to which shamanistic practices became transformed into what is called sorcery and witchcraft (Winkelman 1992). This transformation was a consequence of the development of politically integrated societies and priesthoods and their violent efforts to eradicate shamanistic practices. These efforts involved the persecution of local shamanistic healers by leaders of complex societies with priestly religions, who attacked local healers as witches and sorcerers to justify their elimination. Historical and linguistic evidence reveal continuity of sorcery and witchcraft with shamanism. Linguistic evidence of the ancient meanings of the root of the term *witch (weik)* reveals shamanic referents.

The Dark Side of Shamanism

The concept of the shaman as a spiritual healer has often distracted attention from the potential shamans have to use their power negatively, a use of power that provides support for the theory that links them directly to sorcerers and witches. Cross-cultural studies of shamanism suggest that shamans are characterized by a dual moral nature, having both the ability to heal and to do harm (Winkelman 1992). Shamans are in fact normally viewed as having the capacity to do both good and evil, unlike mediums, who are typically seen as not having the capacity to create evil effects. In many shamanic cultures, shamans are viewed as having to make a choice of a good or evil path, using their powers to help or harm others. But even where shamans choose "good" healing paths, they acquire the basic power and skills used in causing harm to others. Intrinsic to the shamans' healing techniques are practices of returning the illness-causing spirits, spells, or objects (e.g., magical darts) to the person who sent them to the victim. Returning the illness-causing agents can cause death to the original perpetrator and uses the same basic process by which illness and death are caused by shamans practicing sorcery.

These intimate relationships of the powers of shamans to those of sorcerers and witches

are illustrated in the interaction and relationships of the Jivaro curing (good) shamans and bewitching (bad) shamans (Harner 1973a). Both curing and bewitching shamans acquire their power in the same fashion, purchasing "magical darts" and training from other shamans. These magical darts are spirit servants, acquired by swallowing the magical darts that are regurgitated by their teachers. Both curing and bewitching shamans swallow the magical darts given by teachers. Those initiates who become bewitching shamans are those who cannot resist the desire to use the darts to bewitch when they later emerge from their mouths. Those who resist the impulse to use the dart to bewitch, and instead re-swallow the dart, become healers. Both curing and bewitching shamans share power over the darts and get their powers from the strength of the darts. Bewitching shamans cause illness and death by projecting the darts into the body of their enemies, while curing shamans cure by using their own darts to remove the bewitching darts. Curing shamans use the darts to form protective shields and to capture and incorporate the darts of bewitching shamans. Curing shamans extract the darts of bewitching shamans by regurgitating darts identical to those seen in the patient's body. These regurgitated darts are held in the mouth to capture and incorporate the dart that the curing shaman sucks out of the patient's body.

In many shamanic practices, the curing shaman may return the extracted dart to the bewitching shaman as a part of the healing process, potentially killing the bewitching shaman or client who contracted the service. And as among the Jivaro, in many cultures the curing shaman may also be suspected of being a bewitching shaman as well, particularly if their patients have incurable illnesses or die. Among the Jivaro, the curing and bewitching shamans are often thought to be in collusion: the bewitching shaman makes people sick so that the curing shaman may profit from healing them.

Cross-Cultural Studies of Shamans, Sorcerers, and Witches

Michael Winkelman's cross-cultural study of magico-religious practitioners found a group empirically distinct from shamans; this other group of empirically similar practitioners was labeled the sorcerer/witch (1992). Although the ability to engage in what is considered to be sorcery is part of the practice of shamans, shamans' principal characteristics, associated with healing, divination, hunting, and group leadership, are not typically found in the sorcerer/witch. Shamans are also found in societies quite distinct from those of sorcerers/witches. Cross-cultural data shows that shamans are found in hunter-gatherer, pastoral, and incipient agricultural societies, whereas sorcerer/witch practitioners are found in societies with agricultural subsistence patterns, political hierarchies, and social stratification (Winkelman 1992). The practitioner groups labeled as shamans and sorcerers/witches do not both occur in the same society.

The sorcerers/witches are generally believed to be only involved in malevolent activities, such as causing illness and death or destruction to crops and livestock. These practitioners are thought to be able to transform themselves into animals, to fly, to control spirits, and to capture and consume the souls of others. They may engage in other immoral activities—cannibalism, incest, eating feces and corpses, killing kin. They are generally both males and females, and may be killed for their actual or suspected activities. While they may deliberately engage in their activities, they are often thought to exercise their influences unconsciously, particularly as a consequence of envy, jealousy, anger, greed, or desire for revenge.

The Psychosocial Dynamics of Sorcery and Witchcraft

Although to some the words *witchcraft* and *sorcery* seem to be two different terms for the same thing, this is not always true. Consequently, anthropological conceptualizations of sorcery and witchcraft have emphasized Edward Evans-Pritchard's characterizations and distinctions derived from the Zande (Africa) (Evans-Pritchard 1937; cf. Murdock 1980). Azande sorcery involved the use of spells, poisons, and medicines to destroy health and property or manipulate relations of love. This is a deliberate ritual use of magical techniques to harm others. Witchcraft was an inherited psychic power that caused illness or death, but was exercised unconsciously and unintentionally as a result of jealousy and envy. Witches were thought to

transform themselves into animals during sleep and to fly about with other witches and animals, eating the body organs and soul of their victims. The Zande distinction between witches and sorcerers is not made by all societies, some of which see both characteristics combined to varying degrees.

The presence of specialized practitioners for doing sorcery or witchcraft is associated with higher levels of political integration (beyond the local community). Cross-cultural studies also indicate that societal differences in the importance of sorcery versus witchcraft are associated with specific sociopolitical conditions (Murdock 1980; Winkelman 1992). Witchcraft and sorcery beliefs are usually not found in the same society; for the most part, witchcraft (in the sense of a practice with unconscious dynamics) is found in association with more complex societies (those characterized by, e.g., political integration and classes) and patrilineal descent, particularly in Africa and the circum-Mediterranean regions. In contrast, sorcery is predominant in small-scale societies without jurisdictional hierarchies, such as those found in aboriginal America.

Cross-Cultural Data on Relations of Shamans and Witches

Cross-cultural research (Winkelman 1992) shows both the common magico-religious and ritual activities and beliefs attributed to shamans and sorcerer/witches and similar conceptual relationships, organization, and structure, illustrating their common roots. Shamans and sorcerers/witches are the only groups of magico-religious practitioners that have a major involvement in malevolent activities as central aspects of the professional role. Other types of shamanistic healers may also engage in sorcery, but this is generally considered a minor aspect of the role. As mentioned above, cross-cultural studies (Winkelman 1992) show that while sharing the aspect of malevolent magic, shamans and sorcerers/witches are found in distinct kinds of societies: hunter-gatherer, pastoral, and incipient agricultural societies in the case of shamans, and agricultural societies with political hierarchies and social stratification in the case of sorcerers/witches. Their similar functions (malevolent magic) combined with lack of shamans and sorcerers/witches in the same societies lends indirect support to the latter's origins in the malevolent functions of shamanism.

Historical Evidence in European Societies

The shamanic source of witchcraft phenomena is indicated by Michael Harner (1973b), who documented the use of hallucinogenic plants by many of those who were persecuted as witches by the Inquisition. He suggested that the beliefs about witches flying and transforming into animals were based upon the experiential effects of the hallucinogens. Although he noted differences between shamans and European witches, he nonetheless suggested that the concepts of shamanism may have to be expanded to include central aspects of early European witchcraft. The attack upon these shamanistic practices by hierarchical priestly religions is indicated by other scholars (e.g., Murray 1921, 1933; Simmons 1974; Hoyt 1981), who characterize some of those accused of witchcraft as members of fertility cults and nature religions. Fertility cults, pre-Christian community religious practices, and the spiritual and healing practices associated with women's traditions were all aspects of the supposed witchcraft attacked by the Catholic Church and its Inquisition as a part of a struggle for ideological supremacy in early modern Europe.

Linguistic Evidence of Continuities between Witchcraft and Shamanism

Weik- is an Indo-European root that refers to magico-religious practices and other activities; *weik-* is the root of witchcraft, wizard, and (sacrificial) victim. It is generally viewed as representing the negative and devalued aspects of the supernatural, but also has a range of other meanings that have nothing to do with the negative stereotypes of witchcraft, but rather point to the broader context of shamanic traditions.

The Indo-European root *weik-* was reported in the *American Heritage Dictionary* to have five general meanings (Morris 1981, 1548). In the list that follows, shamanic associations are also noted:

1. "Words connected with magic and religious notions" such as *divination, wizard,*

bewitch, the Latin *victima,* and words for animals used as sacrificial victims;
2. "Clan (social unit above the household), . . . dwelling, house . . . with derivative *vaisya,* settler"; this meaning bears no relationship to witchcraft, but does reflects the social leadership roles of shamanism;
3. "To be like . . . likeness, image, icon"; these meanings are connected with the shamanistic use of enactment and the fundamental role of imagery in shamans' visionary experiences;
4. "To bend, wind . . . turn"; these meanings are widely associated with the roots of the term *shaman* in the languages of Asia; and
5. "To conquer"; this meaning is unrelated to witchcraft, but does encompass both the shamans' battle with spirits and their hunter/warrior role.

These linguistic roots of the word *witch* have little association with the contemporary or historical meanings of the word. The roots do, however, have substantial relations to shamanistic activities and related magico-religious practices. Concepts of magic, religion, divination, imitative magic, and other meanings are more directly related to shamanistic activities than the ideas typically attributed to witchcraft. The shaman is a group clan leader. Durkheim's idea that religion was the basis for the constitution of society is reflected in the shaman's activities being the most important collective functions in hunter-gatherer societies. Furthermore, the actual practices of contemporary Wicca or witches correspond neither to the attributes of witchcraft used by the Inquisition nor the characteristics subsumed under Evans-Pritchard's and Murdock's uses of the term. The contemporary Wicca movement is a neopagan development; it is focused upon healing, fertility, and personal transformation of consciousness, as exemplified in shamanism, rather than the typical negative features associated with witchcraft beliefs. Accurate appraisal of witchcraft reveals numerous shamanic connections in contemporary society and in antiquity, reflecting the shamanic roots of Indo-European religion and the term *weik-*.

The characteristics of practitioners called sorcerers and witches originate in shamanistic healers and their transformation as their communities are subjected to political and religious integration by complex societies. Both the original characteristics of these shamanistic practitioners (e.g., soul flight, capturing souls, animal associations, nighttime activities) and the products of persecution (distortion, exaggeration, negative attributions) contribute to the characteristics typically attributed to sorcerers and witches.

Michael Winkelman

See also: "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Dark Shamanism; Witchcraft in Africa; Witchcraft in Russia; Witchcraft in the Modern West

References and further reading:

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande.* Philadelphia: Clarendon.

Harner, Michael. 1973a. *The Jivaro: People of the Sacred Waterfalls.* Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

———. 1973b. "The Role of Hallucinogenic Plants in European Witchcraft." Pp. 125–150 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hoyt, Charles. 1981. *Witchcraft.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Morris, William. 1981. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Murdock, George. 1980. *Theories of Illness: A World Survey.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh.

Murray, Margaret. 1921. *The Witch Cult in Western Europe.* Oxford: University Press.

———. 1933. *The God of the Witches.* London: Oxford University Press.

Simmons, Geoffrey. 1974. *The Witchcraft World.* New York: Barnes and Nobel.

Winkelman, Michael. 1992. *Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners.* Anthropological Research Papers no. 44. Tempe: Anthropological Research Papers, Arizona State University.

Overview

NORTH AMERICA

North America, though technically representing the landmass from the Arctic Ocean through Central America, for the purposes of this encyclopedia is considered to end at the Mexican border. Nevertheless, some reference will be made in this section to entries on Mexican practices. However defined, North America has been the home of many shamanic and other spiritual practices. The indigenous peoples of North America presented a considerable complexity at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, reflected in thousands of languages and independent cultural groups. But in spite of this diversity, certain commonalities have been noted within regions, leading to the concept of the "culture area." Culture areas are geographical regions where the cultures share substantial commonalities in terms of subsistence, technologies, economies, family, and sociopolitical organization. The culture areas of North America include the Arctic, Subarctic, Plateau, Northwest Coast, California, Great Basin, Southwest, Plains, Northeast, and Southeast. Although significant differences are found within culture areas, particularly the Southwest, many culture area commonalities are attested to both ethnographically and in the archaeological record. Today these cultures are represented in three major language families: Paleo-Indian, Na-Dene, and Aleut-Eskimo.

Prehistory: Paleo-Asian Immigration

There is a general agreement among anthropologists that Native Americans are descended from Paleo-Asians who migrated to the North American continent at least 15,000 years ago, perhaps as long as 30,000 years ago. Native Americans, who tend to emphasize their emergence here in the Americas, do not generally accept this anthropological model. Linguistic and genetic evidence indicates that the first of these waves of Paleo-Asian or Paleo-Indian hunter-gatherers arrived in North America following herds of game animals crossing the Bering land bridge between Eurasia and the Americas. This original wave of immigrants had spread to the tip of South America by 11,000 years ago. A second wave of immigration out of Siberia beginning between 12,000 and 14,000 years ago provided the basis for the Na-Dene and their descendants, known as the Athabaskan speakers. The third wave of immigration left Siberia beginning around 9,000 years ago and provided the basis for the Aleut-Eskimo cultures.

Prehistory: Cultural Development Sequences

These three waves of prehistoric immigrants that provided the basis for Native American cultures had a subsistence strategy based upon a hunter-gatherer subsistence technology. The first wave is referred to as Paleo-Indians and big game hunters. These societies, which were organized in bands, must have had shamanistic practices, given the widespread presence of shamanism in Pa-

leo-Asian and Native American cultures, its presence tens of thousands of years ago in Eurasia, and the biological basis for shamanism.

These big game hunters and their cultures were replaced by what is called the Archaic cultural tradition, beginning about 10,000 years ago. The Archaic cultures, reflecting adaptations made to climatic and environmental changes, focused on the hunting of smaller animals and relied on more varied foods, particularly seeds, nuts, and grains. The Archaic cultures developed increasing social and political complexity, attested to in complex mound building, particularly in the eastern and southern areas. Increasingly complex religious organizations, reflected in monumental architecture and public ceremonials, may have begun to compete with shamanism. Archaic cultures mostly disappeared 3,000 years ago; some, however, persisted through European contact, as seen in the cultures of the Great Basin.

Beginning about 4,000 years ago, new cultural traditions emerged, based upon complex agriculture. Contention exists whether these agricultural traditions were invented in the eastern and southwest areas, or whether the agricultural traditions that developed there were diffusions from Mesoamerica. An agricultural lifestyle based on corn, beans, and squash led to the development of permanent settlements, regional economies, large population centers, and complex social organizations. These agricultural societies, exemplified in the Mississippian Traditions, may have led to the formation of true states. Some of these cultures disintegrated shortly after 1500 B.C.E. as a consequence of the epidemic diseases that spread across North America in advance of direct contact with the Europeans. The complex agricultural societies survived in other parts and the Southwest. These agricultural communities developed other forms of religious activity, represented in priests, whose social and sacred power came to supplant that of the shamans and their successors. These priests were allied with chiefs of lineages who controlled resources, the ritual calendar, and agricultural cycles.

Shamanism and Other Religious Practices

Native American spiritual practices have often been globally characterized as shamanic. Such simplistic characterizations ignore the many different religious forms found among North American peoples and the substantial differences between many of those practices and the classic form of shamanism, observed in Arctic, or Siberian shamanism. What is known as Core Shamanism are the cross-cultural similarities in shamanic practitioners. The differences in spiritual healing practices are noted in Winkelman's entry "Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans." He proposes the term *shamanistic healing* for the diverse healing practices involving spirit relations and altered states of consciousness. The widespread and central role of shamanic practices in many indigenous cultures of North America is well attested to in the selections in this section, but some entries, such as "American Indian Medicine Societies," illustrate that many Native American religious practitioners are not shamans as illustrated by cross-cultural research, but rather more like healers and priests who place little emphasis on altered states of consciousness.

The decline in Core Shamanism in more complex societies and its transformation into different types of shamanistic healing practices are attested to in the very different religious healing traditions of the agricultural societies (see, e.g., the entries "Choctaw Shamanism" and "Pueblo Religion and Spirit Worlds"), as well as in the medicine societies in other groups (see, e.g., "Iroquois [Haudenosaunee] Shamanism and Secret Societies"). The differences of these practices in comparison to Core Shamanism and other forms of religious and spiritual healing are also attested to in the entry "New Orleans Voudou," which focuses on African-derived practices in New Orleans. Systematic differences in religious healing practices are found cross-culturally. These findings have suggested to many scholars, including the author of this overview, the importance of distinguishing the (classic) shamans of hunter-gatherer and other technologically simple societies from universally distributed "shamanistic healers," practitioners who use altered states of consciousness to interact with the spirits on behalf of community and clients.

Introduction to the Entries

The maintenance of classic shamanic traditions is well attested to in the cultures of the Arctic Circle, such as the Inuit (or Eskimo), and Greenland, as well as in the hunter-gatherer and simple agricultural societies of the Southwest and Mexico. The entries "Inuit Shamanism" and "Greenland Shamanism" illustrate the ancient linkages among Arctic practices, which are reflected in similar terms (*angakut* among the Inuit, *angakkoq* in Greenland). Inuit and Greenland practices reflect Core Shamanic features in the close links to animals and the souls of the dead, the inclusion of female practitioners, the soul journey, and the presence of the dark side of shamanism, the potential to do sorcery. The Greenland practices also emphasize the Core features of the shamanic visionary journey in "dream time," reflected in the meaning of the term *angakkoq.* Here and elsewhere (among, e.g., the Yupik), training for the profession was open to everyone. However, only those who were willing to brave the difficult and terrifying training involved in the encounter with the spirit world could hope to achieve the status of shaman, who would have to battle the evil spirits that had caused illness through stealing an unfortunate person's soul.

The importance of Core Shamanic practices—above all accessing an altered state of consciousness through the use of sacred plants—is also well attested to in some societies of North America (see, e.g., the entry "Yokuts Shamanism," as well as "Huichol Shamanism," covered in the next section). Tobacco is such a widespread power plant in the Americas that it often goes unmentioned in accounts. Other plants such as those of the *Datura* species have also been widely used in North American spiritual practices. Datura was frequently used in initiatory rites that often included all of the populace, not just shaman-initiates. The Huichol use of peyote (*Lophophora* spp.) still in the present day reflects the persistence of many shamanic features—male and female practitioners, animal allies, the ability to carry out sorcery, extraction of illness-causing objects, the use of dreams, and so on. Other hunter-gatherer groups, as illustrated in the entry "Great Basin Hunters and Gatherers" covering groups of the Great Basin (Paiute, Shoshone, and Numic), reveal the persistence of classic shamanic practices in North America into the twentieth century. Men and women alike could engage in the vision quest to obtain spirit helpers, which were often accessed through spontaneous dream experiences. Similar aspects of classic shamanism are attested to in the entry "Yuman Shamanism," where the ancient practices of the different Yuman-speaking cultures of Baja California are described.

Where Core Shamanic practitioners persisted, they typically involved people who had to maintain ordinary work and social responsibilities, rather than being exclusively religious specialists. These exceptional individuals were the most important interface with the spirit world for most societies. A theme attested to in most areas is the access of both men and women to the status of shaman, although men generally predominated. Commonalities in their approach to the spirit world include the induction of altered states of consciousness through the use of drumming and chanting. The central role of relationships with a variety of spirits as the basis of shamanic practice and power is attested to across these numerous cultures. The shamanic cultures emphasized the central role of animal relations and dream experiences as part of shamanic powers. These shamans also had ambiguous roles as sorcerers who could kill as well as heal. One theme of shamanism widely attested to in North America is that the shaman-to-be was required to engage in arduous and dangerous activities to initiate contact with the spirits. In addition to dangerous plant medicines, solitary vision quests, prolonged solitude, long treks in the wilderness, and being lost in the desert or tundra might produce contact with the spirits that trained the future shaman. The subsequent training by other shamans is found in some societies, but in many of the technologically simpler groups, the community validated the successful training of the shaman as they participated in the new shaman's practices.

The practices of classic shamanism, however, did not fare well in the encounters with European invaders. The hunter-gatherer groups, where these practices were most prevalent, were less likely to survive the onslaught than the agricultural societies of North America. In many cases we have very limited accounts of these prior traditions, as illustrated in the entry "Yupik Shamanism." Agricultural peoples have generally maintained different kinds of practices. Some, like the Pima, maintain

living, though threatened, traditions while others like the Yuman died out in the twentieth century. As attested to in the entry "Piman Oral Literature and Shamanism," Piman shamans have traditionally acquired power in songs learned from spirits during dreams. They cure by smoking tobacco, sucking out intrusive objects and spirits, blowing their powerful breath upon the patients, and singing their curing songs in all-night ceremonies. But most agricultural peoples lost the shamanic basis in the social transformations that accompanied taking up agriculture. However, in the entry "Hopi Shamanism" the author tells us that some evidence indicates that beliefs about shamanism continued among the Hopi after they became agriculturists, but the last famous shaman died early in the twentieth century.

There are many spiritual healing practices in North American cultures that do not resemble Core Shamanism, though the authors frequently point out shamanistic elements. The entries "Pueblo Religion and Spirit Worlds," "Choctaw Shamanism," "Ojibwa Shamanism," "Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Shamanism and Secret Societies," and "American Indian Medicine Societies" all provide examples of spiritual healing practices quite different from classic shamanism. One of the distinctive features of spiritual healing in these more complex societies is the presence of priests and chiefs, hereditary political leaders with religious power, more related to ritual than to altered states of consciousness, animal powers, and soul flight. The Choctaw priests and chiefs engage in practices associated cross-culturally with highly stratified and centralized agricultural societies. The Choctaw also believed in the presence of another kind of practitioner associated with more complex societies, the witch, who was often killed for actual or suspected malevolent activities. Pueblo religious activities (including those of the Hopi already mentioned) also reflect the dynamics of more complex societies, with the Kachina society dancers and their ceremonial calendar.

Another change in shamanic practices occurring with increasing societal complexity is increasing specialization, reflected among the Ojibwa in the four different kinds of shamanistic practitioners (including some who only diagnose illness but do not cure). The various kinds of religious specialists discussed in the entry "Lakota Shamanism" also illustrate significant differentiations that may occur, including the differentiation of the "sorcerer," or "witch," from those who heal and perform community ceremonies. The entry "Navajo Shamanism" also illustrates this diversification of the shamanistic role in its discussion of various kinds of healers, including hand tremblers, stargazers, and singers. With these more complex societies, there is generally a decline in the importance of the vision quest and of altered states of consciousness, often reflected in the belief that the practitioners of old were far more powerful. Among the Hopi, for example, the vision quest is replaced with a ceremonial sponsor who makes it possible for the person to be initiated and trained.

The entry "American Indian Medicine Societies" also provides examples of the spiritual dynamics of more complex societies, where "medicine societies," professional organizations and religious confraternities, have a significant role in religious healing practices. These have significant non-shamanic features—payment for training, official recognition of professional status, and organizations that control access to the profession. These societies do, sometimes, maintain shamanic features such as a vision quest and power animals. But it is normally in their mythology, oral traditions, and artifacts that evidence is found of the shamanic practices of the past, which are also a way of enhancing shamanistic power in the present, as illustrated in the entries "North American Oral Traditions and Shamanism" and "Yupik and Inupiaq Masks."

The decline, and even demise of shamanism among Native American societies was due to both internal and external factors, principally increasing societal complexity and the emergence of the power of priests, together with the impact of invasions and the imposition of Christian religious forms on native societies. The Christian mind-set of the Europeans meant that they tended to view Native American practices as forms of "devil-worship" or witchcraft. Consequently, violence was often used to eradicate these indigenous practices. In many cases, the shamanic traditions, as practiced in efforts to adapt to the changes imposed by outsiders, met with brutal repression, as reflected in the entry "Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance." A general decline and disappearance of indigenous shamanic and spiritual practices was further produced by laws passed by the U.S. Congress in the late nineteenth century that made it a federal crime for Native Americans to possess

medicine bundles and other sacred objects. The shamanic practices of most Native American groups have died out due to the drastic impacts on their cultures by Europeans, especially Christian missionaries who forbade and demonized their shamanistic practices and jailed their healers. The hunter-gatherers, where Core Shamanic practices predominated, were the groups least prepared to adjust to the European invaders. Sedentary agriculturalists seem to have fared better, with their cultural matrix better able to adapt to colonization. They continued spiritual practices that emphasize ritual rather than altered states of consciousness.

But in some societies shamanic practices have completely died out. They may not, however, be gone forever. One theme of shamanism widely attested to in North America is that people acquire their ability to develop their shamanic potential through deliberate or incidental contact with the spirits. This occurs in dreams, deliberate vision quests involving prolonged solitude, long treks in the wilderness and being lost in the mountains, desert, or tundra, and visiting sacred sites that might produce contact with the spirits. There is a widespread belief in Native America and other parts of the world that the spirits directly taught the shamanic initiate. These traditions of learning directly from the spirits hold open the possibility of resuscitation of shamanic practices in the many cultures where it has disappeared. Oral traditions served as teaching devices for shamanic initiates and others in society. These oral traditions have often survived as mute reminders of important traditions of the past. Just as anthropological records of cultural life more than a century ago have contributed to cultural revivals, so too can these records of shamanic practices of the past serve as stimuli for a reintroduction of shamanism into the present and future.

Michael Winkelman

ALASKA

See Yupik and Inupiaq Masks (Alaska)

AMERICAN INDIAN MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Priests and healers in many American Indian nations were (and are) organized into "medicine societies," *medicine* here meaning both medicinal substances and spiritual therapies. Some medicine societies resemble guilds, or professional organizations, others are more like religious confraternities. Epidemics, wars of conquest, and policies suppressing indigenous religions and practices have attenuated these societies, but in many First Nations they have persisted. At the core of many American First Nations' religious practices are portable shrines termed medicine bundles. These are sets of holy objects that embody cosmological and spiritual concepts and manifestations. They are kept wrapped up to protect untrained persons from inadvertently calling up power that can be dangerous if mishandled. Pragmatically, each object in the bundle is a mnemonic for prayers, songs, and ritual movements in the ceremony that celebrate and elicit its holy power. Medicine bundles may be privately owned or national treasures in the custody of designated priests; such bundles were central to many Mesoamerican rituals and were associated with royal authority (López Austin and López Luján 2000, 37) as well as in general in North America. Medicine societies may comprise priests and assistants dedicated to one or more medicine bundles, or may be gatherings of owners or custodians of bundles incorporating the same or related powers.

Whether medicine societies' members should be called shamans is a debated issue (Kehoe 2000); practitioners most like Siberian shamans, such as Ojibwa (Anishinaabe) shaking-tent mediums, were not organized into medicine societies, and important medicine societies such as the Pawnee Doctors' Lodge and Ojibwa Midéwiwin do not closely resemble Siberian practices. As would be expected, nations with large populations usually had formally organized societies, and nations in areas that could only support low-density populations, such as the Subarctic and Desert West, relied more on private apprenticeships and informal ties.

Alexander Lesser's *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (1933) is a classic study of a medicine society and its persistence. The Pawnee of the Central Plains speak a Caddoan language and are probably related to the Late Prehistoric (Mississippian) kingdom on the Arkansas River with its capital at Spiro, eastern Oklahoma. European incursions in the seventeenth century found the Pawnee living in earth-lodge villages, raising maize, and journeying west for large organized bison hunts. Losing half their population in the generation forced off their homeland onto an Oklahoma reservation (1876), the Pawnee were deprived also of the knowledge and holy icons cared for by priests who died before they could train novices. Then in 1891, a Pawnee preached the message of the Paiute prophet Wovoka (Jack Wilson) that the recently dead could appear in visions, urge retention of their rituals, and instruct survivors in the procedures. With renewed spirit, the Pawnee continued the Doctors' Dances and Buffalo Dance, resuscitated the Bear Dance, and refurbished the holy medicine bundles that had not been buried with priests. Lesser noted that elements of Wovoka's Ghost Dance ritual (Kehoe 1989; Mooney 1896) were incorporated in some of the Pawnee revivals (1933, 112). Modifications such as Lesser described were not out of line with traditional Plains First Nations' religions highly valuing personal revelations (visions); at the same time, normally it was important to correctly replicate icons and procedures, in the case of the Pawnee Bear Dance through meetings of all who could recall it (Lesser 1933, 110).

To take the Pawnee as an example, in the past and the present, this nation recognizes both community rituals with cosmological reference, and the rituals of "medicine men" (doctors) that call on nonhuman creatures to assist in healing. Both types are focused on medicine bundles. In the past, it was noted that each spring and fall, men whose healing power came from the same animal gathered to ritually renew their bundles; in late summer, the most learned and respected doctors jointly held the Medicine Lodge, a monthlong series of public demonstrations. Spectacular enactments of death and revivifying, such as a Bear Doctor transforming into a bear, bloodily slashing himself, then transforming back, making the wound disappear in the process, impressed even skeptical European observers. Doctors were trained through years of apprenticeship, and in their rituals they sang that they stood where their father or grandfather had stood, alluding to the vision originally inaugurating that mode of doctoring (Parks 1981, 18).

The most famous medicine society is the Midéwiwin (Midé People) of the Ojibwa, or Anishinaabe, of the northern Midwest and Canada (Hoffman 1891; Howard 1977). Holding its ceremony in the spring when families are gathered at prime fishing stations, the Midéwiwin convenes doctors and novices in a long bark-covered lodge. Members pass through a set of four ranks, at each stage learning more religious and medical knowledge and demonstrating mastery before public audiences. Each member experiences ritual death by being shot with a magical shell, the "medicine arrow," then revived by the senior members. This experience, with the songs and medicinal herbs they are taught, enables Midé people to cure illness and nullify sorcery. In the past, many Ojibwa communities had a shorter Midéwiwin ceremony in the fall and had Midé priests bless their harvest of wild rice, a staple food. Recitation of the history of the Midéwiwin at the ceremonies familiarized audiences with Ojibwa cosmology and history, providing a framework for the Grand Medicine Society.

The Cheyenne (Moore 1996) of the northern Plains held a ritual, Massaum, immediately following their annual Sun Dance, in the same great tribal camp. Massaum reenacted the beginning of close relationships between animals and humans, when the daughter of holy beings married a Cheyenne. She called forth all the animals from their dens (brush-covered lodges in the camp circle), and as their masked, costumed embodiments emerged into the open camp, people needing healing or blessing came to them. Novices could also apprentice directly to practicing doctors, forming medicine societies deriving power from one or another animal patron. The Cheyenne formalized apprenticeship by expecting each doctor to accept four novices. Medicinal herbs as well as prayers, songs, and touching with amulets form the repertoire of Cheyenne doctors.

The Ho-chunk (Winnebago), in Wisconsin, speak a Siouan language, but they shared many ritualized doctoring performances with Pawnee and other American First Nations. Early in the twentieth century, a man named Thundercloud told anthropologist Paul Radin that he had obtained his curing power by fasting, during which he saw the beings who live in a doctors' village in the sky, those who live in a village in the ocean, and finally a grizzly bear who lives at St. Paul (at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers). These many spirit doctors demonstrated their powers and manner of performance to Thundercloud, who was then able to reenact these and heal people (Radin 1923, 227–228). Unlike the Pawnee, the Ho-chunk did not hold a grand Doctors' Lodge performance; the public observed doctors' powers when they attended patients.

The Iroquois of the Northeast have six medicine societies: an umbrella organization called Shake the Pumpkin, encompassing all the members of the five others; Little Water Medicine Society, which dispenses an animal-based medicine mixed with water; the Little People Society, which invokes small spirit beings; the Company of Mystic Animals—Bear, Buffalo, Eagle, and Otter—a women's society that invokes the power of these beings; the Husk Faces, a society that uses cornhusk masks; and the False Faces, a society that uses wooden masks. These last two represent, respectively, spirits of the agricultural fields and spirits of the forest, and maskers of each are able to cure by blowing through a handful of hot ashes, then rubbing these on the patient. The societies recruit from persons who have been cured by them, the appropriate society to effect a cure becoming known through a dream or divination. Unlike Midéwiwin or Pueblo societies,

Iroquois medicine societies meet in patients' homes rather than in their own lodge or meeting room. Each has its set of songs, ritual dance, and apparel. The False Faces march through the houses in the community each spring and fall to cleanse them from disease, and the society meets at the Midwinter New Year ceremonies to renew its power. The masks themselves embody the spirits of the trees from which they emerged through carving, and so should be treated as guests in members' homes, not shut away in storage between rituals (Fenton 1987; Tooker 1978, 459–461).

Southeastern nations such as the Muskokee (Creek) and Choctaw formally trained doctors, men and women (Swanton 1928, 617–620). Swanton (1946) speaks of "schools." After training, doctors needed to fast and pray alone in the forest to secure a spirit ally before practicing, although they also used medicinal plants, as well as sucking out disease, divination, and prescribing sweatbaths. They also had methods of preparing their ballplayers for success in a game. They went to patients' homes, or performed divinations and illusions in public. About 1730, a French officer testified that he and his men asked a doctor to "make the otter dance for them" in the village plaza. The man threw his otter-skin pipe bag into the open space, then himself went "repeatedly into the fire" without getting burned, until the otter skin "was seen to swell out, come to life, and to run between the legs of the Frenchmen, some of whom having felt of it, found that it was like a true otter." Having convinced the foreigners, the otter "diminished in size" until it was once again only a bag (Swanton 1931, 229). Diseases could be attributed to witches who might be discovered and executed, as might the doctors themselves when patients died. In addition to doctor-diviners, Muskokee and Choctaw recognized rainmakers. One eighteenth-century observer described a meeting of rainmakers who boiled a particular plant in an open field where they "danced and sang," but only if the sky was cloudy (Swanton 1931, 241). Prophets, who for the Muskokee had to be the younger of twins, were distinct from doctors and rainmakers.

Pueblos in the Southwest have a number of formal organizations responsible for civic life. Among them are medicine societies of doctors. Isleta Pueblo, on the Rio Grande, had their "Town Fathers," who inducted members by requiring fasting, four days of formal instruction, demonstration of skill, and swallowing a grain of corn symbolizing the member's new "medicine person's heart." They had a meeting place with an altar holding "corn mother" figures representing each of the members. For minor illnesses, one member would treat a patient; for severe or protracted illness several members would together act as sucking doctors (sucking out signs of disease). In epidemics the men patrolled the village at night, running down a suspected witch (who might transform into an animal) and burning its effigy, as a rag doll with a black corn kernel heart, in the society's meeting house (Ellis 1979, 358–360). The Town Fathers also ritually cleansed agricultural fields and livestock before planting. Isleta soldiers (who constituted the Warriors' Society) guarded the Town Fathers, and the women's section of the Warriors' Society cleansed their meeting house and prepared symbolic material to be swallowed by sufferers from "weak heart." It should be noted that many Pueblo communities do not approve of divulging, much less publishing, information on spiritual matters, including curing, and some of the Isleta information was, in the community's view, improperly betrayed by a resident (Ellis 1979, 364–365).

Northwest Coast nations (along the Pacific from southern Alaska to the Oregon-California border) staged elaborate theatrical performances dramatizing legendary events and the relationship between humans and other beings of their world. In these nations with well-articulated social ranks, practitioners of spiritual healing had recognized statuses, ranging from simply having been cured in this manner, to possessing the highest powers enabling practitioners to kill or cure. These most powerful doctors were engaged by aristocrats to protect them and assist their political work, especially war. People would turn to spiritual practitioners allied with a supernatural being if ordinary medicines known to everyone had been ineffective. To become a doctor, a person fasted alone in the forest to receive promise of aid from a spirit being. Many doctors came from families of doctors and were encouraged to go out to fast frequently as children (Jenness 1955, 65–68); they could also frequently observe their parents doctoring. Practicing doctors had younger assistants serving apprenticeships.

When the aspirant believed association of a spirit being had been secured, he or she publicly performed the song and dance of that being and was then able to treat patients. As in the community rituals in the same area, drama was enhanced with illusions (Codere 1990, 372). Kwakiutl, the most fully described Northwest Coast nation, recognized several distinct kinds of "shamans"—"great shamans," sucking doctors, "feeler-shamans" who cured by blowing and stroking along the patient's body, "feelers" who stroked patients' heads to discern whether the soul had passed through, "dreamers," and "seers." They practiced as individuals, but four "great shamans" might meet to formally accept a novice apprenticing to one of them (Boas 1930, 1–56, 266–278). The term *medicine societies* does not fit comfortably for Northwest Coast communities, where rank and offices were central, rather than associations of individuals, nor is there any close fit between Siberian shamans and the native doctor in these societies.

Alice Beck Kehoe

See also: Choctaw Shamanism; Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance; Healing and Shamanism; Hopi Shamanism; Iroquois Shamanism and Secret Societies: Lakota Shamanism; Ojibwa Shamanism; Pueblo Religion and Spirit Worlds; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

The Smithsonian's *Handbook of North American Indians,* organized into volumes by geographical areas, indexes "medicine societies" and also "shamans," making these volumes a convenient source for summary descriptions and for references to longer descriptions.

Boas, Franz. 1930. *Religion of the Kwakiutl Indians.* Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 10, pt. 2. New York: Columbia University Press.

Codere, Helen. 1990. "Kwakiutl: Traditional Culture." Pp. 358–377 in *Northwest Coast,* vol. 7 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Wayne Suttles. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Ellis, Florence Hawley. 1979. "Isleta Pueblo." Pp. 351–365 in *Southwest,* vol. 9 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Alfonso Ortiz. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Fenton, William N. 1987. *The False Faces of the Iroquois.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hoffman, Walter J. 1891 "The Midé'wiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa." Pp. 143–300 in Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Howard, James H. 1977. *The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi.* Reprints in Anthropology, vol. 7. Lincoln, NE: J and L Reprint.

Jenness, Diamond. 1955. "The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian." Anthropology in British Columbia : Memoir 3.

Kehoe, Alice Beck. 1989. *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization.* New York: Holt Rinehart Winston.

———. 2000. *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Lesser, Alexander. 1933 *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game.* Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 16. New York: Columbia University Press.

López Austin, Alfredo, and Leonardo López Luján. 2000. "The Myth and Reality of Zuyuá: The Feathered Serpent and Mesoamerican Transformations from the Classic to the Postclassic." Pp. 21–84 in *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacán to the Aztecs.* Edited by Davíd Carrasco, Lindsay Jones, and Scott Sessions. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Mooney, James. 1896. *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Fourteenth Annual Report, pt. 2. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Moore, John H. 1996. *The Cheyenne.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Murie, James R. 1981. *Ceremonies of the Pawnee.* Edited by Douglas R. Parks. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, number 27. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Parks, Douglas R. 1981. "Introduction." In *Ceremonies of the Pawnee,* by James R. Murie, edited by Douglas R. Parks. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, number 27. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Radin, Paul. 1990. Reprint. *The Winnebago Tribe.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. Original edition, pp. v–511 in Thirty-Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American

Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1923.

Swanton, John R. 1928. *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy.* Pp. 23–472 in Forty-Second Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1931. *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 103. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1946. *Indians of the Southeastern United States.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Tooker, Elisabeth. 1978. "Iroquois Since 1820." Pp. 449–465 in *Northeast,* vol. 15 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Bruce G. Trigger. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

CHOCTAW SHAMANISM

Like many native societies of the southern part of North America, the Choctaw emerged out of the collapse of the Mississippian societies that had come before them. Between 700 and 900 C.E., Mississippian people, ideas, and sacred objects began moving out from sites on the Mississippi River. Chiefs and priestly cults began to consolidate political and sacred power by forming chiefdoms and by overseeing the construction of ceremonial centers, earthen mounds, and public plazas that expressed their corporate authority. Mississippian societies were often highly stratified and centralized, although most people inhabited small farming hamlets that were scattered across the countryside. And whether the chiefdoms were large or small, most depended on maize, beans, and other crops for subsistence.

Mississippian leaders derived their authority in part by controlling outside sources of power. Whether they obtained rare minerals from the Great Lakes region or kindled fires from the divine sun, chiefs and priests mediated between the insiders they governed and the outsiders who lurked on the borders of their chiefdoms. Hernando de Soto's expedition across the southern part of North America in the early 1540s brought Europeans into the Mississippian world. Such contacts also introduced diseases that decimated the Mississippians. In response to the ravages of disease and the subsequent collapse of the Mississippian chiefdoms, the chiefs and cults fell out of power, and the survivors dispersed.

Several remnant populations coalesced in present-day Mississippi in a number of towns along the Pearl, Chickasawhay, and Tombigbee Rivers. When the French founded Biloxi and Mobile in the late 1600s and early 1700s, they called the inhabitants of several such towns Choctaw, and over the course of the eighteenth century the Choctaw nation began to take shape.

In the eighteenth century Choctaw lived in towns. Women typically farmed and lived in the inside world, while men hunted and warred in the outside world. People traced their kinship through their mother, and generally maternal clans educated children, while fathers played a more distant role in their children's upbringing. Men usually moved in with their wives' clans and depended upon the clans for food, clothing, and shelter. Political power and religious authority had become more decentralized in comparison to Mississippian times, but equally ancient notions of power and its sources persisted.

Owing to their Mississippian past, Choctaw tended to regard outsiders and outside forces as having particularly strong sacred powers. When they scanned the forests that surrounded their towns, for example, they saw the homes and haunts of a variety of monstrous creatures, which often mixed either male and female forms or human and animal forms in the same body. Despite their violation of Choctaw taboos against such mixing, these creatures could provide individuals with special powers. Choctaw who lived in Louisiana in the early twentieth century, for example, reported that monsters like Nalusa Falaya could transform good men into evil ones by trapping them in the forest, causing them to faint, and then pricking them with a magic thorn.

For medical knowledge, people turned to Kwanokasha, a man the size of a small boy who

lived in a cave hidden in rough country. Kwanokasha hunted for children in the forest. He took little boys and girls back to his cave where he introduced them to three spirits. Each spirit presented the children with different gifts. One offered a knife, one offered poisonous plants, and the third offered good medicine. Children who accepted the knife would grow up to become murderers, those who took the poisonous plants were destined to be witches, and those few who took the good medicine would be trained by the spirits to become doctors.

Newcomers like the Spanish, French, and English only enhanced the range of powers Choctaw could locate in the outside world. The black-robed Jesuit priests who arrived in the Lower Mississippi Valley in the early eighteenth century to spread the Catholic faith offered conspicuous kinds of power of the same sort that Nalusa Falaya and Kwanokasha had offered. In one instance, a group of warriors stole some of the priest's sacred objects to use in their own dances and ceremonies. One hunter approached a Jesuit to ask for help in the hunt. Father Nicholas Lefevre was happy to baptize the young man, but was shocked when the hunter returned and demanded that his baptism be reversed because the Jesuit's magic had not given him a successful hunt.

Whereas the French tended to have good relations with the Choctaw, the English did not. In the late 1690s English traders had instigated Chickasaw slave raids against the Choctaw. Hundreds of Choctaw were captured and enslaved. While guns gave English allies the upper hand in the slave raids, the traders' command of sacred power threated the Choctaw nation's livelihood. In 1730 one chief charged an Englishman with impregnating a shipment of blankets with a medicine made from cane sugar. The medicine, the chief alleged, had caused smallpox to spread throughout the nation. The chief went on to denounce the genocidal intent of the English shamans and attributed all of the problems he and his people were having to their malicious work.

If the sources of shamanism as Choctaw understood them typically came from outside their world, practitioners often used their powers to address problems inside their society. Shamans, for example, conjured the ancient Mississippian image of the circle and cross to invoke the powers and forces of the universe. To conjure rain in times of drought the shaman would leave town and enter the forest where he or she would clear an open space for the ceremonies. Within the clearing the shaman traced on the ground a large circle enclosing a cross and then stood over the image. For four days and four nights the shaman called on the wind and water spirits to bring back the rain to the parched fields of maize.

Political leaders also sought the power that came through contact with outsiders in order to strengthen their nation. In the late eighteenth century a prophet-chief named Taboca gained tremendous authority through his mastery of sacred spaces and the power of the sun. He was also well connected with settler society, having traveled more widely than any of his contemporaries. He demonstrated his wisdom and sacred power by forging a relationship with the United States. In January 1786 Taboca led his fellow Choctaw in an eagle tail dance to demonstrate their peaceful intentions and the high regard in which they held the American commissioners. At the conclusion of the dance, Taboca presented the Americans with embers from a sacred fire kindled in the Choctaw nation. He then took embers from the American fire to take back to his home. The exchange of fires thus bound the two peoples together under the watchful gaze of the Sun, and the shaman Taboca had made it all possible.

Choctaw shamans, however, did not always work in what the public took to be its best interests. Depending on how people perceived the workings of the shaman's cures or poisons, they could be identified as helpful healers and seers or as witches to be driven by death or by flight out of their communities. In the 1810s and 1820s, for example, Choctaw suffered under enormous stress as the United States attempted to acquire their land, convert them to Christianity, and change their way of life. The stresses and strains that Choctaw experienced unleashed an outburst of attacks against shamans who had, for whatever reason, been identified as witches. Known as "man killers" and "spoilers of things sacred," these dark shamans threatened the security of the society. Opponents charged that while appearing as normal people in the daytime, these shamans shed their bodily forms at night and floated through air as glowing apparitions. Wherever

they flew they shot arrows imbued with the medicine of misfortune, illness, and accidents. After the execution of a handful of such people the situation got so bad that people began to flee their towns for fear of being accused, and Protestant missionaries and Choctaw officials struggled to put a stop to the killings.

No matter their power, however, the arrows that delivered the shamans' bad medicine could not, according to popular belief at the time, harm people who descended from both European and Choctaw parents. Why such people were immune to the arrows is unclear, but perhaps they represented an outside force whose strength was beyond the witches' malevolent power. Chiefs who shared Euroamerican and Choctaw ancestry believed every bit as much as did common folk in the disruptive powers of shamans, and perhaps even saw those shamanistic powers as inimical to their own political and religious programs. In 1829 Greenwood LeFlore, David Folsom, and other chiefs who sat on the national council passed a law empowering anyone who found the glowing entrails that dark shamans left behind while they flew about through the night to put the shaman to death.

If LeFlore and other leaders of the 1820s and 1830s sought to fight witchcraft, they cast Christianity as an alternate form of shamanistic power in order to save their people from the pressures of the outside world. At camp meetings throughout the Choctaw nation in the 1820s, people began having visions of their newfound sacred power. One man, for example, told a group that had gathered to hear religious testimony that he had seen himself born and raised in a dark wilderness. While pushing through bushes and brambles, the man came upon a candle's light, the power of Christianity, and he immediately made his way to the light to seize the new source of power. Another man had to swim up from a muddy river to see the light.

The power these men claimed by seeing the light was new, but it fit within older traditions about the nature of power, goodness, and badness. The association of the new power with dark locations in forests and rivers, far away from human habitation, echoed Kwanokasha's cave where the spirits offered children knowledge of knives, or poisons, or medicines. If Choctaw understanding of how shamanistic power worked and where its sources lay persisted throughout the contact period, the expression of both the power and its origins nevertheless had changed to reflect the changing world they inhabited.

James Taylor Carson

See also: Christianity and Shamanism; Colonialism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Carson, James. 1999. *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. 1992. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Galloway, Patricia. 1995. *Choctaw Genesis, 1500–1700.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Hudson, Charles. 1976. *The Southeastern Indians.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Kidwell, Clara Sue. 1995. *Choctaws and Missionaries in Mississippi, 1818–1918.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

O'Brien, Greg. 2002. *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750–1830.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Whitehead, Neil. 2002. *Dark Shamans: Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

ESKIMO SHAMANISM

See Inuit Shamanism (Central Arctic)

GHOST DANCE AND PROPHET DANCE

The Ghost Dance and the multitude of Prophet Dances of the indigenous peoples of North America are a special category of the larger phenomenon of shamanic experience. The core of shamanism, as this encyclopedia points out in myriad ways, is the experience of

going to a spirit world and being shown visions or given songs that are taken back and shared with one's community in ceremony or used in individual healing rites. The Prophet Dances and the Ghost Dance refer to shamanic experience particularly shortly before or after the contact period; the vision relates to how the Native American community is to act, dance, and sing to avert the prophesied or already all too present dangers of change, disruption, and disease. After the decimation of the buffalo and the Plains way of life, the Ghost Dance was developed to bring back the ancestors and the game and to make the whites disappear (Mills 1982, Mooney 1965). Prophecies and accompanying rites assuredly occurred in the millennia prior to 1492. Indeed many Native Americans speak of the present world as the fourth world, implying that others have come and gone, or emerged and been transformed before; most shamanic cultures have or have had group rites to maintain world harmony (Mills 1982, 1986). However, the major elements of the Prophet and Ghost Dances were in response to the existing or prophesied advent of Eurocentric colonization and its threat to the indigenous way of life.

The first phenomenon that reflects a prophetic movement was the League of the Iroquois, which is said to have occurred before or soon after white contact (Mills 1982). This movement did not predict the end of the world but rather the beginning of a new era in which great peace would prevail through the formation of the League of the Iroquois, or Ho-Do-Nau-Sau-Nee. This message of the Iroquois prophet Dekangivida, who is believed to have given it before any contact with Europeans, was spread by the now legendary Hiawatha. But as settler society moved in, peace and harmony did not prevail; therefore, new Prophet Dances emerged. The Delaware and Shawnee Prophet Dances of 1760 and 1790 among the Eastern Algonquian Indians occurred after the Delaware tribe was forced to move from the Atlantic seaboard, their aboriginal home, to the Ohio and Susquehanna Rivers; the dances were associated with military attempts to oust or curb the influx of whites. These hopes met military defeat, and these eastern Indians were moved onto reserves in Kansas and Oklahoma (Thurman 1973). The Iroquois were never so displaced; they experienced a period of cultural degradation, during which a new Seneca prophet named Handsome Lake emerged in 1799 offering a new economic base consonant with white society and a new ethic that said they "must cease drinking, quarrelling and witchcraft" (Wallace 1966, 32). The Handsome Lake religion soon became amalgamated with the older traditional religion and remains active today; its followers are known as the People of the Long House. A less Christianzed group of traditionals is also active. In the Northwest Plateau areas of southern British Columbia and the state of Washington, a Prophet Dance emerged prior to local contact with Europeans, spreading to California and the Great Basin, where it reemerged as the Ghost Dance of 1870 and 1890, responding to the drastic change produced by contact with Europeans.

Leslie Spier (1935) noted that this Prophet Dance grew out of aboriginal shamanic thought in the Northwest Plateau area, which was the center of prophet movements that often predated contact. The Plateau Prophet Movement typically included a dance and moral precepts, particularly the precept of nonviolence, adherence to which would avert disaster and the end of the world. The further northward spread of the Prophet Dance was part of what Spier calls the second Christianized form of the Prophet Dance, which dates from 1820 to 1836. The prophetic visions of the Witsuwit'en prophet Bini, dated variously from 1830 to 1870, spread through the Gitxsan and Tsimshian to the Tlingit and Haida. Bini, having come back to life after many days of apparent death, foretold the coming of the horse, trains, airplanes, and priests, or "black robes" (Jenness 1943; Mills 1982, 104–108; Mills 1994, 166–170; Spier 1935, 39).

The prophets of the Sekani (Jenness 1937), as of the Beaver or Dunneza (Mills 1982, Ridington 1978), introduced dances and predictions of change and counsel about making peace. Carrier prophets (between the Sekani and Witsuwit'en) included a woman, Nokskan, whose counsel reflected or presaged the Durieu system of corporal punishments introduced by Oblate missionaries (Jenness 1943, 550). While the Christianized version was spreading northward to the Mackenzie River Athapaskans, the Prophet Dances were spreading almost like wildfire to the south, southeast, and southwest of the Interior Plateau. The Smohalla cult of

1860, the Ghost Dance of 1870, the Shaker religion begun in 1882, and the Ghost Dance that culminated in the Battle of Wounded Knee of 1890 were all part of this movement. The nexus spread to California and manifested as the Earth Lodge and Bole-Maru practices (DuBois 1939). In 1889 Wovoka, the Paiute Ghost Dance visionary, forged the classic Ghost Dance, which quickly spread to the Plains (Jorgensen 1986, Mooney 1965).

Sherman Alexie starts his story "Distances" with the following epigram, attributing it to "Wovoka, the Paiute Ghost Dance Messiah": "All Indians must dance, everywhere, keep on dancing. Pretty soon in next spring Great Spirit come. . . . The game be thick everywhere. All dead Indians come back and live again. . . . White can't hurt Indians then. Then . . . big flood comes like water and all white people die, get drowned. After that, water go away and then nobody but Indians everywhere and game all kinds thick" (Alexie 1993, 104).

These words catch the essence of the prophetic vision that fueled the Ghost Dance of 1890. The Ghost Dance was practiced with fervor by those whose relatives had died in droves; it was the only dance where the practitioners themselves fell unconscious and experienced reunion with their deceased relatives. The Oglala Sioux visionary Black Elk's connection with the Ghost Dance bespeaks the interpenetration of the shamanic tradition with the Ghost Dance: As a child of nine (in 1872) Black Elk, when sick unto death, had a major prophetic vision of the breaking of the sacred hoop of the Sioux Nation, and of the larger order, and of the hoop's eventual reconstruction. Black Elk was instructed by an elder to turn his vision into a dance complex. Later he traveled to Canada with Sitting Bull; later both Sitting Bull and Black Elk joined Wild Bill Cody's Wild West show and traveled to Europe. Returned, in 1889 Black Elk encountered the Ghost Dance as practiced at Wounded Knee. Initially skeptical of the Ghost Dance, when Black Elk observed it he was surprised at how closely elements of the Ghost Dance resembled his great vision. He received a vision of holy shirts made and painted in a certain way. Known as Sun Dance shirts, they became part of the Ghost Dance. The wearers believed the Sun Dance shirts would protect them from bullets. The Ghost Dance was outlawed in part due to the misperception that the demise of the white people was to happen through armed assault. Black Elk was camped nearby on December 29, 1890, when the U.S. 7th Calvary moved in and killed men, women, and children gathered to practice the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee (Jorgensen 1986; Neihardt 1988). Black Elk said, "Something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream" (cited in Neihardt 1988, 230).

Tradition and Continuity of the Ghost Dance

It is by no means clear that these dances have completely ceased to be practiced. Not only do writers evoke them in powerful stories of renewal and hope, the heirs of the dance tradition still play an important role in some places.

Sherman Alexie (1993, 104–109) poses the Ghost Dance vision at the beginning of a story that evokes a future time when something unnamed has decimated most of the white men and most of the Indians are still alive; the Urban Indians are returning to the reserve where they are dying off. There Tremble Dancer, an Urban Indian, dances as her limbs fall off. The Tribal Council says the Skins, those who lived on the reservation, cannot marry the Urbans. The Others come from a thousand years ago, and the tallest takes Tremble Dancer, who comes back with a big belly: Salmon flop from her. James Sakej Youngblood Henderson took the imagery a step further, resonating beyond, beneath, around, and through the apparent defeat at Wounded Knee. Henderson said, "Post-colonial Ghost Dancing" was and is "not a messianic movement but a sustained vision of how to resist colonization" (2000, 57). In Henderson's vision, the dances placed the spirits "back into deep caves of Mother Earth, where they would be immune from the colonizers' strategies and techniques" (58). He saw these forces, like Alexie's Others, forging a Dance that renews the ecological forces that re-create traditional consciousness, which in turn will bring about an Aboriginal (as ecological) renewal.

In the east, the Handsome Lake Long House is still active, although there are tensions between the Handsome Lake followers and the Traditionalists. In California, Cora DuBois (1939) depicted the prophetic movements as

dying out. However, in 1993 Greg Sarris told the story of their continuation, describing the California context in the lives of Mabel McKay and her mentor. North of the Plateau area, the Beaver, or Dunneza, in British Columbia had a series of prophets; the last one passed away in 1977. They continue to practice the Prophet Dance as a funeral rite and as a community renewal, as in Treaty 8 Days, or Doig/Halfway Days. The person picked out by Charlie Yahey, the last Beaver/Dunneza prophet, as his potential successor as prophet, plays a different role. This leader and sometimes elected chief has had the out-of-body experiences when seriously ill that are the usual starting point for prophetic vision and experience of new song; he sings the old songs strongly. But he has not brought back any new songs, although he seeks out seclusion and receives messages at times of greatest trial. His message is adapted for contemporary society: He practices and encourages sobriety, bolstered by born-again Christian ceremony and rhetoric (Mills 1986). In the Northwest (southwest of the Beaver) Bini, the Witsuwit'en, or Western Carrier, prophet is noted as returned or reincarnated in the form of an elder who was and is a community leader and hereditary chief, one among the many who launched the ground breaking Delgamuukw land claims court case, asking for recognition of ownership and jurisdiction over 22,000 square miles of their traditional territory (Mills 1994). Bini-come-back practices Catholic rites and sometimes born-again rites, but especially the ritual of the potlatch, which empowers the chiefs to continue to steward the resources of their territories.

On the Northern Plains, Ghost Dancing has rolled into the resurgence of the Sun Dance, which Henderson portrayed as truly infusing ancient power into the universe and which anthropologist Jorgensen termed "giving power to the powerless." The Sun Dance and its accompanying sweat lodge ceremonies have spread widely from the Plains, so that some of its rites and sweats are practiced in most of North America, including in the geographic area of the potlatch, which has likewise been resurrected, after having been outlawed from 1886 to 1950. The American Indian Movement (AIM) sit-in at Wounded Knee in 1973 represented a form of postcolonial or countercolonial Ghost Dancing created by the joining together of young activists such as Mikmaq Ana Mae Aquash, Dennis Banks, and Russell Means with traditional spiritual leaders. Leonard Peltier, the AIM activist serving time for the shooting of a CIA agent, although Amnesty International states that there is no evidence that he is responsible, represents a continuing legacy of the Ghost Dance and of Wounded Knee (Matthiessen 1983). Note that the Lakota Sioux commemorated the passing of seven generations (the equivalent of a hundred years) since the Battle at Wounded Knee, not with a Ghost or Sun Dance per se, but with ceremony and song surrounding a memorial ride on horseback from the place where Bigfoot was killed to the site where the survivors fled from Wounded Knee. This communal memorial horseback ride took several weeks and was repeated for four years (Rhine 1992).

Mooney noted that the Ghost Dance did not spread to the Pueblo people, yet in 1976 the Hopi led a three-day Earth Healing dance and ceremony in Vancouver British Columbia in conjunction with the UN Habitat Forum (Mills 1982). They were impelled to do so by the prophecies of their elders, which they say are from the time before Euro-American contact. The prophecies say that they must deliver the message to the world represented by the United Nations that the earth must be respected by its inhabitants or the earth will be destroyed. The message is different from the Ghost Dance; the whites do not disappear; on the contrary the necessity is to reach and teach the encompassing cultures and nations of the world to listen to and care for the earth, to reestablish what Black Elk called the sacred hoop. The Hopi felt satisfied that they were allowed to deliver this message to the UN Habitat Forum, after having been refused an audience twice, first by the World Congress of Religions, and the second by the United Nations Assembly in New York.

Anthony Wallace (1956) provided a model of the prophet as someone who articulates a resolution to a crisis that a large portion of the people are experiencing. Note how Wallace's model differs from an indigenous one, as articulated by Henderson, who saw the spirit forces as real and resurgent and the apparent victory of the colonizer, in the massacre at Wounded Knee as elsewhere, as illusory, temporary. The Ghost Dancers efforts, Henderson said, "were a

The Ghost Dance by the Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge Agency. Kakota/Frederic Remington, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, 1890. (Library of Congress)

noble sacrifice for future generations"(Henderson 2000, 58). The Dance of the Ghosts, as Henderson and others imply, is far from ended.

Antonia Mills

See also: American Indian Medicine Societies; Ecology and Shamanism; Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Shamanism and Secret Societies; Lakota Shamanism; Messianism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Alexie, Sherman. 1993. *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven.* New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

DuBois, Cora. 1939. "The 1870 Ghost Dance." *Anthropological Records* 3, no. 1: 1–151.

Henderson, James (Sakej) Youngblood. 2000. "Post-Colonial Ghost Dancing." In *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision.* Edited by Marie Battiste. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.

Jenness, Diamond. 1937. *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia.* Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude.

———. 1943. "The Carrier Indians of the Bulkley River: Their Social and Religious Life." Washington, DC: Anthropological Papers no. 25, BAE Bulletin 133.

Jorgensen, Joseph G. 1972. *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless.* Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

———. 1986. "Ghost Dance, Bear Dance, and Sun Dance." Pp. 660–672 in *Great Basin*, vol. 11 in *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Matthiessen, Peter. 1983. *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse.* New York: Viking Press.

Mills, Antonia. 1982. "The Beaver Indian Prophet Dance and Related Movements among North American Indians." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.

———. 1986. "The Meaningful Universe: Intersecting Forces in Beaver Indian Cosmology and Causality." *Culture* 6, no. 2: 81–91. Reprint, pp. 226–233 in *The First Ones: Readings in Indian/Native Studies.* Edited by David Miller, Carl Beal, James Dempsey, and R. Wesley Heber. Piapot Reserve #75: Saskatchewan Indian Federated College Press, 1992.

———. 1994. *Eagle Down Is Our Law: Witsuwit'en Law Feasts and Land Claims.* Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
Mooney, James. 1965. Reprint. *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Original edition, 1892.
Neihardt, John G. 1988. Reprint. *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of A Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Original edition, 1932.
Rhine, Gary, producer. 1992. *Wiping the Tears of Seven Generations.* Video-recording. San Francisco, CA: Kifaru Productions.
Ridington, Robin. 1978. *Swan People: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance.* Ottawa: National Museum of Civilization.
Sarris, Greg. 1993. *Keeping Slug Woman Alive.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Spier, Leslie. 1935. *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance.* Menasha, WI: George Banta.
Thurman, Melburn D. 1973. "The Delaware Indians: A Study in Ethnohistory." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara.
Wallace, Anthony F. C. 1956. "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist* 58: 268–274.
———. 1966. *Religion: An Anthropological Overview.* New York: Random House.

GREAT BASIN HUNTERS AND GATHERERS

Shamanism in the North American Great Basin is a complex of beliefs and practices concerned with health, magic, and the sacred among the indigenous Numic-speaking hunters and gatherers. Concepts and knowledge of curing, disease, witchcraft, and sorcery are organized in an implicit ritually defined context.

The Numic-speaking peoples are grouped by tribal affiliation and linguistic criteria; they include Northern Paiute and Mono (Western Numic), Western Shoshone, Northern Shoshone, Eastern Shoshone, and Comanche (Central Numic), and the Southern Paiute and Ute (Southern Numic). Past and current distributions of Numic populations covered a large area in the Far West and Midwest. By the late 1800s, the Numa were situated either on reservations or in colonies within Nevada and Utah, eastern California, southern Oregon and southern Idaho, western Wyoming, southern Colorado, and southern Oklahoma.

Economic and political aspects of Numic culture have been characterized at three levels: nuclear family or family clusters, patrilineal bands, and composite bands (Steward 1938, 1955, 1970). Within these parameters, sociocultural variation within the Numic-speaking populations is at a maximum, and a distinct individualism prevails (Liljeblad 1986, 641). This individuality is largely responsible for the great variation in cultural forms and social structures. Elements and components of shamanism (novices and masters, shamanistic beliefs and customs, practices and traditions, sacred rituals and ceremonies) differ largely by locality and dialect (Miller 1986, 99–100). Due to their public nature, curing performances are common experiences, and therefore the novice is familiar with the performance procedures and techniques for healing. There are no initiations, secret societies, or other organizations to which shamans belong. Usually, competition and contest mark the relationship among shamans (Park 1938, 45–46; Whiting 1950, 38–42).

Shamanic Power

Whether unsolicited, inherited, or from a voluntary quest, shamanic power can be obtained by both men and women in Numic culture. Although women might have powers as great as their male counterparts, outstanding male practitioners generally outnumber women. As recipients of power *(puha* or *buha),* shamans may enlist help from a myriad of supernatural agents, such as animals, supernatural beings, or environmental phenomena, to act as spirit helpers or guardian spirits (Kelly 1936, 129; 1938, 151; Miller 1983, 69; Park 1938, 15; Whiting 1950, 27–32).

Supernatural powers are obtained in dreams. A prospective shaman might involuntarily dream of power (in the form of spirit helpers), or seek out guardian spirits through dreams at sacred places (e.g., caves). Dreaming is a necessary prerequisite even for inheritance of shamanic ability through family members. Re-

peated unsolicited dreams are common to the novice shaman, but differ in form and content in different shamans. In general, auditory sensations predominate at first: The spirit helper instructs the novice about paraphernalia, songs to sing, and the dances to be carried out while curing. Spirits and the power that accompanies them might be revealed on an individual basis and at different times in the dreams of the novice. Spirits are quite varied and include birds, animals, ghosts, implements, and supernatural elements (Kelly 1936, 129; 1938, 151–152; Miller 1983, 69–72; Park 1938, 18, 22–23; Whiting 1950, 28–32).

In all cases, novice shamans dream their own dreams, furnish their own paraphernalia, and have to follow the instructions given to them by their own spirit helpers. Paraphernalia include pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, bones, feathers, and down. These items are carried in a crude bag of badger, otter, or weasel skin. The bag is always guarded and kept near the shaman at all times. Instructions from dreams are to be strictly adhered to, or the shaman might lose the power bestowed by the spirit helper, or might sicken and die. Violations of new routines set by the spirits (e.g., specific daily activities, food taboos), loss of paraphernalia, or not following instructions might trigger loss of power, sickness, and sometimes even death (Kelly 1936, 130–132; 1938, 152–161; Park 1938, 32–36; Whiting 1950, 33–42).

Vision quests or power quests in the Great Basin were simple and did not involve self-torture. Adults seeking more power would visit certain sacred places (e.g., caves) in the mountains. Instructions from the spirit helper were to be strictly observed and followed. Without strict adherence to the dictates of the spirit helper(s), many seekers fail to acquire power. To the east, groups like the Northern and Eastern Shoshone, Comanche, and Ute adopted a Plains lifestyle and indulged in fasting, wakefulness, and prolonged isolation. These groups also adopted the Sun Dance, which overrode the simplicity of the Great Basin power complex (Kelly 1936, 129; Park 1938, 27–28).

Whether involuntarily acquired, inherited, or sought, the power of a prospective shaman is controlled by the guardian spirit(s). The loss of power is a constant threat and concern to the shaman. Shamans might experience power loss for a number of reasons: ignoring instructions, mistreatment of paraphernalia, thoughtless or deliberate acts of others, all of which might cause the shaman to sicken and even die. Power, therefore, is both malignant and benign: threatening the shaman with sickness and death as well as curing others. In the case of multiple powers represented by different spirit helpers, the shaman might involuntarily forfeit a particular power without the loss of other powers. The loss, however, would always be accompanied by sickness (Park 1938, 32–33; Whiting 1950, 34–35).

Causes of Illness

For the Numic peoples, disease was supernatural in nature and the product of sorcery, dreams, or other supernatural events or activities. Two factors, intrusion of pathological objects and soul loss, were responsible for major illness. For shamans, there was the additional risk of loss of the power granted by the spirit helpers. Lesser disorders were treated by home remedies, such as drinking boiled sage for colds (Park 1938, 37; Whiting 1950, 33–37).

For major ailments, the most common cause is a dream. These dreams, on the whole, are not directed at the dreamer, but at relatives and members of the immediate family. Dreams of ghosts or the foretelling of sickness by the dreamer frequently indicate that a relative will become ill or die. When dreams of this type are remembered, the dreamer prays to the sun in order to alleviate the effects of the dream. Frequently the dream cannot be remembered, illness results, and a shaman is called to treat the patient. In the curing ceremony, the shaman discovers the dream and the person who dreamed it. The dreamer must confess the dream and relate its content publicly. Not until the dreamer confesses the content of the dream to the shaman can a cure be made. If the dreamer cannot be found, any attempt at curing will be unsuccessful. Dreams about animals (e.g., coyote, antelope, mountain sheep, gopher, and so on) may also cause illness (Kelly 1936, 130; Park 1938, 38–39).

Ghosts are a great cause of consternation among the Numic-speaking peoples. These apparitions appear in dreams and may be directly responsible for soul loss. (It is believed that the soul is located in the head or chest.) In dreams, a ghost indicates serious illness, and that illness

may only be prevented or cured by instructions from the shaman. In cases of soul loss, the shaman attempts, through trance, to return the soul to the body. The Numic people believe that the soul wanders around the camp and may be refused entrance to the afterworld. Whether it is still in the camp or already in the afterworld, the shaman persuades the soul to return (Kelly 1936, 133; 1938, 152–163; Park 1938, 40–42; Whiting 1950, 35–37).

Another form of illness is believed to be caused by sorcery. Shamans who used their powers in antisocial ways were often called people eaters and greatly feared. These sorcerers focus their thoughts on a particular object (e.g., stone, worm, lizard, or miniatures of men or animals) and supernaturally place the diseased object in the body of the recipient. The sorcerer's prime method is concentration; sympathetic or contagious magic are seldom used. Other methods include touching the recipient, handling the recipient's food, or smoking a pipe with the person. Sorcery performed for personal gain or in response to requests from other individuals is unheard of; for the sorcerer works for his own secret gratification. After a time, sorcerers are believed to have become unable to control their powers, the lust for killing having taken over. Sorcery is punishable by death. The sorcerer was believed to deliberately cause illness through dreams, and shamans who worked for the good of the group would name both the nature of the illness and the person that had the dream. Sorcerers were put to death publicly on the accusations of shamans. Public executions of known sorcerers were carried out by men, and sorcerers' houses would be burned down around them. Great respect, based on fear, was given to suspected sorcerers (Kelly 1936, 133–134; 1938, 155–163; Park 1938, 42–45; Whiting 1950, 55–66).

Curing Rituals

Public rather than private curing is the primary goal and function of the shaman. Doctoring, or curing, represents the principal ceremonial activity and stands as the main religious component among these hunters and gatherers. Generally, the shaman or doctor performs the healing ceremony without the assistance of other shamans. The exception to this would be in a case of inherited power, when the experienced shaman (usually the father) might assist the novice in the first curing ceremony.

The performance is always held in the house or shelter of the patient and the patient's family. The ceremony customarily lasts two or three nights. In the latter case, the doctor rests on the second night and continues the ceremony on the third night. In cases of serious illness, the family may sometimes employ two shamans; one for each night of the ceremony (Kelly 1938, 152–162; Park 1938, 45–46; Whiting 1950, 38–39).

Doctors charge a fee for their service. Aboriginally, the fee consisted of blankets, horses, beads, and the like, but with the coming of the whites the fee was three to five dollars. This fee is generally paid before the ceremony commenced. Unpaid debt or overcharging brings illness to the shaman. If the local shaman is unsuccessful, a well-thought-of shaman of a neighboring group is called in to treat the patient. According to the earliest accounts, the shaman's specialization in healing originally plays a greater role in the treatment of the patient. Rattlesnake power is used to combat snakebites, and power derived from a waterbaby (a small mythical figure who inhabits lakes or permanent ponds) is employed to ward off sickness caused by waterbabies. Ghost power is used for soul loss. Some doctors have greater powers than others on the basis of their successful cures and experiences (Park 1938, 45–46; Whiting 1950, 38–39).

The curing performance usually takes place at night. Exceptions to this would be snake bites, wounds, or acute illness. The doctor instructs the family to prepare a willow stick of predetermined size, usually three to four feet in length, to be placed by the patient's head. In some groups, such as the Southern Paiute, this stick is replaced by the shaman's own personal cane or staff. In a way based on the shaman's dreams, the stick or wand is decorated with feathers, down, and beads, and painted with red and white bands (Kelly 1936, 131–132; Park 1938, 48; Whiting 1950, 38–39).

The shaman has two assistants: an interpreter, or talker, and a female dancer. According to the earliest accounts, the talker was originally always male, but in the more recent past women could be talkers. On the other hand, women have always been the dancers, although some shamans do not employ a dancer at all. In

a loud clear voice, the talker repeats what the shaman says so that the audience understands. The talker sits at the shaman's left, repeating what is said and initiating the singing of songs. The dancer, on the other hand, dances behind the shaman, carries a basket with beads or pebbles, and uses the basket as a rattle. Dancing three or four feet behind the shaman, the dancer follows the shaman in a counterclockwise direction around the fire, shaking the basket as a rattle in time to the dance steps (Park 1938, 50–51).

Doctoring has traditionally been a nighttime activity, and shamans sit and converse with the audience or concentrate on their powers and the cause of the illness before the ceremony starts. Footwear is removed, and the patient's head is pointed to the south. The shamans always sits behind the patients' head (thus to the south of the patient) and when dancing always travel counterclockwise, mimicking the direction of a whirlwind. Shamans place pieces of the paraphernalia in front of themselves and then sing five songs calling their spirit helpers; the talker and the audience join in the singing. The shamans' pipe is lit and passed to the talker and the audience in a counterclockwise direction (Park 1938, 48–49).

Soul loss is commonly associated with the patient being unconscious, and in such cases the shaman quickly goes into an altered state of consciousness. If the patient is conscious, the shaman's entry into an altered state is optional, depending on the strength of his powers. The illness is attributed to a disease object being present. The shaman usually attempts to suck out the object with his mouth or a bone or willow tube. With the interpreter and audience singing, the shaman continues the sucking until the object is located and extracted. No cutting or biting is employed by the shaman.

An intermission is called around midnight, when the family of the patient supplies food prescribed by the shaman. The food is handed out, and its consumption is strictly observed, making sure that the food isn't wasted or dropped and the unconsumed part is buried. The shaman does not usually take part in the meal, but carries on conversations with the audience. After the intermission, the extraction would continue until daybreak, when the shaman's songs become weak. At daybreak the ceremony ends until the following night. The shaman gives the family instructions (e.g., about avoiding certain foods, painting the patient, and so on) and retires for the day, only to resume the ceremony the next night. The feather wand stays by the patient's head during the entire ceremony. Two native paints (red and white) from natural soil deposits are used regularly in the ceremony. Use of these paints is at the shaman's discretion; they might be applied to the patient and audience as well as to the shaman and the shaman's assistants. Sleight-of-hand performances are also at times part of the ritual among the Numic groups. If the patient dies, the shaman is not held liable or responsible for the death. However, the shaman is obligated to return the fee if the patient dies within a few days after the ceremony (Kelly 1938, 131–133; Park 1938, 51–58).

Other Shamanic Roles

A shaman is always present in the event of intertribal or outside warfare. Other features in the shaman's repertoire include weather control, prophecy, clairvoyance, and antelope charming. The extent and scope of each varies among the Numic groups. Weather control is extremely variable—a constant among some groups and limited among others. The shaman demonstrates control over supernatural powers by interceding on behalf of the group. Certain shamans have the ability to predict the future. Dreams are the most common method of prophecy. A shaman might dream of death, sickness, and warfare; awaken; and tell others the prophecy. The prophecies are only about harmful events or activities like those above; nothing successful or benevolent or favorable can be predicted. Theft and the location of lost articles can also be found out by some shamans. This ability is considered by some a luxury and not within the scope of shamanic practices, per se (Kelly 1936, 136; 1938, 153–165; Park 1938, 60–62).

Although sporadic, communal activities play a key role in the economy of Numic hunters and gatherers. Rabbit and mud hen drives are mainly secular events with a hint of religious overtones (e.g., prayers, observation of omens). In these drives, shamans play no substantial role, and the powers they possess are of little value. Only in the antelope drive might the shaman use power in a religious or ritual con-

text. Antelope shamans get their antelope power from an antelope spirit helper, although a person with antelope power may also have other powers from other spirit helpers. Antelope power is the only power used in antelope drive. Although women can acquire antelope power, they are not allowed to be antelope shamans; only men can charm antelope. The antelope shaman directs every aspect of the drive (Park 1938, 62–63; Steward 1938, 34–36; 1955, 109–110). The nature of shamanic power can be graphically illustrated by an account of a typical drive.

Spring might find the food stockpiles dwindling; public appeal for an antelope drive becomes intense, and an antelope shaman is invited to charm the antelope. Using scouts, word of mouth, or dreaming, the shaman locates and determines where a sagebrush rope corral should be erected. The corral is the property of the antelope shaman. When the sagebrush ropes are finished, the actual construction of the corral is completed in one day. A dance is held that same night inside the corral or at a camp near the corral. (The dance might be held for a few hours or all night.) The antelope shaman sings his antelope songs to make the animals docile. The shaman goes into an altered state of consciousness so that antelope can be herded into the corral. Music at the charming ceremony is made with a rasp employing a bowstring and horns. (The rattle, traditionally employed in the curing ceremony, is never used.)

Certain taboos are strictly observed. Menstruating or pregnant women and their husbands are excluded. Sexual intercourse is forbidden among spouses, as is flirting among young people. Relieving oneself in the proximity of the corral is forbidden, as is the loss of personal property by participants. The ceremony lasts three to five days, during which the participants focus their thoughts on the antelope. Two messengers are sent out daily to surround the antelope and drive them into the corral. On the last day of the ceremony, the antelopes are corralled, and the first three antelope killed are given to the antelope shaman and his two messengers (assistants). Then all other antelope are killed, and the meat is distributed among the participants. This is the only major ritual that is not concerned directly with disease control among the Numic people (Park 1938, 62–66; Steward 1938, 34–36).

A Final Word

The above description of shamanistic beliefs, practices, and traditions apply principally to people of the interior of the Great Basin; other Numic groups on the fringe or beyond the Great Basin are influenced by and adopt many of the traits of neighboring non-Numic groups. Nevertheless, the individualism that characterizes the whole Numic cultural spectrum is the defining feature of the economical, social, political, and religious components of their culture.

L. Daniel Myers

See also: Animal Symbolism (Americas)

References and further reading:

d'Azevedo, Warren L. 1986. "Introduction." Pp. 1–14 in *Great Basin,* vol. 11 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Harris, Jack. 1940. "The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada." Pp. 39–116 in *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes.* Edited by R. Linton. New York: Appleton-Century.

Hultkrantz, Ake. 1986. "Mythology and Religious Concepts." Pp. 630–640 in *Great Basin,* vol. 11 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Kelly, Isabel T. 1936. "Chemehuevi Shamanism." Pp. 129–142 in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber.* Edited by R. E. Lowie. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1938. "Southern Paiute Shamanism." *University of California Anthropological Records* 2: 151–168.

Liljeblad, Sven. 1986. "Oral Tradition: Content and Style of Verbal Arts." Pp. 641–659 in *Great Basin,* vol. 11 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Miller, Jay. 1983. "Basin Religion and Theology: A Comparative Study of Power (*Puha*)." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5, no. 1/2: 66–86.

Miller, Wick. 1986. "Numic Languages." Pp. 98–112 in *Great Basin,* vol. 11 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Myers, L. Daniel. 1999. "A Frame for Culture: Observations on the Cultural-Element Distribution of the Snake River Shoshone." Pp. 128–143 in *Julian Steward and the Great Basin.* Edited by R. O. Clemmer, L. D. Myers, and M. E. Rudden. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Park, Willard Z. 1938. "Shamanism in Western North America." *Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences* 2: 1–166.

Steward, Julian H. 1938. "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups." *Bureau of American Ethnology,* Bulletin 120: 1–346.

———. 1940. "Native Cultures of the Intermountain (Great Basin) Area." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 100: 445–502.

———. 1955. *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———. 1970. "The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society." Pp. 113–151 in *Language and Culture of Western North American.* Edited by E. H. Swanson. Caldwell, ID: Caxton.

Whiting, Beatrice Blythe. 1950. "Paiute Sorcery." *Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology* 15: 1–110.

GREENLAND SHAMANISM

The missionary Hans Egede, who arrived on the west coast of Greenland in 1721, made the first detailed observations of the séance of the Greenlandic shaman, the *angakkoq* (plural *angakkut,* modern West Greenlandic spelling). He was sent out by the Danish king to convert the heathen Eskimos, and he kept valuable records of his encounters with the Greenlandic angakkut.

> A number of spectators assemble in the evening at one of their houses, where, after it is grown dark, every one being seated, the angekkok causes himself to be tied, his head between his legs and his hands behind his back, and a drum is laid at his side; thereupon, after the windows are shut and the light put out, the assembly sings a ditty, which, they say, is the composition of their ancestors; when they have done singing the angekkok begins with conjuring, muttering, and brawling; invokes Torngarsuk [a major spirit], who converses with the angekkok. . . . In the meanwhile he works himself loose, and as they believe, mounts up into Heaven through the roof of the house, and passes through the air till he arrives into the highest heavens, where the souls of angekkut poglit, that is, the chief angekkuts, reside, by whom he gets information of all he wants to know. All this is done in the twinkling of an eye. (Egede 1818, 189–191)

This short description gives important details about the central elements of the Greenlandic séance: the role of the participants in singing the angakkoq on his journey, the tying up of the angakkoq, the drumming that induces an altered state of consciousness, the invocation of the spirits, the journey to the spirit world, the communication between the mediator, the shaman, and the spirits, and the return of the angakkoq with information from the spirits, which secure the survival of his society. A possible translation of the word *angakkoq* is "visionary and dreamer" from the word *angavoq,* "roaming about," and the special skill connected with the angakkoq was *silanigtalersarput,* the capacity of seeing clearly in darkness and through clothes, skin, and flesh into the center of a human being. The angakkoq was the wise communicator with the world of the spirits on behalf of human beings, to whose secrets he had direct access.

The people that Hans Egede encountered represented the last in a long history of migration from Alaska through the Canadian Arctic to the west coast of Greenland. They belonged to the Thule culture, a name given by archaeologists that refers to a site in northernmost Northwest Greenland. These neo-Eskimos, now referred to as Inuit, had moved down along the west coast of Greenland starting in the thirteenth century, following in the footsteps of the Dorset culture. Their culture originated in the northwest of Alaska, and even today there are similarities between the languages spoken by the Inuit of that area and the Inuit languages of Greenland. The hunting area had to be large enough to sustain small settlements, and a constant movement of hunting grounds took place following the migration of the animals. The last known migration of people from arctic Canada into the Thule district happened around 1865 (Gad 1984, 23ff.). The game was

mostly sea mammals such as seal, walrus, and whale, but birds and caribou were also an important part of the diet. In the winter the dwellings were made out of peat and stones, whereas in the summer the Greenlanders lived in skin tents.

The role of the angakkoq was to communicate with the ever present spirits who would threaten the equilibrium of the settlement. Training to be an angakkoq was open to persons of both sexes, but anyone who wanted to acquire a reputation as a skilled angakkoq had to be especially gifted. It was necessary to learn from an older angakkoq where to search for the connection to the spirit world. There were often two apprentices training at the same time. At a specific lonely place, in a cleft or cave, the apprentices started to rub a stone upon another stone around in the direction of the sun. This was done for three days consecutively, and then a spirit would emerge from the cleft. It would turn its face toward the sunrise and ask what the apprentice wanted. The apprentice would then die under the most terrible pains, partly from fear, partly from exhaustion, but the following day he was revived. It was a frightening experience to accumulate helping spirits, as one apprentice recounted:

> I cast a stone out into the water, which was thereby thrown into great commotion, like a storm at sea. As the billows dashed together, their crests flattened out on the top, and as they opened, a huge bear was disclosed. He had a very great, black snout, and, swimming ashore, he rested his chin upon the land; and, when he then laid one of his paws upon the beach, the land gave way under his weight. He went up inland and circled round me, bit me in the loins, and then ate me. At first it hurt, but afterwards feeling passed from me; but as long as my heart had not been eaten, I retained consciousness. But, when it bit me in the heart, I lost consciousness, and was dead. When I came to myself again, the bear was away, and I lay wearied out and stark naked at the same place by the lake. I went down to the sea, and, having walked a little, I heard someone coming running after me. It was my breeches and boots that came running, and, when they got past me, they fell down on the ground, and I drew them on. (Holm 1914, 298ff.)

The accounts of the different apprentices' experiences of training vary, but the common thread is the overcoming of fear by facing the terrifying spirits. Included in the training is also a symbolic death. The process of dying and being revived is a well-known part of the initiation of the shaman worldwide. It is necessary to die and overcome the fear of death to be able to interact with the world of the dead.

Women could train to become angakkut, though often childbirth would interfere with their training. One female apprentice on the east coast of Greenland narrated an instruction from the spirit world of how to rid herself of her husband. She should either cut a piece of his hair and throw it after him when he went out in his kayak, or she should put dogs' hair between the soles of his boots. "If you place them there he will be robbed of his soul. When he has been robbed of his soul he will die" (Thalbitzer 1923, 457).

The behavior of the apprentice would be altered as he neared the end of the training, which until then had been undertaken in secrecy. The final process of coming forward in his society as a full-fledged angakkoq would make him dangerous for his fellow men. Blood might trickle from his mouth, he might roll up his facial skin, or he might swallow large objects, all of which would terrify his audience to death. They could only protect themselves by having sharp weapons or by sitting on greasy places, which the spirits resented. This process would last for about three days, after which he would be a fully educated angakkoq (Rosing 1963, 215ff.).

The role of the new angakkoq was, assisted by his helping spirits, to interact with the spirit world, which consisted of a variety of spirits connected with specific places or specific functions. The most important spirit was the Mother of the Sea, who reigned over the game, and it was a highly dangerous task for the angakkoq to travel to her. He was therefore dependent on strong helping spirits on the journey. The Mother of the Sea would be covered with the filth of human transgression of taboo rules, and it would be the task of the angakkoq to cleanse her. The moment he entered her dwelling place she would seize him, and they would fight; she was very strong, and he would have been unable to manage had his helping spirits not come to his assistance. In

the end they overcame her resistance and started to wash her, afterwards combing her hair, which was a difficult task, for the hair was all entangled (Rasmussen 1938, 127). When the dirt had been cleared away, the Mother of the Sea would release the animals. The angakkoq would return to the audience participating in the séance and name the specific transgression of taboo rules that had led to the game being kept away from the shores.

The angakkoq would also interact with the souls of human beings and restore them if they had been stolen or gotten lost. Every person consisted of a soul, a body, and a name. The soul was immortal and resided outside the person, but followed it, as the shadow follows a man in the sunshine. Although the soul was thus not inside the body, the body and the soul were nevertheless inseparable as long as a person was alive; for when the soul left the body, the body pined away and died. Consequently a man's soul could be stolen by an angakkoq, who would bury it in the snow, and the hole had to be covered with the fleshy side of a dog's skin. Then the person would inevitably die, unless another angakkoq, favorably inclined to the victim, could find the soul that had been stolen and bring it back to the body. After the death of the body, the soul ascended into heaven or went down into the sea. It was attractive to reside in either place (Rasmussen 1908, 106). But the concepts of the number of souls in a human being varied considerably depending on the narrator. Some believed that there were several souls in the different limbs of a human being. Another important concept was the *inua,* the "owner" of the visible world. This term was applied to nature, objects, and even emotions. The inua could move outside its place of origin but was always closely connected to it.

To communicate with the souls of the dead or to restore a soul to a sick human being, the angakkoq would undertake a séance. The most important paraphernalia that the angakkut used to enter into an altered state of consciousness was the drum. The drum consisted of a round ring of wood over which was stretched the skin of a bear's bladder or the gut of a seal sewn together. Before use the drum skin was moistened, and it gave out a booming note when the wood ring was struck with the stick, which as a rule was made of wood. During a séance a dry skin was placed in the entrance of the house, which would rattle when the spirits arrived. In the séance the angakkoq was seminaked and there was no use of the elaborate garments that are known from other cultures. There are no accounts of masks being used by an angakkoq either. The area in which the séance took place had to be clean, and new dry skins were hung at door and windows.

> When the interior of the house had become quite dark, the shaman performing the invocation would often be seized with an inexplicable feeling of fear, and some have told that they trembled so violently at something unpleasant and unknown that they had a feeling of being about to die. It was thought that the drum in the hand of the shaman possessed mystic and supernatural power that helped to summon the spirits. It would become alive in the course of the séance, and floated freely about the house without being touched by the shaman's hand. (Rasmussen 1938, 95)

One of the tasks of the angakkoq was to confront the *tupilak,* a magical creature whose aim was to destroy the enemy of the maker. It could be created by ordinary members of society, but when it was invisible, the angakkoq was the only one able to see it during the séance. It was made of the bones of various animals, moss, skin, seaweed, a kayak sleeve, or an old mitten. It was created near water and animated with magical songs. It might be made to suck the sexual organs of the maker to give it strength. It was the physical manifestation of revenge. When, however, it had been sent out against a victim it blindly obeyed orders. Should the intended victim prove to be of greater strength, he could order the tupilak to turn against its maker, who then became the hunted victim (Petersen 1964, 75). The role of the angakkoq was to realize that a tupilak was there during a séance and perhaps manage to destroy it in a dramatic battle.

One of the most famous and detailed descriptions of a séance of an angakkoq was undertaken by Gustav Holm in 1884 when traveling up along the east coast of Greenland. The angakkoq walked as if in a dream and sat down on a skin on the floor. Then he arranged the flat stone and the drum with great care. His hair was tied back, and a thong was pressed

Wooden eskimo figure representing a spirit of a nineteenth-century east Greenlandic shaman called Taqhisima. Each shaman was associated with one or more special spirits, or familiars, on whom they relied for help in curing, divining, and communicating with other spirits. (Werner Forman/Corbis)

down over his forehead, his hands and arms up to his elbows were bound so tightly that they became blue. Meanwhile the angakkoq was puffing and groaning as if he were succumbing to a great power and at the same time drawing the attention of the onlookers to the fact that it was impossible for him to loosen his bonds. The lamps were then extinguished.

> Immediately the spirits were invoked with the cries: "*Goi! goi goi goi*"—now one voice, now more, sometimes from one end of the house sometimes from another. During this the Angakok grunted, puffed and sighed loudly. Suddenly, the skin at the door started to rustle as if it was moved by a strong wind. The drum began to beat first slowly then gradually more rapidly. . . . During the most terrible noise the platform and the window-sill were sometimes shaken. Now the Angakok was heard lying under a heavy superior force, groaning, wailing, screaming, whining, whispering, now the spirits were heard some of whom had coarse, others tiny, others lisping or whistling, voices. Often a demonical, screeching, mocking laughter was heard. The voices sometimes came from above, sometimes from under the ground, now from one

> end of the house, now from the other, now outside the house or in the entrance passage. Cries of: *"hoi! hoi! hoi!"* faded away as if into the remotest abyss. With immense skill the drum was beaten, often moving round in the house, and especially hovering above my head. The drum often accompanied singing, which at times was subdued as if coming from the Underworld. Beautiful singing by women sometimes came from the background. (Holm 1888, in Jakobsen 1999, 124–126)

After the deafening noise everything suddenly became quiet, and then in came the fearsome spirit Amórtortoq. It had black arms, and whoever touched it would become black and die. It went with heavy steps about the house and on the platform and roared: "A—mo! a—mo!" Everybody fled to the corner of the platform, afraid that the spirit would touch one of them.

The séance had lasted about an hour when the *tartok* (helping spirit) started to retreat and after a while somebody asked if the lamps could be lit, but the angakkoq answered that the tartok was still present. The drum was not heard anymore, and it was thought that the tartok had left. Soon the drum started again, and its departure proceeded to the rattling of skins and the dying away of the singing. The lamps were lit in the opposite order to that in which they had been extinguished, and everybody sat as before the start of the séance. The angakkoq sat bathed in sweat in the same place as at the beginning. His hands were still bound behind him in the same fashion as before, but not nearly as thoroughly. As this description shows, the séance was a very elaborate performance requiring several skills.

Healing Functions

One of the major functions of the angakkoq was to perform healing on sick members of the society. Disease was interpreted as being caused by the soul leaving the body or by something alien penetrating the patient. The soul could either be stolen by another angakkoq or simply go astray, or it could be in the land of the dead. If the latter was the case, a full séance was necessary, as a journey had to take place. It was then the task of the angakkoq to restore the soul to the patient, or even change it, when the damage to the soul was beyond cure. The angakkoq might use the healthy souls of animals to replace soul parts. A diagnostic treatment to assess the condition of the patient was described by the missionary Hans Egede.

> At times they use this way of curing the sick; they lay him upon his back, and tie a ribbon, or a string, round his head, having a stick fastened to the other end of the string, with which they lift up the sick person's head from the ground, and let it down again; and at every lift he communes with his Torgak, or familiar spirit, about the state of the patient, whether he shall recover or not; now, if his head is heavy in lifting it, it is with them a sign of death; if light, of recovery. (Egede 1818, 193–194)

Often, however, the healing was performed as a conversation between the sick person and the shaman, in which the angakkoq would induce hope of recovery in the patient by referring to similar cases where the ill person became well again or by narrating the happiness in the Otherworld. Apart from head-lifting, sucking out the illness and blowing on the sick person might also take place as means of healing, and these methods could be used outside the séance by laypersons, often women, who had the skill of healing. The séance was used in more grave situations to invoke the help of the spirits, who together with the angakkoq, might travel and retrieve the soul of the sick person from the Otherworld. There might be a set of rules of behavior that the patient and his family had to follow to achieve health. The whole healing procedure was aimed at restoring the health of the ill person by magic. Little was done in the nature of using remedies, except injunctions in connection with food (Jakobsen 1999, 94).

As disease was interpreted as soul loss or soul stealing, people who undertook such secret endeavours were highly feared, and the deeds of the *ilisiitsoq,* or witch, who stole the soul, were punished with great violence. The *ilisiitsut* were seen as evil-minded people, often women, who brought misfortune and death. This kind of action was interpreted as directed against the whole community, and the punishment was death, sometimes instigated by the angakkoq.

The missionaries, however, saw these onslaughts as directed against the weaker members of society.

Disease and death could also result from the transgression of taboo rules in connection with the burial of a dead person. Death was a complication for the society, as the dead person could take revenge on the living if the protective rules were not followed. Among the Polar Eskimos in northwest Greenland, people involved in the burial had to stay silent in their houses and were not allowed to take their clothes off at night for five days. When these days had passed, they had to wash themselves to cleanse off the impurities. This ritual was performed to avoid the power of the dead person having an impact on the lives of the living.

The angry soul of a diseased person, the possible attack of the ilisiitsoq, or the random onslaught of evil spirits, all threatened the survival of the single individual and the community as a whole. It is therefore not surprising that the person who held the power of protecting the society against these unpredictable dangers of disease and misfortune was presented as the hero in the myths. In these tales the angakkut were credited with important abilities and skills of interaction with the supernatural forces, mostly malevolent spirits. The need for communication with the spirit world stemmed from a dysfunction in the society itself caused by human emotions running out of control, which again displaced the equilibrium in the settlement. Often the theme of a tale was enmity and violent revenge. The supernatural forces could be engaged by ordinary members of the society to destroy enemies.

As the angakkoq was able to prevent these onslaughts, he was presented as the typical mythical hero, who left ordinary reality and went to nonordinary reality to fight with the malevolent forces on behalf of his society. Here the real battle took place, which made it possible for the angakkoq to return with the knowledge that would lead to the establishment of guilt and expiation by the guilty through adhering to the rules dictated by the offended spirits. The tales about his combats, his supernatural encounters, and his magical skills all served the purpose of supporting and sustaining belief in the power of the angakkoq. The stories of the angakkut of old times confirmed the trust of the community in the abilities of certain human beings to serve the interests of all by mastering the skills and insight needed to deal with spirits. The stories, therefore, ratified those skills and supported the belief in the power of the séance (Jakobsen 1999, 105).

European Perspectives

Some Europeans, however, told a different tale of the powers of the angakkut and how they used those powers. In these accounts they were highly feared and used their powers to control the settlement. One of the famous angakkut was Maratsi, who lived on the east coast of Greenland at the beginning of the twentieth century. He was sought out by people in connection with curing illness and solving murder cases. He was praised for his power over the spirits, although he himself claimed to the Europeans that he did not possess such skills. He had a difficult personality and had committed murders and theft and had threatened women who would not sleep with him with soul stealing. One observer described the transformation of Maratsi during a song fight. He came across as wild and evil, his eyes wide open and his teeth protruding: "Over his whole figure was something so wild and misanthropic that I fully understood the demonic fear that he induced in his fellow countrymen" (Kruuse 1912, 40).

The arrival of the Europeans in Greenland, the missionaries on the west coast in the eighteenth century and the explorers, scientists, and missionaries on the east coast in the nineteenth century, changed Greenlandic society's belief system dramatically, and today there is no known traditional shamanism taking place in Greenland. The influence of Danish culture on the role of the angakkoq among East Greenlanders is well described in an account of the performance of Salomon, the grandson of the great angakkoq Avgo: He "held a seance with lamps extinguished and for two hours filled the air with the most remarkable sounds, knocking, drumming, singing, screaming, wheezing, howling, hissing, and distorted speech—and then when the lamps were lighted and a company of about seventy people in cotton anoraks, woollen sweaters, and cloth trousers roared with laughter at Salomon's weirdly amusing performance, and he demanded a packet of rolled oats as his fee—certainly, the

old days have gone for ever in Angmassalik" (Mathiassen 1933, 144).

Merete Demant Jakobsen

See also: Animal Symbolism (Americas); Initiation; Inuit Shamanism

References and further reading:

Egede, Hans. 1818. *A Description of Greenland.* A new edition with an Historical Introduction and Life of the Author. London: T. and J. Allman.

Gad, Finn. 1984. *Grønland* [Greenland]. København: Politikens Forlag.

Holm, Gustav. 1888. *Ethologisk Skizze af Angmagsalikerne* [Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagsalikerne]. Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 9 and 10. København: Rhodes. Reprint, 1972.

Holm, Gustav, ed. 1914. *Legends and Tales from Angmagsalik.* Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 39. København: Rhodes.

Jakobsen, Merete Demant. 1999. *Shamanism. Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing.* Oxford: Berghahn.

Kruuse, Chr. 1912. "Rejser og Botaniske Undersøgelser i Østgrønland mellem 65–30' og 67–20' i Aarene 1898–1902 samt Angmagsalik-egnens Vegetation" [Travels to Botanical Undertaking in East Greenland between 65–30' and 67–20' in Aarene 1898–1902 and also Angmagsalik's Vegetation]. Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 49. København: Rhodes.

Mathiassen, Therkel. 1933. "Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimos." Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 92, 4. København: Rhodes.

Petersen, Robert. 1964. "The Greenland Tupilak." *Folk,* vol. 6, no. 2. København: Dansk Etnografisk Tidsskrift, Dansk Etnografisk Forening, Forlaget Rhodos.

Rasmussen, Knud. 1908. *The People of the Polar North.* A record compiled from the Danish originals and edited by G. Herring. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.

———. 1938. *Knud Rasmussen's Posthumous Notes on the Life and Doings of the East Greenlanders in Olden Times.* Edited by Hother Ostermann. 6 and 7. Thule-Expedition til Sydøstgrønland 1931–1933. Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 109. København: C. A. Reitzels Forlag.

Rosing, Jens. 1963. *Sagn og Saga fra Angmagssalik,* udgivet af Nationalmuseet og Det Grønlandske Selskab i samarbejde med Forlaget Rhodos. København: National Museum.

Thalbitzer, William. 1923. *The Ammasalik Eskimo. Contribution to the Ethnology of the East Greenland Natives.* Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 40. København: Bianco Luno.

HAUDENOSAUNEE SHAMANISM

See Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Shamanism and Secret Societies (North America)

HOPI SHAMANISM

Although shamanism is no longer practiced among the Hopi in its original form, enough evidence remains to allow a clear picture of an agricultural society in which shamanism was once firmly institutionalized and played a central role.

The Hopi Indians, descendants of the prehistoric Anasazi and speakers of a Uto-Aztecan daughter language that is distantly related to the Classical Nahuatl of the Aztecs, represent the westernmost group of the Puebloan culture pattern in the American Southwest. Referred to as Moqui for many years after their encounter with the Spanish conqistadors in 1540, their true tribal name is *Hopiitu,* "Civilized Ones." Sedentary farmers with a maize-centered agriculture, impressive architecture, and an elaborate ceremonial cycle, they thus set themselves off, in typical ethnocentric fashion, from some of their nomadic neighbors such as the Navajos, Utes, Paiutes, and Yavapais.

Residing today in eleven villages situated on mesa spurs at the southern end of Black Mesa in northeastern Arizona, the Hopi are widely known for their aesthetically appealing arts and crafts as well as their colorful ceremonial open-air performances, especially the masked Kachina dances and the Snake ritual. Removed from the mainstream Euro-American society, the Hopi for a long time succeeded in shielding

their culture from outside influences. However, ever accelerating acculturation after World War II has taken a heavy toll on both their language and their culture.

There exists today a near-consensus of opinion among scholars that shamanism is humankind's oldest religious paradigm. In particular, it is believed that, the world over, simple hunter-gatherers of prehistoric antiquity practiced a shamanistically oriented brand of religion. The demise of archaic hunter-gatherer bands and the emergence of horticulturists and farmers, however, does not imply that shamanism became extinct, at least not where the American Southwest is concerned. Shamanism's survival was assured because agriculturists such as the Hopi continued to have the same metaphysical, psychic, healing, and fertility needs as their ancestors.

Although intimations of shamanistic practices are relatively few in the large corpus of Hopi ethnographic data and traditional narratives, there is sufficient evidence that shamanism was once firmly institutionalized among these agriculturalists, and that Hopi culture has what might be regarded as a shamanic view of the world, "in which everything—not only animals but also plants and rocks, wind and rain—may be imbued with spirit" (Vitebsky 1995, 15).

A few lexemes in the Hopi language provide some insight in this connection. Thus, the shaman was known as *povosqa* (plural *povosyaqam*) at Second Mesa and as *poosi'ytaqa* (plural *poosi'yyungqam*) in the Third Mesa dialect area. Etymologically connected to *poosi,* "eye," *povosqa* literally translates "one who does seeing," whereas *poosi'ytaqa* means "one who has an eye." *Seer* thus perhaps best captures the notion of the Hopi shaman, with "seeing" relating of course to the diagnosing and curing of illness and disease. As a rule, this seeing was enhanced by the use of a *ruupi,* "crystal," the shaman's "third eye." For this reason, shamans were sometimes called *ruupi'yyungqam,* "crystal owners."

At one time, all Hopi shamans had to be members of the so-called *poswimi.* Literally denoting "eye society," the word corresponds to our notion of a shaman society. Its individual members, all of whom were male, termed *poovost* or *poswiwimkyam,* were basically "men with X-ray vision." According to Alexander Stephen, who recorded much of the Hopi lifeway at the First Mesa community of Walpi in the 1890s, the poswimi was already "wholly extinct" at that time, although some of its members were still alive (1936, 281). Describing it as "a society of occult medciners," he referred to the actual poovost as "eye-seekers" (Stephen 1894, 212). Mischa Titiev, characterizing the poswimi as "the *real* curing society," reported that the last great medicine men at Oraibi passed away before 1906 (1972, 69).

Not many details are available on the selection criteria for a potential Hopi shaman or how he acquired his professional knowledge. One can assume that entry into the poswimi sodality was primarily obtained through an established initiation process, as is or was the case for other religious societies such as the Al, Kwan, Wuwtsim, and Taw. As a rule, this route required a ceremonial sponsor. That initiation was, indeed, the standard way to gain access to the society is borne out linguistically by the lexeme *wimkya,* "initiated member," whose plural form occurs in the above-mentioned compound *poswiwimkyam,* "initiated members of the eye society."

Totally absent from the Hopi ethnographic record are references to initiation by means of an intentional vision quest, one of the hallmarks of shamanism among many other Native American tribal groups. Biological inheritance is equally unattested. Evidence that involuntary dreams may occasionally have induced an individual to take up the office of the shaman is contained in a brief reference by Jerrold Levy. In this case, a man who survived a lightning strike "later dreamed that he had been chosen by the cloud deities, who imbued him with their healing power" (Levy 1994, 319).

One way in which a Hopi shaman apparently received his call was by virtue of his clan membership (Levy 1994, 319). Another standard method for a person to become a shamanic practitioner was through suffering an illness, or when the patient was saved in a life-threatening medical situation. Finally, qualification for the office of shaman was automatically assured in Hopi society when a person survived a lightning strike. The following folk statement explains this cultural belief:

> When the rain strikes you, you are either alone or in the company of somebody. If you

> are alone, the rain will revive you by itself; but only if you're a Hopi, because Hopi have fasting practices. If someone is with the person who got struck, one must not attempt to help the victim, but leave the place. The rains then restore the person by themselves. If the other person would stay, he would merely delay the rains. There are many who have clearly been struck by lightning that talk about this. For this reason also, one is not supposed to walk past a thing struck by lightning, nor does one approach it, until it has been properly purified.
>
> People also say that whenever a person survives a lighting strike, he gets initiated into the business of curing. By being struck, he gets to see things in a clear way and, as a result, learns the things that pertain to medicine and healing. (Malotki and Gary 2001, xxx)

In addition to being organized in a shamanic sodality, the Hopi shaman derived his supernatural potency from animal familiars. Also known as spirit helpers, companion animals, tutelary spirits, or spirit guides, they were the shaman's supernatural aids or alter egos, who empowered him to perform his extraordinary manipulations and shamanic healing tasks. The Hopi term for an animal familiar seems to have been *na'at,* "father," not, however, in its sense of "biological father," but here with the implication of "ceremonial father, godfather." This is evident from the following text:

> Medicine men typically have animal familiars such as game animals or other creatures that roam the land. As a rule, the animal called upon as a godfather is that which one desires to equal in power. With the help of this animal the medicine man then practices the art of healing.
>
> The seer or shaman will sometimes call on a wolf as a godfather and even dress like one when he shamanizes. Others come to have the bear or eagle as a helping spirit. Even the little mouse will qualify, for it is very skillful. However, while medicine men will call on the powers of these animals, they never change into them. Still, they possess their hearts and may dress like them as they treat a patient. They have incorporated the magic skill of these animals. (Malotki and Gary 2001, xxxi; cited in Malotki 1993, 164–165)

The total identification of the shaman with his animal familiar is most obvious perhaps in his attempt to impersonate it in the course of the curing session. This impersonation is tantamount to shamanic transformation, as may be gathered from the following Hopi text:

> When I was still a child, a man by the name of Yoto used to shamanize. No sooner had he swallowed his medicine than something happened to him. This Yoto had a hawk for a father or animal familiar, and so he behaved and screamed like one. Like a hawk he had his wings spread out and flew up, even climbed on top of things. Shamans will typically have one of the game animals, bears, pronghorn, all sorts of beasts, even mountain lions, for helpers. Thus, with a bear for an animal familiar, he will act like one too. Growling like a bear he feels around his patients and removes from them the foreign objects that are causing the disease. (Malotki and Gary 2001, xxxi)

Strong corroboration for the employment of spirit animals comes from the Hopi domain of witchcraft. Described as *lööq unangwa'ytaqa,* "one who has two hearts," the Hopi sorcerer is believed to possess the heart of his godfather animal in addition to his own and to assume its guise while pursuing his evil intents (Malotki 1993, 63). Although some of the animals serving him overlap with those aiding the shaman, others would never be called upon by the shaman, especially the coyote. This difference is evident from numerous Hopi stories in which human-animal metamorphosis is a recurring theme. In those dealing with witchcraft, the coyote is most frequently mentioned, along with the nighthawk, the dove, the crow, the raven, the owl, the wolf, and the fox.

There is convincing evidence that the Hopi shaman used the trance state to effect his cure. Levy, in recounting a personal experience when a healer from Second Mesa performed a sucking cure on him, stated that the trance state was induced by hyperventilation and lasted approximately one minute (1994, 310).

Whereas this relatively mild form of inducement was employed in his case by a *tuuhikya,* that is, a regular "medicine man," the bona fide shaman of old appears to have resorted to more powerful methods. This is strongly intimated

Honovi-Walpi snake priest, from the famous Hopi Snake dance, one aspect of the elaborate Hopi ceremonial year, ca. 1910. (Library of Congress)

in the following folk statement that, in its reference to an unspecified *ngahu,* alleged that the Hopi shaman consumed a particular medicine that may have heightened his visionary command and the diagnostic faculties of his all-seeing eye.

> Long ago, when a person became sick, he went to a shaman. The shaman was of course an initiated member of the Shaman society. If he was not very sick, the shaman treated him at any time of the day. If the patient was gravely ill, though, he did his shamanic diagnosing only at night.
>
> Whenever the shaman was going to practice at night, he used a special *ngahu* or "medicine." Upon eating this medicine, it got like daylight for him. Or he smeared something across his eyes, and then it got as clear as day for him. This is what people say, so I know about it.
>
> After first swallowing some sort of medicine the shaman can see whatever *tuukyayni,* or "foreign object implanted by someone through black magic," is causing the ailment. He then removes this foreign object. Nowadays, no one practices this skill anymore. The medicine-men certainly don't do it. Only those who had learned this technique and were properly initiated were like that. (Malotki and Gary 2001, xxxiv)

As may be gathered from this testimonial, Joseph Jorgensen's contention that Hopi shamans differed from the quintessential pattern of the North American shaman in that they lacked the use of the trance state (1980, 564) is therefore not borne out. One can safely assume that Hopi shamans were versed in all aspects of a plant's medicinal properties and capable of separating those that were beneficial from those that were harmful or even fatal. Their pharmacopoeia would, naturally, also have contained an assortment of botanical hallucinogens. Among these would have been jimson weed (*Datura* sp.), Indian tobacco *(Nicotiana trigonophylla),* four-o'clock *(Mirabilis multiflora),* and the hallucinogenic mushroom species psilocybe *(Psilocybe coprophilia)* and fly agaric *(Amanita muscaria).* Of these, *Datura* appears to be the most qualified to have served the shamans as a hallucinogen and a consciousness-altering agent. It also happens to be the one hallucinogenic substance most frequently referred to in the Puebloan ethnographic literature.

In addition to exploiting *Datura*'s psychotropic properties as a chemical inducement of altered states of consciousness, the Hopi shamans also appear to have intentionally utilized it as a sight- and vision-altering drug. Unfortunately, the simple statement above that the shaman "smeared something across his eyes, whereupon it got as clear as day for him," does not specify the plant that was involved in the procedure. A similar practice is reported for the Zuni Indians, Hopi Pueblo neighbors to the southeast. Apparently the plant extracts, bits of the powdered root, were directly inserted into the eye (Stevenson 1985, 386).

In addition to *Datura,* the Hopi shaman exploited the psychotomimetic properties of four-o'clock. Known as *soksi* in the Hopi dialect of Third Mesa, its root was masticated "to induce vision while making diagnosis" (Whiting 1966,

75). Confirmation for the hallucinatory power of this plant was obtained in the following statement from a Hopi informant: "Whenever someone eats four o'clock he will see [i.e., have visions of] all sorts of beings" (Malotki and Gary 2001, xxxvii).

Nothing is known about the consumption of consciousness-altering mushrooms by Hopi shamanic practitioners, although psilocybe (*Psilocybe coprophilia*) and fly agaric (*Amanita muscaria*), both strongly psychedelic, are native to the Colorado Plateau. Hopi use of tobacco, finally, was not for reasons of hedonistic indulgence, but was limited to a ritual context. A common element of Hopi stories, therefore, is the ritualistic use of tobacco when something important is to be discussed, or when *pahos* (prayer feathers or sticks) have been made and the makers wish to "blow their desires" into them. To be more effective ceremonially, both *Nicotiana attenuata* and *Nicotiana trigonophylla,* the two native tobacco species occurring in the Hopi environment, were mixed with other plants. The resulting mixtures were known as *yoyviva,* "rain tobacco" (Whiting 1966, 89) or *omawviva,* "cloud tobacco" (Stephen 1936, 599). The billowing smoke, which was never inhaled but primarily dispensed from pipes, was thought to be associated with clouds and hence capable of bringing rain. No ethnographic evidence exists, however, that the mind-altering plant was employed as a vehicle of ecstasy or altered states of consciousness by Hopi shamans.

In addition to these essentially defining aspects of shamanism mentioned above, Hopi oral literature, mythology, and ethnography contain a series of shamanic motifs and themes that corroborate the fact that shamanism was once an integral part of Hopi culture. Among them are references to magical flight, the world tree (*axis mundi,* "axis of the world"), the cosmic mountain, journeys between various cosmic regions, psychopomps, and other aspects. For reasons of spatial limitations these motifs cannot be addressed here; the reader is therefore referred to the detailed discussion in *Hopi Stories of Witchcraft, Shamanism, and Magic* (Malotki and Gary 2001, xxxix–xlix).

Ekkehart Malotki

Reprinted from Hopi Stories of Witchcraft, Shamanism, and Magic by Ekkehart Malotki and Ken Gary by permission of the University of Nebraska Press. © 2001 by the University of Nebraska Press.

See also: American Indian Medicine Societies; Animal Symbolism (Americas)

References and further reading:

Jorgensen, Joseph G. 1980. *Western Indians.* San Francisco, CA: W. H. Freeman.

Levy, Jerrold E. 1994. "Hopi Shamanism: A Reappraisal." Pp. 307–327 in *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture.* Edited by Raymond J. DeMallie and Alfonso Ortiz. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Ma-lotki, Ekkehart. 1993. *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwutsi.* Narrated by Michael Lomatuway'ma, Lorena Lomatuway'ma, and Sidney Namingha. Collected, translated, and edited by Ekkehart Malotki. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Ma-lotki, Ekkehart, and Ken Gary. 2001. *Hopi Stories of Witchcraft, Shamanism, and Magic.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Stephen, Alexander. 1894. "The Po-voc-tu among the Hopi." *American Antiquarian* 16: 212–214.

———. 1936. *Hopi Journal.* 2 vols. Edited by Elsie Clews Parsons. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology 23.

Stevenson, Matilda Coxe. 1985. Reprint. *The Zuni Indians.* 23rd Annual Report 1901–1902, Bureau of American Ethnology. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press. Original edition, 1904.

Titiev, Mischa. 1972. *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Vitebsky, Piers. 1995. *The Shaman.* London: Duncan Baird.

Whiting, Alfred F. 1966. *Ethnobotany of the Hopi.* Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press.

INUIT SHAMANISM (CENTRAL ARCTIC)

Shamanism, or *angakuniq,* has always been a central feature of Inuit societies. The accounts of the first European explorers in the Arctic give some account of shamanic practices. Thus the practice of *qilajuq,* "headlifting," is re-

ported by Best in his *True Discourse* of the voyages of Martin Frobisher published in 1578:

> These people are great enchaunters and use manye charmes of Witchcraft. For when their heads do ake, they tye a great stone with a string unto a sticke, and with certaine prayers & wordes done to the sticke, they lifte up the stone from ground, which sometimes with all a mans force they cannot stir, & sometime againe they lifte as easily as a feather, and hope thereby with certaine ceremonious words to have ease and helpe. (Cited in Stefansson 1938, 127)

Qilajuq was one of the most widely employed divinatory practices, and even today many elders remember their parents doing it. Shamanism in the Central Arctic was extensively documented by G. F. Lyon (1824), Franz Boas (1888), Edmund James Peck (in Boas 1904, 1907; Laugrand, Oosten, and Trudel 2000), Knud Rasmussen (1929, 1930, 1931), and many others. It flourished in the Arctic until the advent of Christianity, in the eighteenth century in Labrador, the end of the nineteenth century in South Baffin Island, and the early twentieth century in Kivalliq; in 1936 the first missionary arrived among the Nattilingmiut. When Christianity arrived, shamanism went underground, but even in the early twenty-first century shamanism plays an important part in Inuit discourse. Sickness and death may still be attributed to the machinations of the *angakkuit,* or shamans.

According to Boas, on Baffin Island "The persons, who can see the souls of men and of animals and who are able to visit Sedna, are called *angakut.*" They cured the sick, drove away evil spirits, procured game, influenced the weather, and exposed hidden transgressions.

In Inuit cosmology the world was populated by many spirits. There were those who once had been human beings, such as Sedna (South Baffin Land), or Nuliajuk (Nattlingmiut); Takaana Kapasaluk (Iglulingmiut), the *inua* (person, owner) of the sea and the sea game; and Aninga (the person, owner of the moon, a great hunter). In addition, there were the *tarniit,* the shades or souls of human beings or existent species of animals that were still around; *ijirait,* the mountain or caribou people; *inugarulligait,* small people; *qallupilluit,* sea people; *tarriassuit,* shadow people; *kukiligasiait,* those with claws; and many others. All these beings had to be respected and approached in the correct way. Inuit have traditionally been hunters, and to survive they had to kill animals, who were conceived of as spiritual beings endowed with shades or souls. Those dead human beings and animals were thought to be especially dangerous. In 1921, the old Ivaluardjuk explained to Knud Rasmussen: "The greatest peril of life lies in the fact that human food consists entirely of souls . . . which . . . must be propitiated lest they should revenge themselves on us for taking away their bodies" (cited in Rasmussen 1929, 56). Special rules applied to dealings with spirits and animals. If they were not observed, problems such as illness and famine might arise. Then it was up to the shamans to find a solution.

Men and women could perform as shamans. Inuit elders often state that female shamans were more powerful, but in the the descriptions of shamanism we find mainly men. In order to be an *angakkoq* (plural angakkuit), a shaman, a person needed *qaumaniq* (enlightenment), entailing the capacity to see souls and spirits, and *tuurngait* (helping spirits) who assisted him in his tasks. There were many helping spirits. The missionary Peck collected a list of 347 helping spirits in South Baffin land (in Laugrand, Oosten, and Trudel 2000) Usually a shaman had between six and ten helping spirits. They might be *tarniit* of dead people, spirits such as the inua of the sea or unknown entities such as a blubbercutter or a white sailor. Each *tuurngaq* (singular of tuurngait) had its specific qualities and could be used for specific purposes.

Inuit usually did not like outsiders to witness their shamanic practices. Thus many descriptions of shamanic séances are based on oral accounts by Inuit or on a description of séances specifically organized for the benefit of the outsider. These verbal accounts are usually very rich and give a vivid account of the proceedings of the séance.

People could become shamans in many ways. They might be trained as shamans, or they might become shamans because of an accident, like Niviatsian, who was almost killed by a walrus, or Uvavnuk, who was struck by a ball of fire (Rasmussen 1929, 120, 122) In the Kivalliq area it is related that a shaman was put under

water for five days (Rasmussen 1930, 58). The shaman Igjugaarjuk was isolated in an igloo for thirty days (Rasmussen 1930, 52–53) until he had his first visions. An initiation was always a very strong experience. The old angakkoq Ava related, "My first helping spirit was my namesake, a little aua. When it came to me, it was as if the passage and roof of the house were lifted up, and I felt such power of vision, that I could see right through the house, in through the earth and up into the sky" (Rasmussen 1929, 119). Each initiation had its own history. Usually an initiation entailed meeting with a helping spirit and the acquisition of qaumaniq, enlightenment, the power to see. Boas wrote in an account of South Baffin Island: "When a person becomes an angakok, a light covers his body. He can see supernatural things. The stronger the light is within him, the deeper and farther away he can see, and the greater is his supernatural power" (Boas 1907, 133).

The shaman usually received an *angaluk,* or *tapsi,* a shamanic belt, made of the white fur of the belly of a caribou, after his initiation. To this angaluk he attached the gifts he received from the community and small miniature knives such as snow knives, that could be used to kill *tupilait,* evil spirits. The late Tungilik from Naaujaat, who had practiced as an angakkuq for several years, related:

> When people found out that I was an *angakkuq,* the belt was made for me out of white caribou skin. I would be given little things, for that was what the *tuurngaq* wanted. I would tie these little things onto the fringe. There would be a little string attached to tie them to the fringe. . . .They looked like little toys and were tied to the fringe. These were called *qalugiujaq.* (Tungilik and Uyarasuk 1999, 90–91)

A shaman did not always come out in the open. Thus in a workshop in Rankin Inlet, Inuit elders indicated that the wife of the famous angakkoq Qimuksiraaq was a more powerful shaman than he was because she was able to hide from him that she was actually a shaman. There were many shamans in Inuit society, and Inuit shamanism may be described as family shamanism. In the past Inuit often lived in small camps consisting of few families and in summer dispersed over the land. Each family needed one or more shamans to be able to deal with problems caused by spirits. But there were families where more shamans occurred than in other families. There were powerful and less powerful shamans, and each shaman had his or her own qualities and skills. Each family had its own traditions. Therefore in each area there were different patterns. Thus in the South Baffin area helping spirits were often viewed as givers of game and rarely qualified as evil spirits, whereas in Kivalliq much emphasis is laid on the killing of tupilait, spirits sent by shamans to harm people.

Shamans used a special vocabulary. Although it is often referred to as the language of the shamans, it was in fact considered as the language of the helping spirits. Rasmussen noted that this vocabulary was not the exclusive property of the shamans (1931, 122). It was used by everyone who wanted to communicate with the spirits. Spiritual beings, specific objects or places were referred to by metaphors, images, analogies, and the like. For example, *tukto,* caribou, was referred to as *kumaruaq,* "the big louse" (viz. of the earth) (Rasmussen 1931, 309); *tiklertaaq,* "the beating one," was the heart *(uumat); tarejumaq,* "shadow-maker," designated the angakkuq; *tau,* "shadow," referred to an *inuk* (person). In this vocabulary an object or living being was only referred to obliquely: A property, a form of behavior, or an essential aspect, like the shade, might be referred to. The reference to the angakkuq as tarejumaq, related him to the concept of *tarniq,* "shade," derived from the root *taaq,* "dark," which played an important part in the shamanic complex. By referring obliquely to an animal or a human being, one avoided invoking its spirit directly. Kappianaq from Iglulik explained how the tuurngait expressed themselves through the voice of the angakkuq: "Angakkuit were able to imitate all kinds of noises, bird and bears. The voice that they had was the voice of their tuurngaq, which comes into them" (Oosten and Laugrand 2001).

The angakkuit played an important part in procuring game, healing the sick, and correcting the weather. These actions usually required a collective confession of transgressions by the members of the community *(annianiq, qaqqialiq)* to free the path for the shaman. All transgressions of a patient had to be confessed

Luke Nuliajuk from Gjoa Haven demonstrating the technique of qilaniq at the Elders workshop in Kugaaruk (Pelly Bay) in June 2004. (Courtesy of Cornelius Remie)

if the patient was to be cured. A patient who did not confess was bound to die.

One of the hardest feats of the shamans was the descent to the inua of the sea. When the Inuit did not observe the ritual rules (hiding miscarriages and bestiality were considered the worst offences), the owner of the sea would not make the game available to the Inuit, and people would starve. The angakkuq had to make his descent to her house on the bottom of the sea. The following account is based on that given to Rasmussen by the old angakkuq Aua.

When the angakkuq went to the spirit of the sea, he wore only kamiks and mittens. The angakkuq sat behind a curtain on the sleeping place. The people who were present loosened their thongs and clothes, and the lamps were extinguished. After some time the angakkuq began to call upon the helping spirits, saying, "The way is made ready for me; the way opens before me." All the participants answered: "Let it be so." When the helping spirits had arrived the earth opened under the angakkuq, who cried: "The way is open," and those present answered: "Let the way open before him; let there be way for him." The angakkuq receded under the earth. One heard the sighs of the dead namesakes of the angakkuit. Those present called them by name and then the sighs ceased. After some time they began again. Meanwhile the sighs of the dead were heard as if they were under the sea, and one heard the blowing and splashing of creatures coming up to breathe (Rasmussen 1929, 124–125).

The oldest members of the community sang:

We reach out our hands
to help you up;
we are without food,
we are without game.
From the hollow by the entrance
you shall open,
you shall bore your way up.
We are without food,
and we lay ourselves down
holding out hands
to help you up
(Rasmussen 1929, 126).

The angakkuq had to pass through great dangers in his journey to the lowest depths of the sea. He had to avoid great rolling stones that threatened to crush him, and he had to pass the sea spirit's dog, who guarded her house. If he came to a great wall around her house he had to kick it down. When he entered the hut of the sea spirit she sat with her back to the lamp and to the animals swirling in a great pool to the right of the lamp. Her hair was dirty because of the transgressions of men. When the father of the sea spirit attempted to grasp the angakkuq he had to say: "I am flesh and blood," and then he would not be hurt. Then he turned the sea spirit to the lamp and combed her hair until she had calmed down. Then the angakkuq said: "Those up above can no longer help the seals up by grasping their foreflippers," and she answered in the language of the tuurngait: "The secret miscarriages of women and the breaches of taboo in eating boiled meat bar the way for the animals." The angakkuq then had to continue to appease her, so that finally she would let the game go free. Then the angakkuq

returned coming up out of the earth like a creature of the sea coming up to breathe. A general confession of ritual transgressions followed, taking many hours. When all transgressions had been confessed the séance ended and everybody was sure that the game would now be abundant (Rasmussen 1929, 123–129).

Another major task of a shaman was correcting the weather. When a blizzard continued to blow and the Inuit could not go out to hunt, the angakkuit had to cut the wind (South Baffin area), or tame the wind with whips (Nattilik area). Thus angakkuit fulfilled many useful social tasks. But there was also a dark side to shamanism. Shamans were often associated with witchcraft (*ilisitsuq*). There was much competition among shamans. Also, shamans could use their knowledge and techniques to kill other people, for example, by sending tupilait against them. Tungilik related how another angakkoq tried to kill his father:

> Back then the *angakkuit* would use their *tuurngait,* and if a person gave in then they killed him. If the *angakkuq* started trying to kill people who weren't doing anything to them, then they in turn were killed. There was an *angakkuq* who was trying to fight my father. My father ignored him for a while but he got tired of it, so he in turn had his *tuurngaq* kill the other *angakkuq.* I do not exactly know how. (Tungilik and Uyarasuk 1999: 93).

When Christianity arrived, shamans often tried to combine Christian and shamanic ideas, especially in the areas under the influence of the Anglican missions. The result was a series of religious upheavals. Thus Christianity was introduced in Iglulik by Umik, described by the late Rose Iqallijuq as part shaman, part Christian. Finally Inuit decided that Christianity and shamanism did not go well together. But that did not mean that shamanism disappeared completely. Victor Tungilik from Naaujaat practiced after he became a Christian, and apparently many others did as well. Much knowledge of shamanism is still preserved among Inuit elders, especially in the Kivalliq and Nattilik area, where Christianity arrived relatively late. Even the late Nutaaraluk from Iqaluit stated emphatically that each community will always have shamans. Today some Inuit elders plead for a more positive approach to shamanism, arguing that it can be helpful to overcome the many social problems of modern Inuit society. They think the good things of shamanism and Christianity should be combined. Whether that is feasible still remains to be seen.

Jarich Oosten

See also: Greenland Shamanism; Initiation; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Transformation; Yupik and Inupiaq Masks; Yupik Shamanism

References and further reading:

Boas, F. 1904. "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. From Notes Collected by Capt. George Comer, Cap. James S. Mutch and Rev. E. J. Peck." *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 15, no. 1: 1–370.

———. 1907. "Second Report on the Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. From Notes Collected by Captain George Comer, Captain James S. Mutch, and Rev. E. J. Peck." *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 15, no. 2: 371–570.

———. [1888] 1964. *The Central Eskimo.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Laugrand, Frédéric, Jarich Oosten, and Francois Trudel. 2000. *Representing Tuurngait.* Iqaluit: Arctic College.

Lyon, G. F. 1824. *The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon of H.M.S.* Hecla, *during the Recent Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry.* London: John Murray.

Oosten, Jarich, and Frédéric Laugrand, eds. 2001. *Travelling and Surviving on Our Land.* Iqaluit: Language and Culture Program, Arctic College.

Rasmussen, Knud. 1929. *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos.* Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924, vol. 7. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

———. 1930. "Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos. Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo Texts." *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–24.* Vol. 7 (2–3). Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

———. 1931. "The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture." *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–2*4. Vol. 7 (1–2). Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

———. 1932. *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*

1921–24. Vol. 9. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.
Stefansson, V. 1938. *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India by the North-West, A.D. 1576–8. From the Original 1578 Text of George Best.* London: Argonaut Press.
Tungilik, Victor, and Rachel Uyarasuk. 1999. *The Transition to Christianity.* Edited by Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand. Iqaluit, Nunavut: Language and Culture Program Arctic College.

IROQUOIS (HAUDENOSAUNEE) SHAMANISM AND SECRET SOCIETIES

Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) culture belongs to the Woodland Culture area (which is also called the Northeast Culture area) of North America, and Iroquois shamanistic ideas are, according to texts from the seventeenth century to the present, strongly associated with celestial and woodland spiritual beings. In terms of shamanistic practice, people's dream experience has also played a crucial role.

Iroquois documented history, from *The Jesuit Relations* of the seventeenth century to contemporary ethnographies, reveals historical changes in Iroquois shamanism, influenced by cultural contact with European cultures and religions and also due to indigenous religious creativity. For example, twentieth-century ethnographies have reported that there are two different kinds of shamanism, the public kind, usually performed as part of annual ceremonies, and the secret-society rituals performed in a private house. Though the early historical documents do not mention the second kind, it is reasonable to assume that the secret-society rituals were performed even in those days. Another issue is related to shamanistic ideas associated with the spiritual beings of the woods. As far as the early historical texts are concerned, it is rather difficult to obtain similar information, though it is likely that spiritual beings of the wood also played an important role in the shamanism of the seventeenth century.

Dream experience is clearly of continuing importance in Iroquois shamanism. Dream experience reveals messages from spiritual beings and conveys what kind of ritual needs to be performed for a person who has had a dream. For example, anybody who has had a dream of a False Face spirit (seen as a disembodied figurehead) would have to ask a member of the False Face Society to perform the rituals of the society for him. And in the various kinds of "secret" societies, such as the Bear Society or the Otter Society, for which membership is restricted only to those who have gone through their healing rituals, many spiritual animals belonging to the woods are seen as sources of power. As seen in *The Jesuit Relations* of the seventeenth century, dreams played a central role as a medium through which a message from a celestial being was conveyed to the person who had the dream (Thwaites 1896–1901, vols. 12, 13; v. 54, 141–143). Later, in the mid-twentieth century, ethnologist Frank G. Speck wrote: "The dream sphere of people such as the Iroquois has been recognized as the dominant factor operating in questions involving cause and cure of sickness. A fundamental difference between their dream-world and our own lies in their overt realization of the importance of animal spirits and of the preternatural spirit forces of the universe as they pervade the whole structure of Iroquois cultural existence" (Speck 1949, 40). Though emphasis has shifted from the strong obligatory nature of dream messages to the people's belief in the dream, the dream experience itself remains of central importance to Iroquois shamanism.

One of the major changes in Iroquois shamanism happened early. The early texts show shamanistic behavior as a familiar part of life, one that was not kept secret. After the Iroquois Confederacy lost its prestigious political and military status in the 1770s, the public practice of shamanism declined and then disappeared. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, shamanistic activities (except those of the False Face Society) were no longer seen on public occasions, which were limited to the well-orchestrated rituals of the secret medicine societies. It is possible that this change might have been caused by the cultural pressure of Euro-American Christian influence at that time.

More detailed accounts of specific practices and beliefs from the two periods for which most material exists, the seventeenth century

and the twentieth century, will provide a more vivid picture of Iroquois shamanism. The seventeenth-century primary sources on Iroquois shamanism come from Jesuit missionaries visiting New France. Though their prejudices and their missionary purpose influence their descriptions of the indigenous religious practices and beliefs, it is possible to find useful descriptions of Iroquois shamanism in the Jesuit documents.

Iroquois false face mask. (Werner Forman/ Corbis)

Shamanic Practices in the Jesuit Relations

The Jesuits reported that the Iroquois performed a variety of religious practices, including hot-coal handling in healing rituals, divination, and sending off the soul of the deceased. In one case, in order to remedy a disease striking the village, a shaman ordered a lacrosse game to be played as a medicine ritual (Thwaites 1896–1901, vol. 10, 185–187). The shamans also had the ability to handle hot coals in their mouths (Thwaites 1896–1901, vol. 12, 23). This continued to be seen in a different form in reports of the False Face Society in the twentieth century, which told of masked ritual dancers holding hot coals in their hands and rubbing ashes on the patient, though the emphasis in terms of efficacy seems to have shifted from the personal ability of shamans, in the seventeenth century to the spiritual force at work, in the twentieth century (Speck 1995, 91–93).

From Jesuit documents of the seventeenth century, it is possible to know the view of the soul held by the Hurons (one of the Iroquoian-language speaking peoples), as well as their related shamanistic practice in terms of diagnosing illnesses (Thwaites 1896–1901, vol. 39, 19–21). The Huron recognized three kinds of illness. The first was due to natural causes, the second was caused by the soul of the patient desiring something, and the third was caused by "sorcerers." The second kind is most relevant to note here. According to the Huron, besides the ordinary desires, human beings might have a kind of desire that involved a migration of the soul into the object desired. The soul would reveal this desire by means of dreams. If these dreams were fulfilled, the soul would remain content. Otherwise, it would be vexed and revolt against the body, causing various infirmities and sometimes death. If a person dreamed of some distant thing, it meant that the soul had gone forth from the body, in order to become present in that dreamed of thing. For this reason, the Hurons diligently observed dreams, in order to know the desires of the soul. Shamans *(arendigoguanne)* had the ability to know the desire of the soul by receiving a vision of the object desired from a powerful spirit called Oki dwelling in them. The shamans discovered the hidden desires of the sick person by looking into a basin full of water, by acting as if possessed by some power, or by hiding themselves in some secret place.

A description of a Huron shamanistic healing ritual was given by a Jesuit missionary.

> One day, ten or twelve of shamans were gathered around a man who had an earache. They took into their mouth a certain mysterious water, and blew it with violence over the sick man's cheeks and temples; and he who acted as chief of the group ordered others to throw some of this water also on the hair and head of the man, and even on the mat where he was lying, to drive away the evil spirits of the disease in the man's ear. They then all drank of

> the same liquor, and took the medicine that was to cure the sick man. . . .When the Jesuit priest asked the sick man where his ailment was, and how he felt, one shaman replied, saying that two little evil spirits had already come out of his ear, and now only one was left, who was more obstinate than the others. (Thwaites 1896–1901 vol. 53, 285–287)

Twentieth-Century Secret Societies

The twentieth-century ethnographies have much to tell about various medicine societies, including the secret societies' rituals. There are scholarly debates concerning the meaning of *secret,* but here it simply means that only the members know who else belongs to the society. Those who became sick and were then cured by a certain secret society would be accepted into the society as new members. Arthur Parker studied several important secret societies, such as the Little Water Society, the Bear Society, the Eagle Society, and others (Parker 1909). Each society had its own origin legend and its own set of songs and dances.

When American ethnologist Frank G. Speck, who was well accepted by the Seneca people, was sick, his Seneca friends informed him of their wish to perform a curative ritual and asked him about his most recent dream. When Speck replied that he had dreamed of an eagle-like bird, the Seneca decided to perform the Dew Eagle Society dance. At the ritual, those who were present were the speaker, the singers, the dancers, and Speck himself. Especially interesting were the dancers who imitated the movement of the eagle. They appeared "in Indian costume, wearing back cloth leggings bordered with ribbon work and beadwork in Iroquois style and design, with breech clothes of the same material, and feather bonnets of the Plains Indian (Sioux) type. One of the latter had dark eagle feathers, the other turkey wing feathers" (Speck 1949, 49). The two youthful costumed dancers then advanced to the central space and assumed a squatting posture facing each other over the feather sticks and rattles. Facing each other, crouching in the center of the room, they shook their rattles in time with those of the singers. They moved the feather sticks up and down as they crouched, without shifting their feet. Their action simulated the movement of two eagles on the ground, bowing and dipping.

Among the Iroquois medicine societies, the False Face Society is the most well known, and William N. Fenton's *The False Faces of the Iroquois* (1987) is an excellent work for interested readers to refer to.

According to Fenton, there are three kinds of masked medicine societies, the False Face Society, the Husk Faces, and the Society of Mystic Animals. The first two conform to a ritual pattern, which governs all Iroquois medicine ceremony. The pattern consists of "an invitation by messenger, an announcement of intent at the meeting, a tobacco invocation to the spirit forces requesting their cooperation, the specific ritual, and a terminal feast" (Fenton 1987, 23–24). The dancers of the False Face Society wear curved wooden masks, which are called by several names in different Iroquois settlements. The Seneca and the Mohawk term for the mask means *face,* whereas the Onondaga usually call a mask a Hadui (Hunchback), after the mythical figure masks are made to resemble. The False Face Society specializes in curing nosebleed, paralysis, and dental and muscular disorders. Those who have these physical symptoms or dream of a False Face spirit or encounter such a spirit in the woods would be required to ask the False Face Society to perform the ritual for them. Since the False Face Society is not a secret society, the members appear in so-called traveling rites in spring and autumn to purge the settlement, and as beggars and throwers of hot ashes at the Midwinter Ceremony. Due to their public appearances, False Face Societies are the best known to the outsider. Ritualistic procedures are necessary in making the face mask itself from the wood since it has a sacred connotation; the face resembles the figure of the mythic Hadui, who challenged the Creator over who could move the mountain. The mask worn by the dancer represents the spirit of this Hadui, now living on the rim of the earth.

In a False Face Society ritual, the masked dancer could be regarded as a shaman since, though the mask itself is important, the dramatic behavior of the men who don the masks counts far more in the role of the False Face Society. Individual talent in dancing and acting as well as in singing determines the effectiveness of the medicine ceremony. The following is a very abridged ritual scenario. The singer sings a song while shaking the turtle rattle, and the masked dancers dance, dip their hands in the

embers, rub them together, utter nasal whines, and blow ashes on the head, shoulders, elbows, and knees of patients who have come forward as required by dreams or who are obliged to renew a former cure. A matron distributes tobacco among them, and each dancer returns thanks by blowing ashes on her head. They depart with a kettle of mush (Fenton 1987, 298).

Despite five hundred years of historical conflicts and coexistence with the Euro-American culture, indigenous Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) religious and cultural traditions are still intact on several reservations, where their traditional hereditary government still functions. Though situations vary from one reservation to another, indigenous shamanic traditions continue to exist in today's complicated Iroquois society.

Takeshi Kimura

See also: American Indian Medicine Societies; Animal Symbolism (Americas); Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance

References and further reading:

Fenton, William N. 1987. *The False Faces of the Iroquois.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. 1991. *The Iroquois Eagle Dance: An Offshoot of the Calumet Dance.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee, "Haudenosaunee Home Page," http://www.sixnations.org (cited August 18, 2002).

Parker, Arthur C. 1909. "Secret Medicine Societies of the Seneca." *American Anthropologist* n.s. 11: 161–185.

Shimony, Annemarie Anrod. 1994. *Conservatism among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve.* Rev. ed. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Speck, Frank G. 1949. "How the Dew Eagle Society of the Allegheny Seneca cured Gahehdagowa." *Primitive Man: Quarterly Bulletin of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* 22, nos. 3 and 4: 39–59.

———. 1995. Reprint. *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse.* Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press. Original edition, 1949.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. 1896–1901. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791.* 73 vols. Cleveland, OH: Burrows Bros.

Tooker, Elisabeth. 1986. *An Iroquois Source Book.* Vol. 3, *Medicine Society Rituals.* New York and London: Garland Publishing.

———. 1991. *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615–1649.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

———. 1994. *The Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

LAKOTA SHAMANISM

Lakota religion combines complex, formal ceremonies with individual seeking of visions and healing rites. As members of community with special spiritual powers and knowledge, religious specialists, or shamans, play a role in every aspect of Lakota religion.

The Lakota are a confederation of seven tribes of Teton, or western Sioux, Indians, including the Oglala, Sicangu (Brulé), Miniconjou, Itazipco (Sans Arc), Oohenumpa (Two Kettle), Hunkpapa, and Sihasapa (Blackfoot—not to be confused with the Blackfoot nation of Montana and Alberta), speaking the western, or "L," dialect of the Dakota language. Lakota people occupy several reservations in central and western South Dakota, including Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Lower Brule, Crow Creek, Cheyenne River, and Standing Rock. The combined Lakota tribes have about 64,000 enrolled members, with approximately 61 percent living on reservations. The Lakota appear to have split off from proto-Siouan groups of the Ohio Valley, gradually moving westward to the Great Lakes, southern Wisconsin and Minnesota, and eventually into the western Dakotas. After reaching the western Plains about 1750, the Lakota lived primarily by hunting bison. They lived in portable hide tepees, using dogs and horses as pack animals. Social structure was based on the *tiyospaye,* "camp," a small hunting group of closely related families. These gathered into larger bands and tribes during summer, and the various tribes came together once a year for the Sun Dance.

The Lakota pushed their way across the Dakotas through a series of hard-won victories against Arikara and Mandan villagers control-

ling access to the Missouri River crossings, as well as against Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Crow groups on the western Plains. Treaties in 1851 and 1868 granted most of the western Dakotas to the Lakota and allied bands of Cheyenne and Arapaho. The so-called Red Cloud's War of 1866–1868 drove U.S. military installations from the Powder River country west of the Black Hills and for a short time secured the area for the Lakotas. In 1874, however, gold was discovered in the Black Hills, and non-Indians began to pour into the Great Sioux Reservation. The Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876 was a short-lived victory for the Lakota and Cheyenne. During 1877, nearly all Lakota were confined to smaller reservations. The great buffalo herds were gone, and in 1877 the U.S. government forced the Lakota and their allies to concede the Black Hills under threat of withdrawing the food and clothing rations now needed for basic survival. The Lakota struggle to regain the Black Hills continues today. Most tribes have refused to accept compensation for the illegal taking of this sacred land, asserting that the Black Hills are not for sale.

During the early reservation period, the U.S. government abolished all native religious practices. The most violent expression of this policy was the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, when Lakota participation in the Ghost Dance religion precipitated a panic among the non-Indian population of the area. In response to religious prohibitions, Lakotas moved their intertribal gatherings to national holidays, such as Independence Day, and conducted other ceremonies such as the Sun Dance, sweat lodge, and vision quests in secret. Today, religious prohibitions no longer apply, and Lakota religion is being revitalized. The main problems facing traditionalists today are isolation from sacred sites, such as those in the Black Hills, loss of knowledge of some ceremonies and rituals, and expropriation of Lakota practices by entrepreneurs and practitioners of New Age religion.

Like many Plains Indian nations, the Lakotas recognize several types of religious specialists. The closest thing to an inherited position is that of Keeper of the Sacred Pipe, the sacred bundle most central to Lakota religion and identity. Each new Keeper is selected from the younger generation of the same family and trained by the current Keeper in the care and use of the Pipe. Other people become religious specialists through a series of successful vision quests and training from elders with the appropriate knowledge. Visions provide both the realization that one will become spiritually powerful and also provide special knowledge, such as ceremonial practices, medicinal herbs, ways of telling the future, and methods of healing. Individuals' spiritual powers and roles in society have varied greatly. Lakotas recognize several categories of religious specialists: the *wicasa wakan* (holy man) or *winyan wakan* (holy woman), *pejuta wicasa* or *pejuta win* (male or female herbalist), *wapiya wicasa* or *wapiya win* (male or female healer), and *wakan kaga* (one who enacts a spirit being, either male or female). The religious specialists conduct ceremonies, mentor young people undergoing their first vision quest, seek spiritual messages about the future, and treat physical and mental problems. Many are believed to have the ability to travel to and from the spirit world.

The categories are not absolute, and many individuals act in more than one capacity. Each healer or holy person has a unique set of powers and knowledge; thus, a petitioner chooses the one most suited to address a particular need. Healers and herbalists are called upon to help the sick and wounded. The main duty of wakan kaga persons is to enact their visions in public, but some also provide cures or charms, and historically they performed ceremonies such as the girls' puberty ritual and predicted the outcome of war expeditions. Their visions—most often of lightning, bears, wolves, buffalo, elk, or deer—determine their exact duties and powers. Another category of shaman was the *wicahmunga* or *wihmunga.* Sometimes translated as "witch" or "wizard," these terms refer to individuals who supposedly use their powers secretly to cause sickness or death, to give luck in gambling, or to create love charms.

The wicasa wakan and winyan wakan learn a series of sacred songs, actions, and speech from other holy persons during a long apprenticeship. A person becomes a wicasa wakan or winyan wakan in response to an especially powerful vision, usually received as a young teenager or child. Nicholas Black Elk received his great vision when he was nine years old and unconscious from a serious illness. This vision is described in the well-known and romanticized book *Black Elk Speaks;* an unembellished version can be found in *The Sixth Grandfather*

(DeMallie 1984). Sometimes the fulfillment of the vision is postponed until much later in life, especially for women. Often the vision is understood and fulfilled only after the individual has undergone a personal trauma, such as illness or injury. He or she then receives another communication from the spirit world and seeks the help of a holy person in interpreting the messages. This step is followed by a formal vision quest, lasting four days and nights, that reveals whether the person should become a holy one. The wicasa wakan or winyan wakan is expected to receive powerful visions throughout his or her lifetime, eventually mastering the ability to pass into and out of the spirit world at will. This familiarity with the spirit world allows the holy person to understand the meaning of others' visions, signs about the future, and the correct way to conduct ceremonies. Sometimes the spirits communicate the details of a new ceremony to the holy person, who will then teach it to the other people. Some holy persons hold the position for life, but others train a younger person to take over their ministry as they grow old.

Lakota holy men in the late 1800s defined a shaman as a wise man who communicates with the spirits, has knowledge of medicine, conducts ceremonies, and is respected and feared. Little Wound said in 1896 that he had received his shaman's knowledge from a vision of the Wind, but he kept the vision itself secret. Only shamans receive visions of the invisible spirit beings, but anyone might have a vision of a visible spirit being. (Apart from tobacco, no drugs were used in the vision quest or any other traditional Lakota ceremony.) Shamans are able to speak for Wakan Tanka, the great mystery, and are, along with the vision, the means for Wakan Tanka to communicate with people and grant them *sicun,* special personal powers. Each shaman has a unique set of songs and prayers for each of the sixteen principal gods or spirit beings. Some shamans head groups focused on a particular spirit the members have experienced in a vision. Along with the shamans' prestige and power comes danger. Other holy persons can try to harm them or their sicun. Historically, if shamans were found to have deceived the people they could be punished, even killed, by the tribal marshals.

All Lakota religious specialists live as ordinary men and women, except when called on to doctor the sick or conduct ceremonies. Their religious duties do not exempt them from other obligations, but give them an additional role to fulfill. When asked to intervene in a case of bodily illness, healers and herbalists today will first determine whether the person is suffering from an "Indian" sickness or a "white man" sickness. In the latter case, the patient is referred to an M.D. for treatment. If the sickness is thought to be one that existed before white contact, the Indian herbalist or healer will use his or her knowledge to treat the person. Treatment consists of varying combinations of medicines, ceremonies, and conjuring. Generally, herbalists and healers specialize in particular types of illnesses and medicines. Their range of abilities and knowledge of medicines is limited by the visions they have received and their apprenticeship under experienced healers. Men, women, and transgender individuals can fill any of the specialties; it appears, however, that all midwives are women and most of those who treat wounds are men.

The Yuwipi is a common Lakota healing ceremony, used to help individuals in physical or mental distress. It is an example of the trans-Siberian shamanic "shaking tent" rituals. During this ceremony, participants sit around the edges of a completely dark room. Before all light is extinguished, the shaman is bound tightly in a quilt and placed on the floor at the center of the room within an altar space. During the prayers and singing that follow in the pitch-black room, participants typically see tiny blue lights dancing about the room, and may see animals or other creatures, as well. At the end of the ceremony, light is allowed in, and the shaman is found to be free of the constraints, often approaching the house from outside.

Some Indians (and non-Indian posers) now hold Indian ceremonies and healing rites for non-Indians for profit. Some have adopted Indian-sounding names and published books with fabricated information about purported Lakota traditions or stories. These entrepreneurs play on public ignorance of the complexities of Lakota religion and on popular stereotypes that view Indians as inherently spiritual and in a state of harmony with the natural world. The practice of selling ceremonies and religious items disturbs traditionalists, who feel that the ceremonies are meant for the benefit of the Lakota community. They resent others

turning sacred knowledge into a commodity and violating cultural constraints on who is entitled to such information. The traditional community resents the modification of ceremonies into forms that are more acceptable to outsiders, such as omitting meat feasts. They worry that their own young people will be confused by such changes and by New Age practices brought into traditional ceremonies. Although the American Indian Movement passed a resolution against such activities in 1984, they have no way of enforcing this prohibition, and the practices continue.

Linea Sundstrom

See also: American Indian Medicine Societies; Ecology and Shamanism; Ghost Dance and Prophet Dance; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Black Elk, Nicholas. 1953. *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux.* Recorded and edited by Joseph Epes Brown. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

DeMallie, Raymond J., ed. 1984. *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Densmore, Frances. 1918. *Teton Sioux Music.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 61. Reprinted 1992 as *Teton Sioux Music and Culture* by University of Nebraska Press.

Feraca, Stephen E. 1998. *Wakinyan: Lakota Religion in the Twentieth Century.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Irwin, Lee. 1994. *The Dream Seekers: Native American Visionary Traditions of the Great Plains.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Neihardt, John G. 1932. *Black Elk Speaks.* New York: William Morrow. Reprinted 1961 and 1979, University of Nebraska Press.

Powers, William K. 1986. *Sacred Language: The Nature of Supernatural Discourse in Lakota.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

St. Pierre, Mark, and Tilda Long Soldier. 1995. *Walking in the Sacred Manner: Healers, Dreamers, and Pipe Carriers—Medicine Women of the Plains Indians.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Walker, James R. 1991. *Lakota Belief and Ritual.* 2d ed. Edited by Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

NAVAJO SHAMANISM

The tradition of shamanism among the Navajo has changed with changing times, but it is still a strong and valuable part of their way of life. Its persistence reflects the success of this people in preserving the essence of their distinctive worldview.

Background

The Navajo (or *Diné,* as they call themselves; see Downs 1972) constitute the largest Native American society in North America, with a population nearing 300,000 in 2002. They are a Western Apachean people, related historically and linguistically to the Chiricahua and Jicarilla Apaches, and they speak one of the still thriving Athabaskan languages. They inhabit the largest Indian reservation (25,209 square miles) in North America, which covers roughly a fifth of the state of Arizona and parts of southern Utah and western New Mexico. The Navajo homeland (Dinétah) is mostly semiarid high desert plateau country, with some forest and mountain areas, and bounded symbolically by the four sacred mountains: Blanca Peak (Sis Naajiní), in Colorado, to the east; Mount Taylor (Tsoodził), in New Mexico, to the south; the San Francisco Peaks (Dook'o'¥osłííd), in Arizona, to the west; and Hesperus Peak (Dibé Nitsaa), in Colorado, to the north.

The Navajo are a proud, resilient, and pragmatic people, who have borrowed cultural elements from the various societies with which they have come into contact over the course of their history, including Hispanic, Anglo, and Pueblo societies (Iverson 2002). Originally nomadic hunters and gatherers, the Navajo later took up sheepherding and horticulture. Today they practice agriculture ranging from horticulture to intensive agriculture, as well as maintaining sizable herds of sheep, with some horses and cattle. Because of their burgeoning population and the deterioration of their land from overgrazing, they are increasingly reliant upon employment, both on the reservation and in surrounding cities and towns. They are a matrilineal society, and matrilineages and matriclans are extremely important elements in their social life, both politically and economically. Although most Navajo today still more or less adhere to their traditional religion, many now be-

Navajo shaman giving medicine to a participant sitting atop a blanket used in sweatbath, as two others look on, ca. 1905. (Library of Congress)

long to the pan-tribal Native American Church, or "peyote religion" (Aberle 1966). Also, various evangelical Christian sects have made headway on the reservation.

The Way of Beauty

The Navajo worldview is essentially a spiritual cosmology, addressing most of the matters of ultimate concern that define any of the world's major religions. What makes Navajo religion quite distinct and so very interesting is its emphasis upon the central concept of *hózhǫ́*—a term that is hard to gloss in English, usually translated as "beauty." The term however also carries other connotations, especially "harmony," "proper order," "health," and "goodness" (in the moral sense). It is important at the outset to understand that hózhǫ́ for the Navajo is as much an internal mental state—an existential state of being—as it is a philosophical concept about the metaphysical quality of things "out there" (Witherspoon 1977, 151). Hózhǫ́ is a spiritual path, a way of life, an ideal and dynamic process of living, and a quality that one wants to realize in one's being to match its natural counterpart in nature. It is toward celebrating, restoring, and maintaining this hózhǫ́ state of being that virtually all Navajo shamanism is directed.

Hózhǫ́ refers to the natural state of both perceived external events and the hidden forces behind those events (Farella 1984). The Navajo—like so many other peoples around the globe—have noticed that we cannot actually see the air we breathe. We only know air by its movement and its effects (rustling of leaves, whirling dust, the sensation of the breeze on our skin, and so on). It is not surprising then that in Navajo cosmology the hidden, vital, motivating dimension of things is called *nilch'i,* or Wind (McNeley 1981). Physical reality—indeed, all things in the perceptual world, including people—are motivated by this one, vast,

cosmic Holy Wind that flows in and out of all things (*bii'asti,* the "animating energy within") and that underlies and vitalizes the normally hidden totality of the universe. Wind underlies the vitality, dynamics, and movement of nature, from the contemplation of which people may attain their intuitions about the purpose of existence. And it is an imbalance or disruption of that portion of the "wind that stands within" *(nilch'i hwii'siziinii)* each person that leads to disease and misfortune.

One of the main ways that the sense of hózhǫ́ can be lost is by forgetting. Hence, one returns to the state of beauty by remembering—by literally "re-membering," or re-collecting—by putting it all back together again in the properly healthy and wholesome way. One again "walks in beauty" by remembering what the Holy People *(Diyin Diné'e)* taught from the beginning of time, which is recorded in precise detail in the Sacred Stories handed down from generation to generation. Generally speaking, the Navajo believe that the only route to hózhǫ́ is to live in accord with the Way of the Holy People. If need be, one may be reminded of the hózhǫ́ way by instruction from a medicine man or elder, or by singing the appropriate songs, or by doing the proper rituals, such as greeting the dawn with an offering of corn pollen and prayer.

Navajo express various views about the relation of the Holy Wind and the Holy People (the Mountain People, for instance, and the Star People, the River People, the Rain People, the Corn People, Coyote, and Big Fly). For some Navajo, the Holy People are the Holy Wind personified—the Wind imagined (and sometimes directly experienced). For others, the Holy People exist in their own right and like everything else in reality are motivated by the Holy Wind. In either case, one of the major mnemonic devices for reminding people of the hidden aspects of the "way of beauty" is the imagery in iconographic art—that is, artworks that resemble and invoke heroic figures (e.g., the gods, or *yee'ii*), sacred themes and processes (e.g., the open circle), and mythological events (e.g., the slaying of monsters by the Hero Twins) that reveal the causally powerful, but hidden, spiritual dimensions of the world. Mnemonic imagery is depicted in statues, masks, prayer sticks, textile designs, jewelry, basketry, and sandpaintings. A piece of sacred art reminds the viewer of the teachings of the Holy People, and thus the mind is guided, in the presence of the object and its narrative associations, back onto the path of beauty, harmony, and health.

Shamans and Healing

Individuals may themselves realize that they have lost the way of beauty, or have contracted a disease, and they may diagnose the cause and cure of their own illness for themselves. Navajos for instance pay a great deal of attention to dreams as omens of misfortune or disease, and will self-diagnose based upon symbolic elements in a dream. If they become aware of the cause of their malady, they may seek out an herbalist (*azee¥ neigeedii,* "one who digs medicines") or a medicine man *(hataałi).* There are many ways one may become sick, including casual contact with non-Navajo people, proximity to lightning or whirlwind, contact with spiritually dangerous wild animals such as bear, coyote, scorpions, snakes, and the like, inappropriate behavior at a ceremonial, violating a taboo (e.g., attending a ceremony while menstruating), and proximity of the spirits of the dead. The greatly feared psychological disorder, known as the Moth Frenzy (*iichą́a:* symptoms of nervousness and anxiety, convulsions, fits of rage and violence), is associated with incest.

The most feared source of disease is witchcraft. Witches *(adiłgąshii)* are evil persons who learn to control the forces of evil *(hóchxǫ́),* the polar opposite of hózhǫ́, and therefore translated in English as "ugly," "destructive," "disharmonious," "chaotic," "unhealthy," and "evil"). Witches revel in doing things that normal people shun so as to disrupt the way of beauty. They are believed to commit incest, and to use the power of the Wind to acquire wealth and political power, to seduce lovers, and to injure or kill rivals. Witches are shapeshifters, turning into wild animals that move around rapidly at night (e.g., the famous Navajo "skin walkers," who adorn themselves with the skins of the dead, of coyotes, and the like). Witches may use powdered bone and flesh from a corpse to inflict "ghost sickness" on people, the symptoms being fatigue, blackened and swollen tongue, bad dreams, paranoia, confusion, dizziness and fainting, and the like. They may also propel magical objects, like bone fragments and pellets, into their victim,

causing them to sicken. Curiously, the Navajo do not recognize soul loss as a cause of disease, and so the healer does not go in search of the lost soul, as is so often the case in other North American shamanic traditions.

If a patient and the patient's family do not understand what is causing a disease, they may have recourse to healing specialists. Navajo culture does not include the status of the classic "flying shamans," whose rituals are primarily intended to evoke "ecstatic" alternative states of consciousness during which they travel to the Underworld or other spiritually potent places (Winkelman 1992), but there are two types of shaman healers recognized and valued by the Navajo that do share many other features in common with the classic pattern. These are the diagnostician and the medicine man.

The Diagnostician

The Navajo seer, or diagnostician (Levy, Neutra, and Parker 1987; Wyman 1936), uses one of three techniques for divining the causes of disease, as well as discovering the location of lost persons and articles, stolen property, sources of water, and witches: listening (*iists'aa'*; now considered extinct), hand trembling *(ndilniihii),* and stargazing (including moon-gazing, sun-gazing and crystal gazing; *deest'ii'*). Each of these is a technique intended to (or in the case of the listener, able to) evoke an alternative state of consciousness in which eidetic images (visual, or in the case of a listener, auditory) spontaneously arise in the practitioner's mind, and a diagnosis is rendered by interpreting those images. The diagnostician may also be a medicine man, although this combining of roles is quite rare. He (or she; pronouns will be alternated) may or may not formally discuss the disease with the patient before entering an alternate state of consciousness, but as he likely knows all about the patient's condition beforehand, in most instances the diagnostician enters the procedure with some relevant knowledge. Also, the information about the disease is considered to be coming directly from the Holy Wind and the powers of the Holy People—especially Gila Monster and Dark Wind, with whom hand-tremblers are closely associated—through the intervention of the diagnostician. If a healing ceremony is indicated, the patient will often undergo a short segment of the indicated ceremonial (e.g., the "blackening") to "test" whether the diagnosis is correct before undergoing the great expense of the full ceremony. Failure of a prescribed course of treatment is considered to be evidence of a false diagnosis.

Hand-trembling is the most common technique used among the Navajo today. Unlike the medicine man and the other two types of diagnostician, individuals become hand-tremblers by way of a calling. For instance, a person may spontaneously enter an alternative state of consciousness and exhibit characteristic trembling and convulsions during participation in a healing ceremony (especially auspicious during a Hand-Trembling Way), and then be recognized as having the gift of divinatory sight. A hand-trembler (usually a woman) will first bless her arm with corn pollen and then hold it over a patient; once the trembling begins, she enters an alternative state of consciousness in which her normal personality is submerged and during which she may see images that indicate both the cause of the disease and the indicated remedy, be that treatment by herbals or by a healing ceremony, or both. The hand-trembler may also draw images on the floor of the hogan while in an alternative state of consciousness, thus utilizing a kind of automatic writing, to produce a diagnostic image such as a lightning bolt, a circle, or a hole, which will indicate a diagnosis.

Stargazing is a skill that must be learned. The stargazing ritual may involve making an appropriate sandpainting, or not, depending upon circumstances. An apprentice stargazer is assigned an appropriate star by his teacher. The small sandpainting will represent his particular star. With or without the sandpainting, the stargazer will bless his eyes and the eyes of the patient with powder made from the lenses of the eyes of certain birds. He then goes outside and sings appropriate chants and prays for his star to show him the cause of the patient's distress. He will stare either at his star directly, or at the light from that star filtered through a crystal held up in front of him. He will enter an alternative state of consciousness in which images appear that are indicative of the correct diagnosis. The stargazer will often describe to the patient what he has seen and ask what the patient or other participants have seen during the ritual, and will render a diagnosis based

upon his interpretation of these images. Sometimes the diagnostician may use the moon or sun as the source of light.

The diagnostic technique called "listening" is by all accounts now extinct. But we do know that the technique was carried out in a similar way to stargazing. The listener would bless his ears and those of his patient with powder made from dried badger eardrums; he would then go outside away from the patient and chant and then listen for telltale sounds in the environment. Based upon the pattern of what he heard (lightning, a rattlesnake, a coyote howling, whatever it might be), he would render a diagnosis. The extent to which a listener would enter an alternative state of consciousness during his listening (a technique not uncommon among Buddhist meditators) is not known.

Medicine Man, or Singer

Once a diagnosis is made, by whatever technique, a healing ceremony (*hataał,* a "sing," or "chant"; see Reichard 1950) of the appropriate kind may be prescribed to return the patient to his or her natural state of hózhǫ́. There are over thirty major types of healing ceremonies, many with multiple subtypes. These different types are divided into Blessing Way ceremonies (intended to reinforce the state of hózhǫ́ and associated with women) and Protection Way ceremonies (designed to defend people from various kinds of assault, and associated with men). The patient or the patient's family seeks the services of a ceremonial healing shaman, or as the literature usually terms him, a "medicine man" (*hataałi,* "singer"; Frisbie and McAllester 1978) who specializes in the type of healing ceremony required.

Ceremonies may last only a day, or may take as long as nine days to complete (Faris 1990). They involve artistic creations—dramatic performances and chanting of songs that describe events during mythological time as laid down in the Sacred Stories. The rituals and artistic ingredients are considered to be gifts given by the Holy People to the Navajo in order that they may avail themselves of powerful forces of the Holy Wind and the Holy People that alone may bring about healing. The medicine man (rarely a woman may achieve this status) is someone who has apprenticed for many years under another older and more experienced medicine man. During the apprenticeship, the neophyte healer memorizes the stories, chants, and ritual techniques by which he will eventually handle a ceremony. He participates in his teacher's ceremonies as a helper. When the neophyte healer finally matures to the status of medicine man, he is given or builds a medicine bundle *(jish),* which contains many of the magical ingredients he will require in carrying out healing rituals.

A healing ceremony, or sing, may only occur within or around a traditional Navajo hut called a hogan—a round, five- or eight-sided hut made of logs, mud, rocks, or, in more modern times, brick, lumber, or concrete. Today most people no longer live in hogans, but rather in more modern buildings, such as ranch-style houses, row houses, and mobile homes. But even today, most medicine men will not consider holding a sing unless the family sponsoring the event provides a hogan (though this restriction has been loosened in modern times by some medicine men, who will now hold sings in modern houses). The reason for this stricture is that the myths and other texts that prescribe the techniques for symbolic healing require a hogan, and a hogan must be constructed in the proper way, with its one door pointing east, the direction of the rising sun. The daily cycle begins in the east with the rising sun, which is associated with birth, and proceeds clockwise through the south and west, and ends in the north, the latter being associated with night and death. By positioning symbols and people within and around the hogan in the proper way, one automatically positions them properly in relation to the four sacred mountains that define Navajoland and the four cardinal directions of the cosmos.

In certain ceremonies, the singer or his helpers will construct a sandpainting (also called a drypainting, for no sand is actually used) on the smooth dirt floor of the hogan. The painting is achieved by dribbling pulverized stone of various colors through the fingers, producing a great, colorful, open mandala, the eastern side of which is left open and pointed toward the door of the hogan, and thus toward the east. When people enter the hogan for activities during the sing, they move clockwise around the sandpainting and sit along the walls according to their gender, age, and status. Thus people become arranged properly relative to

each other, relative to the sandpainting, relative to the homeland, and ultimately relative to the cosmos—all because of the physical structure of the hogan. The sandpainting is in effect a portal to the Holy People, and when a patient is placed in the middle of the mandala, he is considered to be in a direct channel to the healing powers of the Holy People. In other words, healing is accomplished by returning the inner Wind of the patient to its natural state of harmony (hózhǫ́) with the cosmos. As it would remain powerful and potentially dangerous to others, the sandpainting is obliterated and every last bit of the colored powder from which it was made is swept up and disposed of outside to the north of the hogan.

Charles D. Laughlin

See also: Animal Symbolism (Americas); North American Oral Traditions and Shamanism; Peyote Ritual Use

References and further reading:

Aberle, David. 1966. *The Peyote Religion among the Navajo.* Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Downs, James F. 1972. *The Navajo.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Farella, J. R. 1984. *The Main Stalk: A Synthesis of Navajo Philosophy.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Faris, James C. 1990. *The Nightway: A History and a History of Documentation of a Navajo Ceremonial.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Frisbie, Charlotte J., and David P. McAllester, eds. 1978. *Navajo Blessingway Singer: The Autobiography of Frank Mitchell, 1881–1967.* Tucson, AZ: University of Tucson Press.

Iverson, Peter. 2002. *Diné: A History of the Navajos.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Levy, Jerrold E., Raymond Neutra, and Dennis Parker. 1987. *Hand Trembling, Frenzy Witchcraft, and Moth Madness: A Study of Navajo Seizure Disorders.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

McNeley, James K. 1981. *Holy Wind in Navajo Philosophy.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Reichard, Gladys A. 1950. *Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Winkelman, Michael. 1992. *Shamans, Priests, and Witches: A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners.* Anthropological Research Papers no. 44. Tempe: Arizona State University.

Witherspoon, Gary. 1977. *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wyman, Leland C. 1936. "Navaho Diagnosticians." *American Anthropologist* 38: 236–246.

NEW ORLEANS VOUDOU

New Orleans Voudou grew from the spiritual and survival complexes that exiled, enslaved Africans brought to Louisiana and fused with the magico-medical knowledge of indigenous Native Americans and the folk theologies and practices of French Catholicism. The traditions that evolved through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries centered on *conjure,* (magical transformations of reality), public ceremonials of spirit possession, private rituals of spirit merger, and the social benevolent societies that Afro-Catholic free women of color founded.

Practitioners of New Orleans Voudou were called queens, doctors, or workers. They addressed both slavery and racism through spirit possession. They knew extensive magical formulas and manipulated the legal system to help slaves escape bondage. The women of Voudou violated civil codes on illegal assembly and put themselves in danger. It is rumored that they succeeded in commuting jail terms for prisoners and abolishing public executions by using spiritual power and political strategies together. They brought a variety of prayers and formulas to social relationships and to undertakings that involved love, luck, or the law.

The term *Voudou,* in various spellings, is part of scholarly controversies about African "survivals" and spiritual contributions to the New World. The word probably connoted the general name for a spirit or a deity in one or more West African languages. In New Orleans it became an invocation—a call to spirits. After the1820s, local newspapers used the word to refer to the social group itself, which white people viewed as a cult of "primitive superstitions." Voudou did not mean "snake worship"

to its adherents, although that is a common Anglo interpretation. The word *Voudou,* however, continues to call up racial and sexual stereotypes in contemporary popular usage. Today, the most commonly accepted translation of *Voudou* is "those who serve the spirits."

Historic and Scholarly Background

French colonial Louisiana was unique in the annals of the African diaspora. The majority of the African founders of the colony of Louisiana came directly from West and Central Africa. Contrary to common assumptions, they did not pass through the Caribbean first. Africans in colonial Louisiana outnumbered the less powerful Europeans two to one and brought skills in metallurgy, tropical agriculture, indigo production, irrigation, marketing, and medical care. Their imported cultural knowledge was crucial to the survival of the struggling colony. The largest group were Bambara-speakers from Senegambia (Hall 1992; Hanger 1997). The next largest contingent came directly to Louisiana from the kingdom of Kongo. Many were already Christians, well versed in Catholic catechism and religious traditions (Hall 1992, 275–315; Thornton 1987–1988). Africans carried embodied knowledge of public dances of spirit possession, songs, bands, and musical instruments such as drums, banjos, and tambourines directly to French Louisiana. They developed extensive practices of "master magic," called *gris-gris,* a potion or spell to help or harm someone. *Gris-gris* is the Voudou name for conjure; its folk cognate is *ju-ju.* Court cases in 1743 and 1773 acknowledged both the existence and effectiveness of gris-gris, or conjure, in eighteenth-century colonial Louisiana (Porteous 1934). These cases and many that followed led to accusations that Voudou practitioners were poisoners and sorcerers. Diverse documents, however, reveal that concepts of magical empowerment with the direct help of spiritual forces were deeply rooted in the Afro-Creole worldview.

Slavery in Louisiana did not look like slavery in the rest of the American South or in the Caribbean. Slaves were not always black, and blacks were not always slaves. French and Spanish colonial administrations feared uprisings and African-Indian alliances, and so they developed liberal policies of emancipation and manumission, and permitted regular and largely unrestrained public dances or ritual celebrations in places like Congo Square in New Orleans. Frenchmen took African and Native American women as slaves, companions, mistresses, employees, and wives. Free women of color in New Orleans outnumbered both white women and slave women; they became leaders in the Catholic Church and in the community. The women knew home health care—herbs, teas, poultices, bandaging, diagnosis, and treatment. They produced food, marketed it, and provisioned their families. In each generation women of color schemed to buy themselves, their children, and other family members out of slavery. Their activism led to the largest community of *gens de couleur libre,* "free people of color," in the United States, and to the spiritual complexes labeled Voudou. In southern Louisiana the intersection of sex and race forged a New World people called Creoles. Voudou, jazz, dances, cuisine, and architecture of the area have Creole roots. In New Orleans during the colonial and early national periods, Creole referred to the culture and cuisine of native-born, largely endogamous, French-speaking Catholics of all colors.

When Reconstruction ended in 1877, Jim Crow—the doctrine of separate but equal and the cornerstone of American apartheid—began. *Creole* became a contested racial category. Today the term *Creole* is at the center of intense public controversies over the politics of color and who can or cannot claim its heritage (Dominguez 1994; Hirsch and Logsdon 1992; Kein 2000).

The major sources of information about New Orleans Voudou are the following: (1) The staff of the WPA Federal Writers' Project in Louisiana, part of the Depression recovery programs of the 1930s, interviewed several hundred citizens, including people who had been previously enslaved (Clayton 1990), and many who had known the practitioners of Voudou. The interviews are housed in various state archives. (2) Zora Neale Hurston, novelist, anthropologist, and folklorist, did field research in New Orleans from 1929 to 1930. An African American and graduate student in anthropology at Columbia University, Hurston was initiated into New Orleans Voudou at least six times, the last time with a man whom she believed to be the grand-nephew of a famous

practitioner, Marie Laveau the Second. Her lyrical descriptions of these ceremonies are the best in the Voudou-Hoodoo literature (1931; 1990, 198–205). (3) Harry Middleton Hyatt, an eccentric Episcopal priest turned folklorist, privately published five volumes of interviews with Southern practitioners of what he called hoodoo, witchcraft, root-work, and conjuration. Between 1938 and 1940 Hyatt interviewed about thirty to forty practitioners and clients in New Orleans (1970–1978). (4) White journalists, travelers, and regional writers in the nineteenth century published accounts in newspapers, books, and magazines.

Practitioners

The major spiritual imperatives of New Orleans Voudou center on *protection* and *freedom.* Practitioners focused their spiritual intentions and magical strategies on social relationships—owners and slaves; bosses and workers; husbands and wives; lovers; neighbors; in-laws; policemen, judges, and lawyers. Voudou theology acknowledged and provided rituals to contact ancestors, Catholic saints, and other "natural" people who were once human. Other spirits were invoked in times of desperate need or suffering; some spirits volunteered their help through visions, mergers, or possessions.

The best-known priestesses, or practitioners, of New Orleans Voudou were Marie Laveau the First and Marie Laveau the Second, mother and daughter. Marie Laveau the First, also known as the Widow Paris, was born about 1801; she died on June 16, 1881, and is buried in Saint Louis Cemetery Number One, New Orleans' most historic city of the dead. She had a high social standing as a Creole fever nurse and was an active member of Saint Louis Cathedral and a counselor to men on Death Row in Parish prison. In these capacities, she did the work of a psychopomp (one who escorts souls to or from the world of the dead) for the dying, as well as conjure work to free prisoners or allow them a merciful death at a time when hangings were a spectator sport. Her known spiritual signatures were fire, the great serpent (le Grand Zombi), Saint Anthony, and the Virgin Mary.

Marie Laveau the Second, also known as Eucharist Glapion, was born February 2, 1827; she had disappeared by 1877—no reliable date of death, cause of death, or burial site for her are known. People speculated and gossiped about her; well into the twenty-first century, some in the community swore that she drowned and rose again. She was probably a hairdresser; she ran a spiritual practice out of her home, calling in spirits to counsel citizens about matters such as unfaithful husbands, disloyal friends, gambling reverses, bad bosses, ungrateful children, and court cases. On each June 23, Saint John's Eve, Marie the Second planned and led interracial Voudou ceremonials and parties at locations along the beaches of Lake Pontchartrain. Her known spiritual signatures were water, Saint John the Baptist, High John the Conqueror, and the Good Mother.

Both women were French-speaking Catholics, leaders in the Afro-Creole community, and both bore the children of men they could not marry. The mother and daughter have been routinely confused with each other throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both Laveaus and many other free women of color for whom records exist maintained elaborate altars in their homes. They placed candles, holy or blessed water, offerings of food, legal documents or letters, statues to Catholic saints, spices or chemical compounds, and other ritual materials on them. When a client came with a problem, the priestess went to her altar and prayed, journeyed, or otherwise entered into an altered state of consciousness. Once in that state she merged with a spirit, who then spoke through her to the troubled client. The best published accounts of these spiritual sessions come from the thirty long Voudou prayers that Zora Neale Hurston collected (Hurston 1931). As the grand-nephew of Marie the Second explained to her, "Marie Laveau is not a woman when she answer the one who ask. No. She is a god, yes. Whatever she say, it will come so" (Hurston 1990, 195).

Theology and Philosophy of Voudou

Conjure—the magical means to transform reality—was an important shamanic activity of New Orleans Voudou. In the African American worldview, conjure means language and ritual to link magical and supernatural elements with medicinal practices and natural processes. Conjure produces two realities or states of consciousness and mediates between them. Conjurers have both worldly and spiritual insight. Voudou, or

Zora Hurston, Voudou dancer, beating a drum, 1937. (Library of Congress)

Hoodoo, practitioners in the American South often called themselves two-headed doctors—one head for consensual realities and the other for spiritual realms. In Eurocentric reasoning, however, conjure became synonymous with overheated imaginations at best and with witchcraft or sorcery at worst.

Voudou practitioners earned a formidable reputation for their ability to contact the spirits of deceased people. Women's social lives re-

volved around funerals, mourning rituals, and the annual observances of death. Infant mortality in New Orleans was exceptionally high, medical care almost nonexistent. Extensive Catholic and Creole mourning customs prescribed regular visits to family graves and encouraged prayerful contact with dead relatives and friends. A powerful and easily obtained ingredient in Voudou magical formulas was graveyard dust. The etiquette of visiting and cleaning graves in the cemeteries shaded easily into psychopomp work where the souls of the dead were consulted, consoled, and conducted to better places. These spiritual traditions are still practiced in New Orleans, where the cemeteries are major tourist attractions.

Since New Orleans Voudou lives in the shadow of its larger and more famous relative, Haitian Vodou, it has been assumed that the spirits each honored were the same. In New Orleans, however, a place-specific pantheon arose that was dominated by a female spirit in direct contact with the Good God (*Bon Dié* in Louisiana Creole French). This woman is variously called the Holy Mother, the Virgin Mary, the Good Mother, Mother-of-All, "lovely Lady dressed in blue," or Lady Luck. She is also Our Lady of Prompt Succor who saved New Orleans at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 and from menacing hurricanes on many occasions. Other Catholic saints, particularly Saint Anthony and Saint John the Baptist, were honored. Some folk records mention Saint Peter, Saint Rita, Saint Michael, and Saint Joseph. The most popular saint of New Orleans—one not limited to Voudou—is Saint Expedite, who makes things happen quickly. Swift action is a special blessing, even a miracle. The spirits and saints of New Orleans Voudou respond to written instructions, forceful prayers, intense suffering, and personal sacrifice. They have also been known to take bribes and make deals (Hurston 1931; Hyatt 1970–1978).

The Laveaus and other priestesses danced with snakes and called on a serpent spirit named le Grand Zombi in their spirit possession rituals. The origin of the name is unclear. For African Christians from the kingdom of Kongo, the name of God was Zambi a Mpungu; in Saint Domingue, now known as Haiti, a zombi is a person raised from the dead, a person whose immortal soul has been stolen. In New Orleans, however, the Great Zombi seems to have been a fierce spirit of resistance and protest embodied in possession. Although these spirits and saints have obvious parallels in Africa or in Haiti, names like Damballah for the snake spirit or Erzulie for the female spirit are not found in existing documentary sources for Louisiana.

Everything in New Orleans Voudou bowed before intention and desire. A person's name was the chief ingredient of his identity, the essence of his living spirits. Wishes, prayers, blessings, or curses were spoken aloud or written down with a person's name and the intention attached. Holy water and candles set the intention. Nothing in New Orleans Voudou happened "naturally" or because it was "meant to be." There was no such thing as fate, coincidence, serendipity, or acausal synchronicity. Good luck and bad luck were not whims of the spirit world. They resulted from manipulation, maneuvering, magic, and the intentions and ritual actions of a master magician. Each practitioner used her own spiritual experiences to contact the spirits for advice. A practitioner could accomplish the same goal in any of a half dozen ways. New or different remedies to solve the same problem were not lies—not "made up on the spot." In Voudou philosophy, there were no either-or rules, good or bad moral choices. Pictures of saints doused with holy water, for example, could hurt people or help them, depending on the intention.

Voudou practitioners earned a reputation for "fixing," or putting a curse on, those who "crossed" them. They knew how to make their enemies ill or even kill them if necessary. The "voodoo dolls" sold in the French Quarter bear witness to these abilities, although there is no historical evidence that Voudou practitioners like the Laveaus ever made such dolls. These objects are probably more mercantile imagination than spiritual fact. Nonetheless, even ordinary citizens in New Orleans knew and gossiped about various recipes or prescriptions that used common household materials and prayers to wound others. In the logic of Voudou, however, the curse will rebound on the curser. If one can send misfortune to an enemy, a competitor, a rival, a bad boss, or an ex-lover, then they can in turn send it back. Spiritual power sent without compassion returns to injure the sender.

Rituals, Ritual Gatherings, and the Ceremonial Calendar

The Voudou orders met in parks, private homes, in businesses closed for the night, and at the bayous, swamps, or lakes near the city. The most important site was Congo Square, an open plaza on the northern boundary of the French Quarter (Cable 1976; Johnson 1995). Historic evidence shows that African-born enslaved and free people danced there on Sunday afternoons from the mid-1700s to the late 1850s when authorities closed it. Congo Square was a major market center, dance arena, community gathering spot, and ritual space—the crossroads, the focal point of Afro-Creole life, the epicenter of its mystical geography. Scholars regard it as the cradle of African American aesthetics, modern dance in America, and jazz, as well as of New Orleans Voudou. White people witnessed black people gathered in large numbers to do something that resembled religion. Journalists, travelers, and regional writers left eyewitness accounts of bands and their instruments, choruses, songs, ring dances, and spirit possession. The featured performers were women of color in loose white dresses and *tignons,* the headdresses or turbans Creole women of color wore in defiance of an edict that forbade them to wear bonnets like white Creole women.

No place in America is more directly associated with the roots of jazz than is Congo Square. Some scholars say that the ritual dances of the Voudous, called the Congo dance or the Creole dance, were the crucible of modern American dance (Johnson 1995). Women remained within their own tight circles and undulated in sinuous motions resembling snakes. Sometimes the Voudou practitioners danced with snakes, probably the nonpoisonous Louisiana *Coluber* species. With feet flat, a dancer slowly shifted her weight from one ankle to her thighs and then to her hips and torso as she imitated the movements of snakes, who have no legs. The women did not move their feet from the ground as they swayed in undulatory motions from ankles to shoulders. Men mimicked fighting as they danced in circles around the women who performed the constricted ankle-thigh-hip-shoulder step of the classic Voudou ritual dance. They leaped into the air and performed feats of gymnastic dancing. They had bands of bells attached to each leg, and at some dances they balanced bottles or carafes filled with alcoholic spirits on their heads. A chorus of those who knew the songs accompanied the dancers and the musicians. The orchestra or band set the beat with their often handmade instruments. Typically, the players had at least one large drum made from a wooden barrel covered with a cured animal skin and played with animal bones as beaters. There are reliable historic accounts of banjos and other stringed instruments, tambourines, and rattles made from gourds.

This description includes both the ritual dances, music, calendrical ceremonies, and initiation services of the Voudou orders, as well as what were probably secular Afro-Creole celebrations. The sexual excitement and spiritual power on these occasions are evident even in scandalized or confused eyewitness accounts. Witnesses reported chant-style songs, call-and-response lyrics, and a liturgical pacing of rituals from invocation to ritual release. Congo Square can also be interpreted as a site of resistance and confrontation, as well as creativity and spiritual evolution.

The two most significant holy days of New Orleans Voudou are November 1, the Day of the Dead, or All Saints' Day, and June 23, Saint John's Eve. Both are associated with Catholic as well as pre-Christian celebrations, and probably African ones as well. The Day of the Dead follows All Hallow Eve, or Halloween, part of the elaborate masking traditions in New Orleans. On All Saints' Day, citizens visit family tombs, make offerings, clean up, communicate with the dead, and honor their ancestors. The night of June 23, at midsummer, honors Saint John the Baptist and High John the Conqueror, a folk hero in Southern Hoodoo. The Voudou gatherings were typically opened by a priestess who rapped on the floor or ground three times—people said that this meant "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" or "Faith, Hope, and Charity."

Sociomedical Shamanism

Nineteenth-century New Orleans had the highest mortality rates, the deadliest epidemics, and the worst public health system in the United States. The city's subtropical climate and below–sea level location, a chronic lack of

leadership, and appalling sanitation led to yellow fever, cholera, malaria, fulminating dysenteries, and other diseases (Duffy 1958, 1962). The population depended on "fever nurses"—women of color who had learned skills from female relatives, and who used techniques from African, Haitian, and American Indian ancestors. "Nursing women" like Marie Laveau the First were routinely identified as Voudou practitioners.

Women of color in New Orleans practiced an effective array of alternative, integrated, or holistic medicine. Besides their documented bedside skills, they had an extensive pharmacopoeia. Historic records mention ginseng, gum balsam, jalap, rhubarb, snakeroot, sarsaparilla, Saint John's wort, sassafras, copal tree, maidenhair ferns, cottonwood roots, acacia leaves, elderberry bark, sage, Indian hemp, holly leaves, and hundreds more plants and plant parts, many purchased at Native American markets. The first licensed pharmacist in America opened a French-style pharmacy in 1823 and ordered many materials and compounds from New York or Paris.

The practitioners of New Orleans Voudou had an extensive pharmacopoeia of chemicals and compounds, which they mixed and used primarily for conjure or magical work rather than for individual healing. In the Voudou section of the French pharmacy, there were oils of cinnamon, cassia, bergamot, "Sanguinaria Aragon" (bloodroot) or dragon's blood, antimony, iron wire, coffee beans, verbena, lemon grass, cochineal, guinea peppers, lodestones, cayenne pepper, iron filings, kerosene, elm bark tea, Saint John's root, and many other classic ingredients as well. The pharmacist sold love, luck, and control over capricious fate under various names: Love Success, Lucky Devil, As You Please, Attraction, and the famous Love Potion Number Nine. The shelves held some of Voudou's trademark formulas for a successful social life: Getaway Powder, Waste-away Tea, War Waters, the Essence of Three Thieves, and the Goddess of Evils. There were a wide assortment of powders whose names reveal their intention—dragging powders, stay-away powder, separation powder, confusement powder, disturbment powder, whirlwind powders, moving-on powders, and hot-foot powder. These Voudou materials were as conventional for that period as those the white medical establishment favored—harsh laxatives and purgatives, mercury, arsenic, or black leeches to suck blood.

Other than these formulas and compounds, which are still widely available, no known artifacts of New Orleans Voudou have survived. The police confiscated cartloads of ritual objects in raids during the 1850s and did not return them.

Relationship to Other Spiritual Traditions of the Diaspora

New Orleans Voudou is related through the African diaspora to Candomblé, Macumba, and other Afro-Brazilian religions, to Afro-Caribbean religions like Shango of Trinidad, and to Santería in Cuba. It is not the same thing as Haitian Vodou, Hoodoo in the American South, or Hollywood "voodoo."

Several waves of migration gradually shaped New Orleans Voudou in the nineteenth century. In 1809 a group of about ten thousand French-speaking Catholic Creoles came to New Orleans from Saint Domingue. (The Caribbean island was renamed Haiti after a successful revolution brought former slaves to positions of power on the island.) The "foreign French" roughly doubled the population of the city. The new Creoles did not bring what scholars now know as Haitian Vodou to New Orleans. But they probably enhanced some of the Afro-Catholic traditions already present, and certainly contributed to the French quality of the city in the period when Anglos and Protestants were trying to Americanize it. At the same time, they adjusted to their adopted city and blended in completely with the local population. The social and religious contexts of Vodou in Saint Domingue-Haiti and Voudou in New Orleans were not the same. A revolution built and exploded in Saint Domingue, leaving an independent black nation. In Louisiana, American racial laws and tensions intensified in slow steps.

The second wave of influence in New Orleans Voudou came from Southern Blacks who developed conjure, "master magic," and hands-on healing from their experiences with the plantocracy and slavery systems of the rural South. These powerful traditions are generally called Hoodoo in the literature. In the two decades before the Civil War and increasingly after Emancipation in 1863, English-speaking and evangelical or ecstatic Protestants, like the

earlier French Catholic Haitians, changed and were changed by the city. Historians and anthropologists have difficulty in teasing out the contributions of Southern African Americans after the Civil War and the folk Catholicism of Italian and Irish immigrants after the 1840s to the French Afro-Creole foundations of New Orleans (Dominguez 1994; Hirsch and Logsdon 1992; Kein 2000).

In 1877, Reconstruction and the federal occupation of New Orleans ended. The era of American apartheid called Jim Crow, "separate but equal" segregation, began. Local press and police escalated their attacks on the women of Voudou. Legislators at both state and local levels passed and enforced strict laws against fortune-telling, spiritual counseling, or any psychic activities that promoted good luck. Newspapers continued to recycle stories about orgies, boiling caldrons, black magic, and human or animal sacrifice. Hundreds of post-Laveau practitioners moved to Algiers, a suburb across the river from New Orleans.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, African American women started a unique group of churches in New Orleans, the Spiritual Churches—not to be confused with Spiritualism or the Spiritualist Movement. These churches were syncretic, based on native African spirit contacts through possession, an Afrocentric identification with Zionism, Israel, and the Israelites, Native North American Indian traditions, fundamentalist and ecstatic Christianity, nineteenth-century Spiritualism, and charismatic Catholicism (Jacobs and Kaslow 1991). A Native American revolutionary figure, Black Hawk, is widely celebrated both in homes and on church altars. African American men dressed as Native American warriors, or Mardi Gras Indians, lead street marches and dances dressed in elaborate feathered and sequined costumes. Practitioners today use titles such as spiritual advisors, palm readers, fortune-tellers, psychics, spiritual readers, prophets, or Reverend Mothers. Sometimes they speak of themselves or others speak of them as healers or healing mediums. They avoid words like *conjurer*, *doctor*, *queen*, or *rootworker*. Groups of women continue in the tradition of altars, personal adoration, contacts with saints and spirits, and sacramental services of initiation and baptism. They honor ancestors like "Mother Laveau." They build elaborate altars with candles, pictures of saints and spirit guides, photographs or statues of respected Indian chiefs, crucifixes, holy water, food, flowers, perfume, incense, rosaries, and letters to spirits.

Priestesses of Voudou still meet with small groups of followers in New Orleans, on Bayou Saint John, at private homes and parks, and even at Congo Square; all have been trained in Haiti or Africa (Glassman 2000). At the same time, Spiritual Churches provide an alternative to racism and internalized oppression; they offer direct experiences with the spirit world. The leaders of the Spiritual Churches point with pride to their Afro-Catholic roots. But they cannot afford to acknowledge their kinship with New Orleans Voudou.

Martha C. Ward

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Demonic Possession and Exorcism; Mami Wata Religion; Spirit Possession; Trance Dance; Zulu Shamanism

References and further reading:

Cable, George Washington. 1976. *The Dance in Place Congo and Creole Slave Songs.* 3d ed. New Orleans, LA: Faruk von Turk.

Clayton, Ronnie W. 1990. *Mother Wit: The Ex-Slave Narratives of the Louisiana Writers' Project.* New York: Peter Lang.

Dominguez, Virginia R. 1994. *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Duffy, John. 1958, 1962. *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana.* 2 vols. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.

Glassman, Sallie Ann. 2000. *Vodou Visions: An Encounter with Divine Mystery.* New York: Villard.

Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo. 1992. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Hanger, Kimberley S. 1997. *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769–1803.* Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press.

Hirsch, Arnold R., and Joseph Logsdon, eds. 1992. *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Hurston, Zora Neale. 1931. Hoodoo in America. *Journal of American Folklore* 44, no. 174: 317–417.
———. 1990. *Mules and Men.* New York: HarperPerennial. Original edition, Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott, 1935.
Hyatt, Harry Middleton. 1970–1978. *Hoodoo—Conjuration—Witchcraft—Rootwork.* 5 vols. Hannibal, MO: Western Publishing.
Jacobs, Claude V., and Andrew J. Kaslow. 1991. *The Spiritual Churches of New Orleans: Origins, Beliefs, and Rituals of an African-American Religion.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
Johnson, Jerah. 1995. *Congo Square in New Orleans.* New Orleans: Louisiana Landmarks Society.
Kein, Sybil, ed. 2000. *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
Porteous, Laura. 1934. "The Gris-Gris Case." *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1: 48–63.
Thornton, John K. 1987–1988. "On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas." *Americas* 44, no. 3: 261–278.

NORTH AMERICAN ORAL TRADITIONS AND SHAMANISM

For the indigenous peoples of North America, oral traditions have traditionally provided an indispensable guide for coming to know and successfully navigating their mythic landscape, as well as a means of perpetuating that landscape. The oral traditions chronicle the primordial age of transformation when powerful mythic peoples molded the world into being and brought forth all that would be necessary for the human peoples to prosper. It is this landscape, inhabited by what are often referred to as the Animal Peoples with great spiritual powers, as well as dangerous monsters of all kinds, that the shaman must be capable of negotiating with skill. This is also the landscape traveled during a rite of passage into adulthood, during a healing ritual seeking the return of a sick relative's wandering soul, or during the final rite of passage upon a relative's death. In telling the oral traditions the shaman, as storyteller par excellence, helps educate the young and reiterates to the old the meanings and identities that are uniquely the tribe's heritage. In the characters and actions of the Animal Peoples are disseminated many of the archetypal personalities imbued in the human peoples, including the shamans themselves. And in the ritual act of telling the creation stories, the shaman speaks that landscape into existence, helping continue the meaning and vitality of all the world's inhabitants. To know and speak the oral traditions is to know and perpetuate the mythic landscape of the shaman.

The oral traditions comprise a vast body of stories, including those of the mythic beings of the primordial time of transformation before the arrival of humans, as well as those of human heroes and others of the age of humans. It is the powerful mythic beings, some of which are referred to as the Animal Peoples, who transformed a barren and foreboding landscape and prepared it for the coming of human peoples. Among these many mythic beings are Sedna (among the Inuit of the Arctic), who from the parts of her own fingers created many of the animals and fishes of sea, as well as establishing the rules of fishing those creatures. Good and Evil Twin (Iroquois of the Woodland Northeast), in a contest to see who was the most powerful, created the Rocky Mountains; in his defeat, Evil Twin established the False Face Society for curing sickness. Salmon (Plateau tribe) established fishing techniques and the character of such animals as the rattlesnake and wolf; Raven (Northwest Coast) first brought daylight and fresh water to a dark and polluted land. Changing Woman (Southwest) created human beings and the girl's coming of age rite, Kinaaldá. In their quest to find their father, Changing Woman's twin sons, Monster Slayer and Child of the Water, with great cunning and deceptive skills destroyed many of the treacherous monsters that once roamed the land. Scare Face (Plains), having been bullied by others for his distorted face, fasted, refusing all food and water, in the mountains and gained the aid of a guardian animal spirit. As a consequence of this "sacrifice," his scare was then removed, his despair overcome, and he became a prominent man among his people.

Prominent among the mythic beings is the trickster. In his various adventures and misadventures, the trickster is seen as having molded the land from the mud brought up from the sea's bottom, and then created the animals and plants and finally humans themselves. With his skills at deception he established the proper ways of behaving toward kinsmen, as well as toward an enemy. The trickster is known by many names. Among the Tsimshian of the Northwest Coast he is called TxäsEm, Raven, while among the Blackfeet he is known as Napi, Old Man, the Crow call him Isaahkawuattee, Old Man Coyote, and the Sioux, Iktomi, Spider. And for many of the tribes (of the Plains, Southwest, and Plateau) he is known simply as Coyote.

In the collective actions of these mythic beings, the landscape is shaped into form and embedded with all the gifts human peoples will come to need to survive. Among the gifts are the various plant and animal species, the forms of the tribal and family organizations, the ceremonies upon which the human peoples would depend, the teachings and ethical lessons, and the spiritual power itself (called, for example, *baaxpee* among the Crow and *suumesh* among the Plateau Salish; commonly referred to as medicine) needed to accomplish a rite of passage, or a hunting or healing ritual.

As accomplished storytellers, it is the shaman and the other elders of the community who are the caretakers of the oral traditions and responsible for continuing to tell the creation accounts and hero tales. Among the storytelling techniques employed to bring the stories alive are the judicious and skilled use of voice fluctuation and intonation, pauses, and hand gesturing and body language. It is not uncommon for the storyteller to continue his telling only as long as the listeners provide a verbal or visual cue of their continued involvement in the story. Should no such acknowledgments be offered, the story would cease at that moment, whether the story had come to its conclusion or not. All these techniques coalesce to help the listeners of the stories become participants in them, traveling with Coyote as he plays a trick on his younger brother or as he slays some monster threatening the other Animal Peoples. In sharing the oral traditions, the storytellers re-create for the participants the primordial time and place.

The participatory dimension of the telling is further strengthened by the performative nature of the native languages themselves. It is commonly held that what is spoken aloud has the power to bring forth that which is referred to. The "breath" is a channel to the animation of the heart. When one leaves after a visit with someone, to say in one's native language, "I'll see you later," helps to create such an outcome, but to say "Goodbye," could lead to never seeing that person again. When an Indian name is ritually conferred, the descriptive nature of that name helps nurture the child to become that name. One should never speak of a particular illness, or one runs the risk of contracting it. When the ancient words of an oral tradition are woven into the rich fabric of a story, the spoken story helps bring forth and animate the mythic landscape referred to. The oral traditions embody the creative power to help perpetuate the world and its many inhabitants.

For the members of the shaman's community it is essential that the oral traditions continue to be told. The benefits are varied yet indispensable. The oral traditions help instill an affective component in community life. In the humor and drama of the narratives the stories bring laughter as well as tears, contributing to the ethos of the community. Coyote's antics are sure to bring a smile and a laugh. The stories of tricksters and heroes thus serve as a primary means of entertainment.

The oral traditions provide an educational component to community life; they are textbooks. For the young of the community, the oral traditions provide an essential means of gaining knowledge of their culture, as well as the skills it will take to be successful within it. The stories convey the essential teaching and ethics of the mythic beings. With his competitive skills and self-serving intentions, Coyote can demonstrate just as easily how one should not behave toward a kinsmen, as how one can behave toward an enemy rival. In the example of Scare Face is established the structure of any vision quest: Someone is in need of help; he journeys far from home into the mountains to fast and pray; if his sacrifice is judged worthy, he is adopted by a guardian animal spirit and receives a medicine. The narratives instill among the youth and reaffirm among the elders a sense of their unique identity and heritage.

For the shaman in particular the oral traditions provide a map of the mythic landscape. As it abounds with monsters and dangerous paths, this is the landscape the shaman must know intimately in order to successfully travel it during a healing or hunting ritual, or some rite of passage. An Inuit *angakkoq* (shaman) must know of the numerous challenges that await his journey to the bottom of the sea and a visit to Sedna—huge rolling boulders, the snarl of a vicious dog, an abyss to be crossed, among other dangers. The narratives provide a symbolic language of cues and signs to better interpret the activities of an enemy, the buffalo, the camas roots, seasonal changes, or the dreams in which the Animal Spirits appear. Indeed, the generalized actions of the Animal Peoples of primordial age provide shamans with an archetype of their role. As the mythic beings, with their spiritual potency, transform a dangerous land, so too must shamans, acquiring the same potency and applying it in the various ritual transformations they attempt, be they rites of passage, or rites of healing, fishing, or hunting. The specific personalities of Animal Peoples can also become the model for a shaman's character. The shaman may identify himself as the self-serving, trickster Coyote, being manipulative and deceptive in the face of an enemy. Or the shaman can be self-effacing, like Scare Face, seeking to help others as a healer, or as a fishing or hunting shaman.

The oral traditions also provide an integrative component within the shaman's community, helping perpetuate the perennial landscape of the creation time. In the ritual act of giving voice to the oral traditions, the potency and meaning of the mythic age is brought into the immediate sense of time and place. Those people who listen to the stories become participants in the mythic landscape, and the animals, plants, humans, and spiritual inhabitants of that landscape are revitalized and rendered meaningful. With each of the stories anchored in the particular teachings of the Animal Peoples, to speak of the mountains and rivers of the oral traditions is to animate the landforms with the continued significance of those teachings. During the retelling of the oral tradition, a participant might run with the mischievous Coyote or travel with the anguished Scare Face. And after the telling, that same person might become Coyote or Scare Face as he confronts an enemy in battle or seeks his vision on a distant mountain site. Stories make the world.

Rodney Frey

See also: Animal Symbolism (Americas); Inuit Shamanism; Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Shamanism and Secret Societies; Piman Oral Literature and Shamanism; Russian Folklore and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Boas, Franz, and George Hunt. 1905. *Kwakiutl Texts.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 3. Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert.

Dorsey, George. 1903. "Traditions of the Arapaho." Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, vol. 5. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum.

Frey, Rodney, ed. 1995. *Stories That Make the World: Oral Literature of the Inland Northwest.* Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hall, Edwin. 1975. *The Eskimo Storyteller: Folktales from Noatak, Alaska.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Hanna, Darwin, and Mamie Henry. 1996. *Our Telling: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlha?kápmx People.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Matthews, Washington. 1897. *Navaho Legends.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin.

Mooney, James. 1897–1898. "Myths of the Cherokee." *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Radin, Paul. 1956. *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology.* New York: Philosophical Library.

Robinson, Harry. 1992. *Native Power: In the Spirit of an Okanagan Storyteller.* Compiled and edited by Wendy Wickwire. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Tedlock, Dennis. 1972. *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Voth, Henry R. 1905. "The Traditions of the Hopi." Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, vol. 8. Chicago, IL: Field Columbian Museum.

OJIBWA SHAMANISM

The Ojibwa peoples in North American have a shamanic tradition rich in a variety of healing practices and rituals, which has been preserved to the present day.

Background

The Ojibwa tribal group is one of the largest and most widespread North American indigenous groups, with communities found in the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Montana of the United States, and in the Canadian provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. In Canada, over 130 First Nation groups contain at least some measure of Ojibwa membership, while there are 22 federally recognized Ojibwa bands in the United States.

An Algonquin speaking people, the Ojibwa share a common Woodlands cultural and linguistic heritage with such tribes as the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menominee, and Cree. During more recent historical times, contact with the Dakota Sioux and Assiniboine led to the adoption of certain Plains cultural traits by the more westerly bands, creating a hybrid culture that diverges from the more dominant woodlands background.

Politically the Ojibwa to some extent observed the principle of hereditary chieftainship. When possible, a son would succeed his father in the position. However, if the son was deemed ineffectual or found lacking in some manner, he would certainly be passed over for a more worthy man. In most instances, however, the Ojibwa were formed into small bands that followed individual headmen who had distinguished themselves through bravery in warfare or success in hunting. Based on the will of the community, the ascendancy and influence of a particular headman could change, depending on the situation facing the group at the moment. Above all, a chief had to be a provider of the highest rank, giving freely to the needy and caring for the weak and infirm members of the tribe.

Ojibwa society is patrilineal and based on a clan (or totem) system. There are six main totems—the crane, catfish, bear, marten, wolf, and loon—that account for probably eight-tenths of the Ojibwa tribal group. Other less significant totems existed, but these were found only among some of the more remote bands of northern Ojibwa. Intermarriage within totems was taboo during historic times, but this custom is rarely observed in modern times. Families tended to be large during historic times. Extended family was and continues to be important to the Ojibwa.

Although Ojibwa are generally viewed as a peaceful people, warfare occupied an important place in their society. The status of a man was usually determined by his war success. Although small skirmishes were most common, often the Ojibwa would gather into large war parties several hundred strong to wage major campaigns against their enemies. Warfare was approached with limited ceremonialism. Members of war parties often performed divinations to determine their likelihood of success, looking for certain omens that might portend luck. Ojibwa bands were active in tribal warfare throughout the mid-nineteenth century in the United States and played a minor role in the Canadian Métis rebellions of the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Cosmology

Dreams play an important role in the spiritual life of the Ojibwa. In many ways dreams are seen as being more real than the waking world. Messages received in dreams often serve as omens that are interpreted for meaning by older community members with acknowledged power in dream interpretation. In historic times dreams were believed to have the power to predict such events as new ceremonies, war success, or success at hunting.

The Ojibwa cosmology is founded on the concept of a single, all-powerful deity known as Kitche Manitou. The name of this deity is commonly invoked during most prayers and divinations. Other manitou (spirits) may also be invoked. These tend to serve as more individualized spirit helpers and are often gained during fasting ceremonies.

Shamanism: Belief System and Practices

Although all individual Ojibwa are capable of obtaining some measure of spiritual power, certain individuals may obtain a more elevated

shamanic status. Of these individuals, there are four classes among the Ojibwa.

The first class includes those who perform a "sucking cure." Practitioners of this form of shamanism tend to be mainly men, hence the use of the male pronoun below, but women may attain mastery as well. These shamans are equipped with a set of sucking tubes and small bones through which they suck and spit out the illness as part of their procedure. They also administer certain medicines that have a variety of healing properties. The sucking treatment is commonly used to cure illnesses that are deemed to come from an invading force, or that are contained in particular regions of the body. The ceremony itself is generally held after sundown. In this ceremony a small quantity of water is placed in a bowl and set near the patient. The shaman proceeds by singing and accompanying himself with a rattle, tapping the patient's body at various places to determine the exact location of the illness. Once the place has been identified, the shaman proceeds to employ his tubes and bones to suck the intruding illness from the body of the subject. After a short while the shaman will blow the invading foreign substance from his tube into the bowl of water. Following the treatment, the patient is often given certain medicinal herbs to concoct a tea to drink for a prescribed period. This cure is often performed several times.

The members of the second group perform magical feats through the Wabanowin. The Wabanowin, "Dance of the East" is a fraternal society–based ceremony that is similar to the Midéwiwin ceremony described below, in that it includes a hierarchical system of mastery ranging from varying levels of apprenticeship to full mastery. Shamanic practitioners of this ceremony construct a large, circular lodge to represent the earth and sky. This lodge has two doors facing east and west and is left open near the top to allow for the viewing of the sky. Following purification, participants enter the lodge and begin a series of petitions to the spirits to be invoked. The ceremony itself involves the direct healing of individuals and the performance of magical feats. One of the more striking subceremonies of the Wabanowin involves the carrying of hot stones or the retrieval of meat from a boiling pot using only bare hands. This meat, when consumed by a person with an illness, is seen to have healing qualities.

The third class of shamans comprises those able to prophesy through the use of the conjuring booth, again generally male. The skills of a shaman of this kind may be used to cure, but may also be employed to locate lost items or individuals. The conjuring booth, or "shake tent," consists of a circular lodge created from several upright poles covered on the outside with an open top. To this structure, rattles or other noise-making devices are tied. To begin the ceremony, the shaman will enter the lodge to begin praying and singing. After a time the lodge will begin to shake violently. Strange lights and voices will be heard in addition to that of the performing shaman. After a time, he will exit from the lodge and will impart what he learned from the spirits he contacted during the ceremony. Variations to this ceremony sometimes include the shaman being wrapped in a blanket and bound tightly with ropes. He will then be placed in the lodge, only to exit after the ceremony completely freed of his bondage. Similar ceremonies to this may be found among other tribes, particularly the Sioux, who call it a Yuwipi.

Lastly, there are the members of the Midéwiwin, who acquire divinatory powers and are able to employ magical means for a variety of purposes. Open to both male and female participants, the Midéwiwin is an initiate-based society that generally focuses on the ceremonialism surrounding ritual death and rebirth as a form of shamanism.

The lodge for the ceremony is formed by bending saplings over to create a long, arched, east-west facing structure that is completely covered with brush. Within the lodge a central pole is erected and decorated. During the performance of the ceremony, singing and dancing play a central role, but the most significant act is that of the "shooting" of participants. This element involves the ritual death of the participant, brought about by being shot with a "medicine arrow" formed from a small shell called a *megis.* This megis is the means by which a participant is brought to death. Once brought to this shamanic state of death, the participant is ritually healed and brought back to life by the other members. The purpose of this ritual death and revival is to create a newly cleansed spirit for the participant. Other elements of the Midéwiwin include the imbibing of certain herbs and medicines, and the learning of various healing techniques.

Other shamanic ceremonies performed by the more westerly bands of Ojibwa include a variation of the Sun Dance learned from the Dakota Sioux, the Rain Dance (a Sun Dance–like ritual performed by Canadian bands), and the Cree-based Smoking Lodge ceremony. A unique shamanic society known as the Windigokanak is also found among members of the Turtle Mountain Band. This "clown mask" society wears strange masks in honor of the cannibalistic deity Windigo, and performs outlandish acts, including walking and taking backwards, doing strange or bothersome gestures, or other unconventional acts. The Windigokanak is almost exclusively linked to the Sun Dance ceremony and is similar in nature to the Heyoka of the Sioux culture.

Although these shamanic practices are less widespread in modern times, practitioners may be found among nearly all bands of the Ojibwa. Some of the shamanic practices have died out in certain bands, while others continue to flourish. Much of the loss of shamanism resulted from the marginalizing of Ojibwa bands on reservations and the systematic efforts by Indian agents to end these practices. As the Ojibwa strive to reclaim their culture in the twenty-first century, it seems certain, based on the author's observations, that these shamanic traditions will continue as a vital part of Ojibwa culture.

Kade M. Ferris

See also: American Indian Medicine Societies; Fire and Hearth

References and further reading:

Clifton, James A. 1994. "From Shaman to Medicine Man." Pp. 187–209 in *Ancient Traditions: Shamanism in Central Asia and the Americas.* Edited by Gary Seaman and Jane S. Day. Niwot: University Press of Colorado.

Grim, John A. 1983. *The Shaman: Patterns of Religious Healing among the Ojibway Indians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Howard, James H. 1965. *The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi.* Anthropological Papers, no. 1. Vermillion: South Dakota Museum, University of South Dakota.

Hunt, Norman Bancroft. 2003. *Shamanism in North America.* Buffalo, NY: Firefly.

Johnston, Basil. 1982. *Ojibway Ceremonies.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Warren, William W. 1984. *History of the Ojibway People.* Saint Paul: Minnesota Historic Society Press.

Tanner, John. 1994. *The Falcon: A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner.* New York: Penguin Putnam. Original edition, G&C&H Carvill, 1830.

PEYOTE RITUAL USE (CENTRAL AMERICA AND NORTH AMERICA)

Sacramental peyote use originated some 10,000 years ago. A discussion of the evidence for that early use will be found in the entry, "Archaeology of Shamanism," together with some discussion of how it was used. The entries on "Entheogens and Shamanism" and "Central and South American Shamanism" provide a larger context. The focus of this entry is on current ritual use in the United States, with some discussion, for the sake of contrast, of the ritual use of peyote among the Huichol of Mexico (covered in more depth in the entry "Huichol Shamanism").

During the past 120 years members of more than 70 tribes throughout the United States of America have learned to reverently consume peyote in all-night ceremonies (Fikes 1996a). This new intertribal religion, which now has over 250,000 followers, evolved from that sacramental peyote use that originated some 10,000 years ago. Today's contemplative and orderly meeting for worship (usually held in a tepee) evidently began among the Lipan Apache about 200 years ago. Peyote itself is credited with having made converts of other tribes by transforming intertribal enemies into friends. Peyote's remarkable power to establish peace and trust among former enemies is explained in strikingly similar stories recited by Comanche and Kiowa peyotists. Comanche and Kiowa traditions refer to an occasion when one of their respective war chiefs arrived at an Apache peyote ceremony already in progress. The Apache leading that peyote ceremony proclaimed to each war chief (Comanche and Kiowa) that peyote had predicted he would come, inviting each war chief to attend the meeting. Each of them learned how to conduct the ceremony and returned to

teach it to his respective tribe (LaBarre 1989, 25, 111).

After American Indians were confined on reservations, circa 1890, the peyote religion spread rapidly, partly because aboriginal religions were becoming impracticable and because the federal government prohibited them. Peyote was hailed as an antidote to alcoholism, a teacher of righteousness, and a divine medicine. The peyote ceremony quickly crossed tribal boundaries, indirectly aided by white-controlled boarding schools whose English-only policy allowed students from various tribes to communicate and become friends (Fikes 2001; Stewart 1987). After 1890, when the railroad reached Laredo, Texas (the only U.S. state where peyote grows), the number of peyotists increased dramatically in Oklahoma and then among American Indian tribes in other states.

The growing use of peyote soon met with opposition, but sacramental peyote use has survived centuries of persecution. In 1620, sixty years after the Catholic priest, Sahagun, observed Aztec peyote use, peyote was denounced as diabolic and forbidden. Inquisition records from colonial Mexico indicate that peyotists were tortured and executed (Fikes 1996a, 168–169), yet the practice continued. As soon as federal Indian agents and Christian missionaries discovered Indians eating peyote (which they mistakenly called mescal), they suppressed its distribution and subsequently attempted to make it illegal. Congregations of peyotists responded to this threat to their religious freedom by incorporating as churches. The first two churches, whose articles of incorporation are explicitly Christian, were established in Oklahoma in 1914 and 1918 (Fikes 2001, 76). Since 1918, when the Native American Church (NAC) was established in Oklahoma, peyote use within the United States has become restricted to members of incorporated churches, not only the Native American Church of North America. In 1965 the federal government implemented an exemption to its antidrug legislation to protect the religious freedom of peyotists. Today more than 100 peyote (NAC) congregations are legally incorporated throughout the United States. The Texas Department of Public Safety cooperates with the federal Drug Enforcement Agency to prevent illegal peyote use.

Members of all NAC congregations revere peyote as a teacher and divine medicine. Many venerate peyote as the incarnation of Christ's Holy Spirit. One Winnebago peyotist, Albert Hensley, declared that peyote "is a portion of the body of Christ. . . . Christ spoke of a Comforter who was to come. It never came to Indians until it was sent by God in the form of this Holy Medicine" (Stewart 1987, 157). American peyotists are syncretistic, combining numerous native elements (such as eagle-bone whistles, tobacco, sage, feather fans, gourd rattles, cedar incense, a fireplace, and emphasis on the four cardinal directions) with biblical references, Christian baptism, and often recitation of the Lord's Prayer. Weston LaBarre, the first scholar to study the phenomenon (in the 1930s), believed that "peyotism is an essentially aboriginal American religion" (1989, 166, 292). Two other early researchers in the field, Omer Stewart and James Slotkin, regarded the peyote religion as an Indian version of Christianity (Fikes 2001, 76). Disagreement about this issue is likely to continue—NAC members interpret Bible passages as they see fit, without conforming to any dogma. Their morality is essentially Christian (Fikes 2001; Slotkin 1956b). Differences between the two dominant types of peyote meeting, Half Moon (which has more aboriginal elements) and Cross Fire (which has replaced tobacco with the Bible), are relatively slight (Fikes 1996a).

The way of life advocated by the NAC is called the Peyote Road; peyote meetings, which usually occur on a Saturday night, are led by a Roadman, a liturgical leader who has mastered the ceremony and who is dedicated to living a life according to the ethic of the Peyote Road (i.e., one distinguished by sobriety, good family relations, truthfulness, economic self-sufficiency, and the like). A Roadman is usually "ordained" when another Roadman is near death and feels obliged to select a successor (often his son or a close relative), or when a Roadman decides that someone has attained sufficient spiritual and ethical discernment to be appointed as a Roadman (Fikes 1996b, 136, 238). A Roadman selects four helpers to assist him in conducting each prayer meeting: a Sacred Water Woman (usually a wife or close relative), a Drum Chief, a Cedar Chief, and a Fireman (Slotkin 1956b). Typical purposes for prayer meetings include healing, baptism, birthdays,

Navaho Indians at a peyote ceremony in a hogan near Pinyon, December 1, 1954. In nightlong rites peyote cactus buttons, which contain the chemical mescaline (regarded by scientists as a hallucinogen), are eaten and used as a sacrament. (Carl Iwasaki/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

weddings, funerals, name giving, success in school, and safety for those in the military. Anybody with a specific prayer request solicits the aid of a particular Roadman. That person is expected to provide gifts to the Roadman and his four helpers.

Like shamans, Roadmen only conduct ceremonies when someone with a specific need requests it. Another significant similarity between shamans and peyotists (Roadmen included) is that personal experience or revelation, based on inspiration provided by the Peyote (or Holy) Spirit, is deemed fundamental to acquiring wisdom and healing. Even among Indians professing Christianity a shamanistic core remains, as this example reveals. After Reuben Snake of the Winnebago tribe was ordained as a Roadman in 1974, he directed a meeting intended to heal a woman whom Western doctors had scheduled for a hysterectomy. While Reuben prayed that the peyote he was preparing for her would be blessed and would heal her so that she could have more children, he suddenly heard voices praying along with him. "They were speaking in the Winnebago language and saying, 'Bless my daughter, bless my granddaughter.' . . . When we concluded our service she got up and said, 'I know that I am well.' . . . The doctor told her, 'Evidently you don't need an operation.' . . . About a year later she had another little boy" (cited in Fikes 1996b, 216).

In contrast to contemporary U.S. peyotists (whose prayer meetings bring personal benefits such as healing, safety, salvation, redemption, and revelation), a few Mexican Indian tribes still perform aboriginal peyote rituals intended to bring communal benefits (abundant subsistence and ecological adaptation). The Huichol, a Mexican tribe whose peyote rituals are regarded as the most ancient extant, make pilgrimages of nearly 400 kilometers (one way) to collect peyote, which they revere as the incarna-

tion of a divine spirit. Because the Huichol believe peyote contains the heart, spirit, and memory of Deer-Person, they must hunt him with arrows. Eating Deer-Person's heart (peyote), after complying with strict rules designed to enhance their spiritual purity (bathing, salt, and sex are prohibited during the pilgrimage), facilitates access to his wisdom. Without his divine spirit to guide them, Huichol shamans could not accurately diagnose or heal illness, or communicate effectively with ancestral nature spirits whose goodwill guarantees abundant sustenance and health.

Eating Deer-Person's heart reveals to Huichol shamans how to maintain harmony (by healing and performing elaborate rituals) in the world he established. To perpetuate the world Deer-Person organized (thus insuring abundant subsistence and ecological adaptation), Huichol peyote hunters must deposit offerings that honor and sustain the Sun-Father at the mountain where he was born. They are also obliged to return with peyote and sacred water required for performing rainmaking rituals essential for the growth of maize, the mainstay of their diet (Fikes 1993). Their peyote dance ritual, done at the end of the dry season, summons the Rain-Mother whose shrine they have visited while making their peyote pilgrimage, and includes consumption of peyote and corn beer and dancing.

The Huichol conviction that peyote embodies the heart of Deer-Person, their tutelary spirit, corresponds to the meaning peyote had for their cultural cousins, the Aztecs. The Aztec word, *peyotl* (or *peyutl*) denotes the pericardium, the envelope, or covering, of the heart (Fikes 1996a, 168; LaBarre 1989, 16)

Jay C. Fikes

See also: Archaeology of Shamanism; Entheogens and Shamanism; Huichol (Wixárika) Shamanism; Rock Art and Shamanism; Tarahumara Shamanism; Trance, Shamanic; Transformation

References and further reading:

Aberle, David F. 1982. *The Peyote Religion among the Navajo.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fikes, Jay C. 1993. *Carlos Castaneda, Academic Opportunism and the Psychedelic Sixties.* Victoria, British Columbia: Millenia Press.

———. 1996a. "A Brief History of the Native American Church." Pp. 167–173 in *One Nation under God: The Triumph of the Native American Church.* Edited by Huston Smith and Reuben Snake. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.

———. 2001. "Peyote Religion: Opening Doors to the Creator's Heart." *Entheos* 1, no. 2: 75–81.

Fikes, Jay C., ed. 1996b. *Reuben Snake, Your Humble Serpent.* Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.

LaBarre, Weston. 1989. *The Peyote Cult.* 5th ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Original edition, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938.

Slotkin, James S. 1956a. *The Peyote Religion: A Study in Indian-White Relations.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

———. 1956b. "The Peyote Way." *Tomorrow: Quarterly Review of Psychical Research* 4, no. 3: 64–70.

Smith, Huston, and Reuben Snake. 1996. *One Nation under God: The Triumph of the Native American Church.* Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.

Stewart, Omer C. 1987. *Peyote Religion: A History.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

PIMAN ORAL LITERATURE AND SHAMANISM

The Pima, or Pima-Papago, or O'odham, or Upper Pima (they have been called all four) have lived in southern Arizona, United States, and northern Sonora, Mexico, since the Europeans first came to these areas around 1550 B.C.E. Their home is a desert land broken by isolated mountains and crossed by a few medium-sized rivers, the largest being the Salt and Gila of today's Arizona. Their original territory was nearly identical with the range of the tall, green, candelabra-like saguaro cactus, famous in postcards from Arizona. Their land is now somewhat diminished in the United States and greatly in Mexico.

Neither Spain nor its successor, Mexico, nor the United States, had much material effect on the Pima until the 1880s, because the Pima were far from the colonizers' centers of settlement, their land was barren, and the Yavapai

and Apache north and east of the Pima were quite hostile to whites. (The Pima were generally friendly.) As late as 1940 there were still some people in remote villages of the U.S. Papago reservation who thought they were Mexican, not U.S., citizens. When the author first came to these people in 1960, many adults knew no English but did know some Spanish, and everyone spoke the native O'odham language. Now the Spanish language is almost gone among the U.S. Pima, and the native language is fading. The observations in this article pertain to the U.S. Pima at this time, 1960–2000, of steady anglicization. In this article, as much as possible the Pima speak for themselves on their shamanism via their traditional, O'odham-language literature.

Piman shamanism was and is a calling with two aspects. One aspect is getting the call, or shamanic empowerment, from spirits. The other is using that power. Among the Pima the empowerment comes in private spiritual encounters. The use of that power is usually social, however, that is, with (or against) other humans. It is not necessarily used face-to-face; sorcery, for example, is done at a distance. And even when other people are present as the power is used, they usually cannot see clearly what the shaman is doing. Thus, the experience of empowerment is not witnessed by others at all, and the use of that power, if witnessed, is seen through a glass darkly.

Empowerment and Songs

The main things that the shamans reveal to others about their empowerment experiences are the songs that they heard from the spirits who led them on dream journeys. The songs are ecstatic and are in the first person, but the person who speaks is the spirit teacher, not the human dreamer. Furthermore, although Pima fairly freely tell their "ordinary" dreams, including dreams of ghosts and omens, they do not freely tell what happens in dreamed shamanic empowerments. They sing what the spirits sang to them, and they stay silent about what they felt or saw.

Pima use songs for more than magical action, which seems to be the true, definitive shamanic activity. One other use of songs is for social dancing, that is, for having a good time rather than for changing the world through magic, as shamans do. The social dancing songs are as ecstatic as the ones shamans use, and like them they are traced to dreams, but they are only used for pleasure. Thus, they are shamanic in origin but not in use. Consistent with the general reluctance to report dreamed empowerment, social dance singers avoid saying they dreamed the songs that they sing. Even if they did dream them, they prefer to say that they picked them up from attending social dances. This denial takes pressure off the singers. If they had dreamed their songs, they would be shamans, and most people prefer to deny this.

Here is a medley of social dancing songs about shamans (*ma:kai* in Piman). Shamans are an important topic of these good-times songs. The medley is in the first person, which is characteristic of all Piman song; and the medley is typical, too, for the songs' brevity, concreteness, and ambiguity. Piman songs are cryptic poems. They have almost no nonsense words, but they reduplicate some syllables (not shown in the translations). They focus on moments. The English translations, made by the author and here published for the first time, stay close to the order and meaning of the Piman words.

(1) *Surely like a medicine man I do.*
Great blue rock
  Water inhale,
  With it my heart's
  Inside is wet.
(2) *I'm very medicine man,*
  I'm very medicine man.
Feather fluffs in a square's corners stand up,
  There inside sit, medicine-man think.
(3) *I'm not truly medicine man,*
  I'm not truly medicine man,
  I'm not truly medicine man:
  The darkness tells me.
(4) *Medicine-man water,*
  Medicine-man water,
  Inside enter.
Inside enter,
  Around it pass,
  Serenading the hands.

Those were four of several hundred Swallow social dancing songs that Paul Manuel sang for an elderly Pima and the author during weekly music lessons over three or four years at the turn of the 1980s. The "I" that speaks in the song is a Swallow-person, part human and part

bird, who took a human dreamer on journeys. Here the bird brags shamanically, as humans should not. Mr. Manuel generally gave the medley in the same order each time he sang about medicine men. In any one session he would sing about thirty-five songs, moving through various topics, all meant for people to dance to during a sunset-to-sunrise night of pleasure. These, then, are dreamed songs about shamans and meant for social dancing.

Using the Power

The discussion so far has established that the events of shamanic empowerment are private and are not described to the public. However, it is also important to consider the shrouded, ambiguous nature of Piman shamanic performances. At present the two main occasions when shamans use their power in the presence of other people are for the diagnosis and partial cure of sickness and for predicting the weather. About both occasions the Pima say the shaman's purpose is to "see" and thereby to "learn" something. Since in addition to looking the shamans also touch, smoke, suck, blow, sing, and listen, and since the whole process is mysterious, one can call these events multisensory divinations. Beside divining sickness and the weather, shamans in the past also sought the location of deer before ceremonial deer hunts, the location of enemies during war expeditions, and the location of sorcery missiles sent into villages by bad shamans. All five activities were divinatory. Each lasted a full night and used singing, sucking, blowing, and the rest in addition to seeing.

The diagnosis of sickness is called *duajida,* a word that literally means "vitalization." In these events the shaman, or medicine man, as the Pima say in English, pays a nightlong house call. There is a short form of diagnosis called *kulañmada,* literally "application of medicine" (the word for medicine is from the Spanish *curar*). For this short event the patient can go to the shaman in the daytime. When those findings are not enough, a nightlong duajida is necessary. For this the shaman comes to the patient's house. Because duajidas are private, and the patient is considered very ill, the events are not readily observed, neither by anthropologists nor by Pima who are not of the immediate family. The author saw two of them in close succession, both for the same individual.

On those occasions, most of the night was spent by the medicine man's singing songs he had obtained in dreams for use in diagnosing, or "vitalizing." The songs were not greatly different in content, imagery, and boastfulness from the social dancing songs quoted above, but they felt different because they were understood to be the personal property of the shaman, and they were used to save a life. The boasts were attributed to his spirit helpers, not to the shaman. The songs were sung in a growling rather than a crooning voice (social dancers croon), and no one found them amusing, as people find social dance songs.

An early high point in one of the duajidas was the departure of everyone but the patient to the outside of the house. The shaman had learned at that point in the ceremony that part of the patient's sickness was caused by sorcery. He went outside to find a sorcery missile, which was buried in the ground. He talked to it, and it seemed to talk back. There was a little grunted dialogue between him and the buried object—or so it seemed. He removed the object from the ground by sucking and put it in a can of kerosene he had brought for the purpose.

Although the sorcery removal was the most dramatic part of those duajidas, it was not the conclusion. That took place several hours later inside the house. The final act was the sucking of "strengths" *(gewkdag)* of various "dangerous objects" from the patient's body. These the patient had acquired unknowingly by acting wrongly during his life. The medicine man's job once the sorcery was cleared up was the identification and a preliminary, but lifesaving, removal of those strengths. The sorcery had been inflicted upon the patient because of hateful humans; the strengths were in him because of his own lapses, mainly toward animals.

The strengths pertain to and are believed to protect nonhumans. The idea is that certain animal species, and also some plants, were endowed with rights at the time of creation, and when humans trespass on those rights, the humans get sick. These sicknesses are unique to the Pima; they are their "Indian sicknesses." Treating them requires medicine men to diagnose them and lay ritualists to cure them by singing still more songs to the now identified offended species. Those final ceremonies are called "blowings" *(wusota),* and the people who perform them are called "blower people" *(s-wu-*

sos o'odham) not "shamans" *(ma:kai)*. The lay curers blow after each song to propel the song's words as a prayer to distant spirits; and after each set of four songs they arise from their seats, approach the patient, and blow onto him, or her, to cool the suffering. They do not suck. That action is reserved for shamans.

The most striking thing about this system of curing, which of course is only one aspect of Piman shamanism, is the importance placed on breath. Sucking is the strong, or heightened, form of breathing in, and blowing is the strong form of breathing out. Shamans monopolize the former, although they blow too, during their vitalizations and applications of medicine. Curers concentrate on the latter, and since their cures are called "blowings," we can say that they specialize in this aspect of heightened blowing (See Bahr et al. 1974, 222–276, for more on their blowing.)

Origins

Traditional Pima literature is kept in the memory, not on paper or in stone; it is oral literature. To this day men in particular do not like to read. We have seen in the Swallow songs one form of the traditional memorized literature. There are two more, prose and oratory.

The Pima told their ancient history in a prose laced with songs and orations. Because of their remoteness, that history was not challenged until the 1930s. Now, and especially since the 1970s, most people still believe it, but few know it as well as their ancestors did. The history ends just before the arrival of the whites. It tells how the whites originated locally and were sent east to grow up, but the story ends before the whites return. Nor did the old-timers tell stories about recent white and Indian relations. Anglo whites—also Mexicans, Africans, and Asians—are not characters in Piman oral literature. Piman-speaking shamans *are* characters, and the origins of the two aspects of shamanism are addressed.

There are three independent, full renditions of that ancient history on record. All were taken down before 1935, but two were only published recently. The three prove that narrators formed whole, comprehensive tellings of ancientness; and the three generally agree on what that past consisted of. The Pima have never had a central government, and there has never been an official mythology. But they not only had a language and their strength-caused, breath-cured sicknesses in common, they also had a general agreement on the events of their ancient past.

Early in the mythology, soon after the creation of the ancestral Pima, comes the origin of dreams:

> They [the newly created Pima] were always talking so that nobody could sleep with the racket [the sun and moon were already created, there was day and night]. Coyote [one of the original gods] said to Elder Brother [another god], "Do something so that they may rest." Elder Brother caused them to sleep with a deep sleep. He divided their hearts, one side the half of sleep, the other of wakefulness. The one half they used in the daytime and the other half at night.
> Again Coyote said to Elder Brother, "Do something to make them see things when they sleep, so they will have something to talk about."
> Earth Doctor [or Shaman, or Medicine Man, a third god] sang:
> "In the darkness my people sleep.
> In their sleep their spirits go journeying over the earth.
> In darkness they receive their wisdom."
> He sang again:
> "In the daytime when my people dream it shall not be powerful.
> The night dream is powerful.
> (In the day) their being may wander without receiving knowledge."
> After he had sung, that night the people all dreamed, and when they awoke they told their dreams (Bahr et al. 2001, 20–21, translated by Raymond Azul and Ruth Benedict).

Another narrator contributing to the same rendition (the two worked together) gave a more logical account of the origin of dreaming. First came the dreams and then the quieting sleep:

> Coyote said, "Do something so that even in their sleep the people will travel and see things (receive knowledge)." Elder Brother agreed and he sang [as above]. After he had sung that night all the people dreamed. Next evening they stayed up late telling each other

> their dreams. All night they kept Earth Doctor and Elder Brother and Coyote awake. Earth Doctor said to Elder Brother, "We must do something to keep them still at night." And Elder Brother caused them to sleep with a deep sleep. He divided their hearts; one half they were to use in the daytime, and the other half at night [as the other narrator also said]. After that, when they began to tell their dreams at night, the half that was filled with drowsiness overcame them and they fell asleep (Bahr et al. 2001, 20).

This is the one rendition of the mythology that attends to dreaming. Another mentions the origin but gives no story for it; the third is silent. This rendition disappoints in the following way. Dreaming is explained as a means to knowledge, but neither in this rendition nor elsewhere in any known Piman mythology is there an explanation of the nature of knowledge and power. The mythology does not treat them as a problem. Rather, it treats talkativeness, prolixity, as a problem.

Nothing is said in the texts about the difference between trance and dream, and indeed there is no Piman word for "trance" or "visionary state" as distinct from "dream." Nor is there a word for "magic" as opposed to "normal." There is an obscure phrase, *sai ju:kam* ("*sai*-doer"—the *sai* is not analyzable), that refers to the powers of medicine men, and might mean "magic." About power people say that a shaman has a special heart (*i:bdag,* "breathing-thing"), but they do not say what is special about that kind of heart.

The words *medicine man,* or *shaman,* or *doctor,* are frequent in the texts (all are translations for *ma:kai*), but they mainly occur in characters' proper names, for example, Earth Shaman, or South Shaman, or Elder-Brother Shaman. No origin is given for the status or vocation or power of shamans. Practically all the characters in the mythology have something exceptional about them, but they are not all called shaman. Many have the names of animal or plant species or of cosmic objects such as the sun. These characters are generally not called shaman, but are called Sun, Coyote, Ant, and the like. They are envisioned as partly human and partly sun, and so on. Finally not all fully human-looking characters are called shaman.

The ancient human-looking characters who are called shamans are what in English would be called gods. They surely do godlike things: They create people from mud, die and come back to life, make the sun, and sink into the Underworld or rise to the sky. Moreover, there is no god-word other than *shaman* in Piman mythology. Their gods are shamanic; their ancient shamans were gods.

Spirit Helpers

The duajida (all-night curing) and the other Piman shamanic performances are mainly to divine, that is, to learn something, and especially to see something, through mysterious means. This is what the Pima say. As noted above, however, the observed duajidas had an intermission in which the shaman went outside to suck something from the ground, and they ended with the sucking of "strengths" from the patient's body. But the patient isn't fully cured by those suckings. There must be further ceremonies by lay "blower" singers. Thus one can say that the sucking in a duajida is rather to gain information—"*this* is your sickness"—than to get rid of the problem.

The greatest part of a duajida is given over to the shaman's singing songs to the shaman's spirit helpers. It is said that the spirits respond to the songs by helping to identify the sickness. No one has told the author how the spirits do this, whether by helping the shaman to see, or whispering a name, or by some other means. Nor has anyone said whether or how the spirits act on the sickness itself. Surely there was no sign or sound of spiritual action in the observed duajidas. The patient lay still, and there were no mysterious thumps or other signs of spiritual activity, other than the sounds that seemed to come from the sorcery missile during the out-of-doors episode.

There are, however, many texts about how spirits performed actions helpful to ancient shamans. These come from the third and final form of Piman oral literature, oratory (or prayer, or chant). This form lies between song and prose in the length of its texts and the firmness of text memorization. Songs are memorized down to the last sound, and prose only to the level of plot, so that each telling is a paraphrase of the previous one. Oratory is memorized to the level of the word or phrase.

The following is one of the most beautiful of Piman orations. Among the Papago, or Tohono

O'odham, a version of it is used during summer rain ceremonies, the ceremonies in which shamans divine the future weather. Those Papago versions of the speeches do not have an established place in the history of creation; no one says who the original speaker was. The version given below is from the Pima, who like the Papago consider it a prayer for rain (and indeed the speech ends with rain), but who hold that it was spoken by the famous god Earth Doctor when the earth was newly created, before the creation of people. The speech moves through three parts, the first occupied with getting the new earth to lie still, the second with getting a house built on the newly quieted earth and then with blowing smoke clouds to make rain, and the third with planting and harvesting after the rain.

The third part gives the impression that people already exist, but one might say that those were people whom Earth Doctor anticipated would exist. The relevance of the speech for our consideration of shamanism is the succession of Earth Doctor's spiritual helpers. The speaker Earth Doctor is a human-appearing god-shaman; the helpers are animal persons. Earth Doctor does not seek to learn something hidden as do present-day shamans. Rather, he creates a part of the universe. (Note that several mockingbirds, a spider, and several measuring worms are called shamans in this text, as is a character named "of the Down Nest." The Pima language manuscript for the speech uses "shaman" only for the Downy Nest character. The other designations are a prior anthropologist's error.)

EARTH DOCTOR'S SPEECH FOR RAIN

[1. Quieting the Earth.]
In the beginning earth had no firmness.
In the west Black Mockingbird Shaman heard me and answered my cry.
He covered the earth with his flying;
Upon each tree, upon each mountain he rested.
He finished his work;
He said to the earth, "Remain fixed," but it would not.
Black Mockingbird Shaman, you failed.
But you left with us your black winds, black clouds.
When we ask, you will give us what we desire.
[Then Blue, White, and Yellow Mockingbirds try the same, fail, and leave behind winds and clouds.]
Up above the Shaman of the Downy Nest heard me and answered my cry.
He smoothed the earth and the hills
And overturned the mountains and the trees.
He finished his work, and the earth stood firm.
Down below Gray Spider Shaman heard me and answered my cry.
He bound the trees together as fagots are bound.
He encircled firmly the edges of the world.
He spun in the west the black carpet.
And set upon it the black palace.
And the earth stood firm.
He spun in the south the blue carpet,
And set upon it the blue palace,
And the earth stood firm.
He spun to the east the white carpet,
And set upon it the white palace,
And the earth stood firm.
He spun in the north the yellow carpet,
And set upon it the yellow palace,
And the earth stood firm.

[2. Earth, House, Sky.]
In the west Black Measuring Worm Shaman heard me and answered my cry.
He touched the earth four times in his coming.
He broke into four segments, and stood up the four crotched posts (of my dwelling).
[Then Blue, White, and Yellow Measuring Worms form the rafters, cross sticks, and outer ridges of the roof.]
Down below Yellow Gopher heard me and answered my cry.
He brought brush and covered the framework of my dwelling.
He made four gopher mounds about my dwelling, to the west, to the south, to the east, to the north.
And he brought the fine earth of the gopher mound and packed it upon the framework of my dwelling.
He finished his work.
And with my power I blew the smoke from my cigarette,
It rose and formed white clouds over the dome,
And rain came from the clouds and sprinkled the land.

[3. Gardening.]
In the land I planted seeds,
And they grew big stalks, broad leaves, beautiful flowers, perfect seeds.
I gathered my harvest and stored it.

And my young boys shall eat of it and have good health,
And my young girls shall eat of it and have good health,
And my old men shall eat of it and prolong their days,
And my old women shall eat of it and prolong their days

(Bahr et al. 2001, 179–182, spoken by Thomas Vanyiko, translated by Raymond Azul and Ruth Benedict).

The shamanic gods of Piman mythology needed spirits to help them. There are many orations about such helpers. Indeed the mythical shamans got more spiritual help than present shamans admit to. The ancient spirits did physical work for their shamans, whereas contemporary shamans leave the spirits' contributions ambiguous, and they imply that the help goes no farther than the supply of information.

Conclusion

This article has let Pima speak for themselves on their shamanism, but that speaking, from their oral literature, is organized around two observations by the author. The first is the reticence of people to tell what they felt during dreams in which they learned songs, and second is the ambiguity in the use of shamanic power.

The run of Swallow songs centers on a Swallow-person's denial of being a shaman. It is only the dark night that tells him things, he says. Of course had he admitted to being a shaman, the same statement would be true, for it is not only the shaman's personal power that does things, it is also the power of the spirits. The song and the entire short set play upon the ambiguity of shamanic power.

The prose on the origin of dreaming tells that dreaming was instituted to keep a noisy humanity quiet so the shaman-gods could rest. While the dreamers' bodies lay quietly, their spirits were off traveling. Alas, the awakened dreamers talked too much about what they had seen. From the foregoing discussion, it seems clear that as good Pima they should talk only about such songs as they heard, and should stay mum on what they saw while hearing them.

In the speech for rain, mockingbirds, great but unoriginal talkers, fail to quiet the earth, a poor showing (set right by the Downy Nest Shaman). Mockingbirds are noted by Pima for repeating the last statements they have heard. They voice no original thoughts; no one knows what they themselves think. In repeating spirits' songs, shamans resemble mockingbirds. But shamans as diviners must say something original at the end: what the sickness is, when it will rain, and so on. How they do so is a treasured mystery.

In short, their shamanism forbids human bragging. There are good studies of other shamanisms of the region: Alfred Kroeber's *Handbook of California Indians* (1925), for example, as well as George Devereux's *Mojave Ethnopsychiatry and Suicide* (1969), and James Mooney's *Ghost Dance Religion* (1891). Those studies and others like them are old, meaning on the positive side that they were made while the shamanisms were strong. But on the negative side, they stem from brief visits, and so they lack eyewitness observations and sensitivity to the feeling against bragging among the peoples of this area. Science brags, in the author's opinion ("this is the cause, necessary and sufficient"), while shamanism shrouds and dissimulates ("this is the cause, sufficient, but don't ask how I know").

Donald Bahr

Excerpt from O'odham Creation and Related Events: As Told to Ruth Benedict in 1927, edited by Donald Bahr. © 2001 The Arizona Board of Regents. Reprinted by permission of the University of Arizona Press.

See also: Animal Symbolism (Americas); North American Oral Traditons and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bahr, Donald, R. Benedict, W. Blackwater, T. Vanyiko, and others. 2001. *O'odham Creation and Related Events.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Bahr, Donald, J. Gregorio, D. Lopez, and A. Alvarez. 1974. *Piman Shamanism and Staying Sickness.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Bahr, Donald, L. Paul, and V. Joseph. 1997. *Ants and Orioles: Showing the Art of Pima Poetry.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Bahr, Donald, J. Smith, W. Allison, and J. Hayden. 1994. *The Short Swift Time of Gods*

on Earth. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Devereux, George. 1969. *Mojave Ethnopsychiatry and Suicide: The Psychic Disturbances of an Indian Tribe.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Kozak, David, and D. Lopez. 1999. *Devil Sickness, Devil Songs: Tohono O'odham Poetics.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Kroeber, Alfred. 1925. *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78.
Mooney, James. 1891. *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890.* 7th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part II. Washington, DC.
Russell, Frank. 1975. Reprint. *The Pima Indians.* Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. Original edition, 1908.
Underhill, Ruth. 1946. *Papago Indian Religion.* New York: Columbia University Press.

PUEBLO RELIGION AND SPIRIT WORLDS

In Pueblo Indian society there are no individuals who are the sole healers or the sole intermediaries with the spirit world. Rather, the collective means of dealing with the spirit worlds that they use could be seen as having shamanistic aspects.

Background

The name *Pueblo* comes from the word for village used by the Spanish, who contrasted these Native Americans with the surrounding nomadic tribes. The different village peoples of the area, often referred to collectively as the Pueblo Indians, are not, however, culturally identical (De Mallie, Raymond, and Ortiz 1996). Many scholars group them according to their languages: Tanoan (with the three separate dialects of Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa), Keresan, Zuni, and Shoshonean (spoken by the Hopi). These Native Americans are probably descended from a group that resided to the west of where they are today. The ruins of their settlements still remain, and they are usually referred to by scholars with the Navajo word *Anasazi,* "Ancient Ones."

The Pueblo Indians live in what is now the Southwestern United States, for the most part along the Rio Grande, in New Mexico. In 1540, armed Spanish explorers ventured north from their settlement areas in Mexico and began the long and painful history of the Pueblo Indians' conflict with and eventual enslavement by the Spanish invaders. Today, nineteen of the more than ninety villages encountered by the Spanish remain. Unlike many other Native American tribes, the Pueblo Indians still live in many of the same places where they lived when Europeans encountered them. They have also been able to preserve much of their original culture despite religious persecution.

Pueblo Cosmology

Despite more than a hundred years of cultural and religious persecution, the Pueblo peoples retained most of their original cosmology and ritual practices. Eventually, the Europeans lessened their maltreatment of Pueblo people and learned how to coexist more peacefully, although they continued to consider Pueblo culture inferior to that of the Europeans. The Pueblo peoples have incorporated European influences into some aspects of their life, including material techniques, saints' festivals for each pueblo (as assigned to them by the Spanish), and varying amounts of compartmentalized Catholic observance (that is, they perform Catholic and native Pueblo practices at separate times and places without synthesis between them). Also, Pueblo religion has arguably incorporated aspects of other native people's religions as a result of greater contact with them in the last few hundred years.

In the original Pueblo languages, there is no word that corresponds to the English word *religion.* Religious practice was not separated from other daily activity. However, as a result of their religious persecution by the Spanish, the Pueblo people now tend to be quite secretive about their religious and cultural activities, limiting the extent to which outsiders are allowed to observe, participate in, or even be informed about the procedures or meaning of particular practices. This being said, many things are

known by scholars about Pueblo rituals and cosmology.

The Pueblo cosmology can be considered as having three distinct levels: the upper level of the sky and clouds, the middle level of human life on the surface of the earth, and the lower level of the underground spiritual realm. Most important to Pueblo ritual is the relationship between the Middle and Lower Worlds.

The Middle and Lower Worlds are both organized in concentric areas, with the village kiva, the ritual chamber, at the center; however in many ways the two realms are described as being antitheses of each other. Night above ground is day under the earth, summer above is winter below, and a deity who is repulsive above may be beautiful below. The oppositions of attributes between these realms are not seen as conflicting but rather as complementary. In the relationship between the human and the spirit worlds, neither one is subordinate to the other; rather they operate with different intentions but make arrangements for mutual benefit.

The center of ritual, and of a typical pueblo, is the kiva. The kiva is a round ceremonial chamber partially sunk into the earth. Its ritual entrance is a ladder protruding from a hole in the ceiling. There is also a small hole in a kiva's floor, which represents the connecting point between the Upper and Lower Worlds—the human and spirit worlds. The hole in the kiva floor also represents the original hole out of which the first people are said to have emerged.

Shrines surround the kiva, corresponding to the four directions; the shrines are placed according to the culturally significant boundaries of the pueblo. The first set of shrines encloses a ceremonial circuit through the pueblo that comes in contact with the kivas, clan houses, and village shrine. Next is the area bounded at the limits of the village itself. The third boundary encloses the usable agricultural land. Finally, shrines mark the limits of the land used for foraging and hunting.

In Pueblo society there is no religious position that could be simply described as a shaman. No single individual or group of people is an authority in all matters of ritual, healing, or contact with alternate reality. Instead, every pueblo has various groups, or "societies," that have particular ritual responsibilities. Esoteric knowledge is transmitted via these societies to each new generation. Which societies exist and how they operate is particular to each pueblo.

Pueblo Spirit Worlds

The Pueblo peoples have a large number of individual spirit personalities and deities. The deities are related to each other and are not arranged in a strict hierarchy of power. For example, there are two, somewhat immature, war god twins and their grandmother, the Spider Woman. There is a creator, an earth mother, a destroyer, and an embodiment of the most important food to a pueblo, maize. Also, liquid water is depicted, by all but the Tiwa, as the Feathered Water Serpent, which probably has its origin in Mesoamerican religion. The Water Serpent exists wherever there are lakes or springs. If the Water Serpent leaves, the body of water dries up.

The spirit world is ever present in Pueblo experience. Organic and inorganic objects as well as elemental forces are endowed with life and "breath," and have the potential to take human form. Animals, when no one is looking, may hang up their skins and become anthropomorphic animal people. Even stones, plants, and ritual masks have resident spirits with human-like behavior and particular powers and motivations. These spirits are not identical with their physical manifestations; rather rock people, for example, who inhabit particular rocks may come and go as they please. Some Pueblo rituals entice these spirits to enter or leave their homes in particular objects.

An important group of spirits is the cloud people. The cloud people are not simply related to the clouds in the sky, but also to the smoke and mist that rises from lakes. In many pueblos, humans are said to join the cloud people when they die, and a person's body is usually prepared with feathers and puffs of cloudlike cotton, and faces are rubbed with cornmeal, making them more cloud-like in appearance. The spirit of a dead person is said to return to the pueblo during certain ceremonies.

Kachina Spirits

Among the most important of spirit beings are the kachinas. Kachinas are distinct from the cloud people, although kachinas and cloud people are referred to by the same word in

Tewa. The particular pantheon of kachinas differs from one pueblo to the next, with fewer kachinas in eastern pueblos and many in western ones. There may be kachina forms of the sun, stars, thunderstorms, wind, squash, insects, and the like, the most frequent being the kachinas associated with important aspects of Pueblo agriculture. Some kachinas are considered ogres or cannibals. Their shrines are located on the edge of the pueblo's agricultural land, and they are said to eat children who misbehave or wander too far from the village. Their role is to enforce safe, appropriate, and adultlike behavior among children.

Upon death, a person may join the kachinas, but kachinas are not simply ancestor spirits. They are powerful beings who require veneration and respect from humans before they will use their power for human benefit. They can bring rainfall, fertility, healing, protection, and growth. Kachinas are represented as having humanlike relationships with each other. They may have sisters, uncles, and grandmothers. They may marry and have children. Kachinas are given visual reality, most importantly through masks and their symbolic roles in the ceremonial dances of the pueblo. Kachinas are also represented in small dolls, carved from wood. Sometimes the kachina dolls are carved very simply, but in Hopi and Zuni pueblos they are depicted very realistically like tiny dancers in full costume.

Kachina Dances and Ceremonies

In Pueblo Indian cultures, nearly every man and many women join to form societies that have the primary function of performing public masked ceremonies where dancers impersonate particular kachinas (Schaafsma 1994). The dancer who impersonates a kachina is referred to as "being invested by that spirit and becoming one with it" (Wright 1986, 14). In the Zuni Pueblo, there are six kachina societies. Zuni kachina societies are usually made up entirely of men. Among the Zuni, women can rarely become kachina society members, and some particular ceremonies explicitly exclude them. In other pueblos, such as the Hopi and Acoma, women are permitted to be members of such societies.

The kachina dances occur according to the ceremonial calendar of the pueblo. The particular ceremony corresponds most closely to the agricultural needs of the particular season. Typically, the kachinas viewed as oldest and most sacred appear in the spring and summer. The season for kachina dances among the Hopi lasts between the winter and summer solstices and is divided in half between two clans. The Keresan and Zuni pueblo kachina season is divided into three segments and lasts the entire year. The Tewa have kachina dances all year also, but the year is divided in half between winter and summer, each controlled by different moieties.

All adult kachina society members have masks made for them by the other society members. Some masks are communal property, and others are the property of individual dancers. Members must all have their own personal masks. There are a limited number of masks of any given type, so masks are freely lent between people and societies when their use is required for a particular ritual. A mask is decorated with paint and feathers for each ceremony, and when the ceremony is over, the feathers are removed, and the paint is completely scraped off, so that the mask's spirit can leave and is not trapped between ceremonies. When Zuni people move away from their pueblo, their masks are kept, cared for, and fed cornmeal like all other animate ritual objects. When members die, their masks are buried along with them and are said to follow them into the afterlife.

In addition to masks, dancers wear skirts and may have painted bodies. If they are impersonating kachinas associated with cold, winter, or the killing of people or animals, then dancers typically wear things that hit together making clanging sounds when they move. If the kachinas are associated with rain, flowers, or fertility, then they may have flutes, jewelry, or flowing hair and garments. The kachinas associated with war, and whose ceremonial role is that of a guard, are depicted with a frightening appearance. War kachinas are common because, until about the 1870s (when raids by other Native Americans ceased and the railroad moved in), warfare was an important activity for Pueblo people.

A kachina ceremony begins when the society members retreat to the appropriate kiva for a period lasting many days. Participants are often required to fast or abstain from particular food. They go through purification rites, which may

include bathing, hair washing, and emetics for internal cleansing. Complicated altars are constructed, and ritual objects such as prayer sticks are made of wood, painted, and adorned with feathers and plants according to their intended use. Masks are painted, and sacred objects are repaired. Participants ritually smoke tobacco, and characters may be impersonated and performances presented that only appear in the kiva and are never seen by anyone outside that particular society. The ceremony culminates in a public performance by all members of the appropriate society.

When children become old enough (between the ages of about seven and twelve), they are initiated into the kachina society of the godparent their own parents have chosen for them. The fact that their family members are behind the masks is not told to children until they are old enough to be initiated. The initiation usually consists of being lectured to by a society leader and ritually whipped by one or more kachinas. The initiation itself lasts a short time, but the new member's education will continue for many years.

Curing Societies

Independent of the kachina societies, are the curing societies, or medicine societies. One may be a member of multiple curing societies and other societies simultaneously. Rather than having a single, charismatic shaman for the sick and injured to turn to, each pueblo has multiple curing societies that share the ability to perform healing ceremonies. Individual healing does, however, occasionally occur, particularly among the Hopi.

Each curing society has a different set of duties and a different set of ailments that they can cure. Within a society there is often a medicine chief, usually a man, who performs most of each ceremony, while other members play supporting roles. Most curing societies receive their power through the invocation of particular "beast gods," who are also called upon by other pueblo members when hunting luck is needed.

When a pueblo member has a life-threatening illness and cannot be cured by conventional medicine, the life of that person is "given" to a curing society. The injured or sick member asks for the protection of the beast gods, promising that if the cure is successful, then that person will become a member of the society and participate in the curing of another in need. This is the primary way each society is perpetuated. Women and men can both enter most curing societies.

The curing societies are various and differ from one pueblo to another. Among the Zuni, there are twelve such societies, including the Coyote Society, made up of hunters, which cures illness said to be caused by deer; the Red Ant Society, which helps people with ant stings and skin diseases; the Cactus Society, which cures wounds caused by bullets or other pointed objects; and the Eagle-Down Society, which cures smallpox (Hultkrantz 1992). In addition to curing physical ailments, these societies often have other roles, including the performance of rain-calling ceremonies.

Due to the wall of secrecy that Pueblo peoples keep around their cultural practices, it is questionable whether any outsider has ever witnessed a Pueblo healing ceremony firsthand; still, based on scattered clues and secondhand accounts, some generalizations can be made. Many ceremonies begin with the offering of cornmeal to the six directions (the four cardinal directions plus the nadir and the zenith). The patient's face and body are painted. Members of the appropriate society dress in ritual attire and body paint, often depicting the relevant animal spirit. Because bears are considered the most powerful healers, the society chief may paint bear claws on his hands and embody the bear spirit during the performance, possibly in an ecstatic state. Foreign objects inside the patient's body are considered the cause of most illnesses. They must be extracted by bloodletting, massage, or sweating, among other ritual procedures.

Disease is commonly believed to be caused by a witch, who is generally someone practicing to cause harm rather than good. A witch may be a man or a woman and can cause calamities ranging from floods to sickness through the performance of rituals somewhat like the curing rituals. Witches may kill a person by stealing that person's heart, or they may send injurious things, like sharp objects or insects, into a person's body. Antisocial people of many different sorts may be suspected of being witches. Roaming at night, looking into other people's windows, or having wealth with no clear source

may make someone suspect. In the past, suspected witches were often killed or exiled; these days, however, they are more often simply ostracized. Many a suspected witch was probably saved by simply admitting to the crime because of the belief among the Pueblo that witches lose their power when they confess. Witches, like curing society members, are often described as becoming animals and getting their power from animals.

Clown Society

The clown society is sometimes also considered a curing society. Clown society members perform in loincloths and often hats, and paint their bodies with black and white, horizontal stripes in order to enact comical, as well as educational, performances that serve primarily to teach societal taboos by comically imitating people who violate them. Clown societies also seasonably depict the recovery of the Corn Maidens and revival of the maize crop and can perform some curing rituals.

Felicitas D. Goodman

Seth Josephson

See also: American Indian Medicine Societies; Animal Symbolism (Americas); Hopi Shamanism; Quiche and Zuni Divination

References and further reading:

De Mallie, Raymond J., and Alfonso Ortiz, eds. 1996. *North American Indian Anthropology.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1992. *Shamanic Healing and Ritual Drama.* New York: Crossroad Publishing Company.

Kealiinohomoku, Joann W. 1980. *The Drama of the Hopi Ogers.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Ortiz, Alfonso. 1969. *The Tewa World.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1994. *The Pueblo.* New York, Philadelphia, PA: Chelsea House Publishers.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. 1939. *Pueblo Indian Religion.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sando, Joe S. 1976. *The Pueblo Indians.* San Francisco, CA: Indian Historian Press.

Schaafsma, Polly, ed. 1994. *Kachinas in the Pueblo World.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Wright, Barton. 1986. *Pueblo Cultures.* Netherlands: E. J. Brill.

VOUDOU

See New Orleans Voudou; Spirit Possession

YOKUTS SHAMANISM (CALIFORNIA)

The tradition of shamanism among the Yokuts of California lasted long enough into the twentieth century to allow much to be gathered about the crucial role played by the shaman in the life of the Yokuts. There are, however, several healers among the Yokuts plying their trade currently, well hidden in the social fabric. Although incompletely trained as traditional shamans, mostly due to incomplete memories of the tradition and the layers of professional apprenticeship required to assume the complete role of shaman, they nonetheless function as dreamers and diviners and do some psychological repairs in their communities to this day.

Background

The Yokuts comprised forty to fifty tribes located in and near the San Joaquin Valley, the southern half of the Great Central Valley of California. They have traditionally occupied lake, marsh, slough, estuarine, riverine, and plains environments on the valley floor, and foothills, river valleys, and canyons, of the Sierra Nevada mountains east of the Central Valley. Their traditional homelands lie from near sea level to two thousand meters above sea level in elevation.

The Yokuts speak dialects of the Yokutsan language family, one of four related families within the California Penutian language stock. Native people speaking dialects of this large and widespread language stock have been on the North American continent for at least eleven thousand years. The Yokuts were probably in their homeland five thousand years ago, living much as they were when the Spanish first

observed them in the eighteenth century (Shipley 1978, 81–83; Wallace 1978, 35).

Before Euroamerican intrusion, game, fish, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food supply in the San Joaquin Valley; there are no famine tales from this area (Gayton 1930, 414). Yokuts selectively modified the landscape by fire to produce browsing for deer and to increase seed production.

The first European exploration into Yokuts lands was the Portola and Serra expedition of 1769. Following them came plagues, which caused a 90-percent loss of California Native life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Cook 1978, 91). Murder of Natives during gold rush anarchy and massacres by vigilante and military groups in the 1850s, legal enslavement in the 1860s, and abysmal reservation conditions completed the destruction of functioning Yokuts culture (Castillo 1978).

Today many Yokuts live in the Tule River Reservation; a few families live among the foothills as ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of native foods. Native language and kinship terms are sporadically in use; family totems are remembered, and official functions are performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the lives of the Yokuts are scarcely distinguishable from those of their neighbors.

Yokuts Social Organization: Chiefs, Shamans, and Datura

Yokuts shamanism was one of three elements intimately braided into native life: (1) the shaman, (2) the chief, and (3) the hallucinogenic experience. The shaman's knowledge and skill in manipulating the supernatural was complementary in effect to that of the chief's manipulation of secular power, and interactions between them and the people were governed by the society-wide shared experience of the hallucinogenic datura plant.

Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs who inherited their roles. The chief made decisions on village or tribal affairs. He (chiefs were always male) settled interfamily disputes and granted permission for the death penalty (Gayton 1930, 408).

An individual was born into his or her father's lineage. This basic patrilineal lineage and its totemic animal symbol was one of several lineages whose members lived together in tiny hamlets or larger villages under a chief and his underlings, whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice. Each lineage was placed in one of two groupings of lineages, and therefore every community and the larger tribe was divided into two halves, each half performing services for the other. Communities in a particular locale, such as a drainage basin or any defined area possessing sufficient resources, were grouped into a self-conscious "tribe" having dialectic distinctions and a name for the group speaking that dialect (Gayton 1930, 367).

The lineage was identified by a totemic animal, which was venerated. A hunter never killed his own totem and never ate its flesh, and when killed, the animal was redeemed by its lineage members from the hunter (Gayton 1930, 367; 1948, 29).

Certain totemic animals were symbols of functional roles in the tribe. The eagle was the totem of the chief, *tiya;* the dove was the totem of the chief's messenger, the *winatum,* and the shaman's messenger. The owl was the totem of the shaman, *anyutun.* The dance manager had the raven as his totem, and the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people had the magpie as his totem. Men having the rattlesnake as their totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony each spring; bear totem persons gave a dance in the fall; and clowning was performed by those with the coyote as their totem (Gayton 1930, 367–368).

Shamans had no legal authority, and they did not inherit their positions; they worked with supernatural forces. A shaman could heal the sick or perform sorcery. A doctor (shaman) was both feared and respected; but whether he (shamans were almost exclusively male) was more respected or feared depended entirely upon his personal character.(Gayton 1930, 388).

Public well-being was maintained largely through the fear of sorcery. This fear worked for public good; it served as a tool for chiefs when used by them through their shamans. If the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers. Most members of the community had met supernatural beings during the jimsonweed ceremony, as a result of using the hallucinogenic datura

drink. This was a powerful experience, sufficient to create and reinforce the belief in supernatural beings. Shamans were the specialists who could manipulate supernatural powers, some of which could be turned against one. Sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life. No one wanted to incur the displeasure of the chief or the public, for then a shaman could be called upon to bring sickness or death upon that person (Gayton 1930, 409–410).

Sources and Uses of Power

Not all people dreamed of getting power, *tipni,* nor, if one did so dream, need one become a shaman. Women were rarely shamans.

Anyone could seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and luck. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day- to weeklong meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. When a significant dream came to a person, he or she went out and "talked to it," went some distance from the house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered grain down on the ground. A fast was maintained throughout the following day. The aspirant's helper was called *anechwal* (Gayton 1948, 31).

The shaman's dream helper usually was a weasel. The creature appeared in a dream during the night, spoke to him, saying "Use me," and gave him a song. The shaman took care to remember the song and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream. If the creature appeared again, the shaman was told what to use as a talisman in making cures. The talismans, *walat,* of his dream helper were parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects that they directed him to obtain. A walat, once used, lost its usefulness (Gayton 1930, 53, 388; 1948, 32).

When the novice doctor felt that his power was sufficient and had been tested by effecting small cures, he gave a public dance called the coming out ritual. Beginning inside the sweat lodge, he was accompanied by singers, wore full regalia, danced, communed with his dream helpers, and then went outside and cured a patient (Gayton 1930, 388–389; 1948, 169).

The doctor's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity of dream experiences than those of an average person. The more such experiences one had, the greater one's knowledge of the spirit world would become, and the bond between the individual and this supernatural world would be increasingly strengthened (Gayton 1930, 389).

Some people were unwilling to become professional doctors and to cure for the purpose of making money, because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. A doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion; either he did not have sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die.

When a shaman was judged to be malicious, the chief consulted with the aggrieved family, officials, and elders, then called upon a shaman killer, *hiauta.* This was a man of special powers and great bravery who had Cooper's hawk as his dream helper. He was appointed to execute the condemned shaman (Gayton 1948, 26).

There are many tales of malicious shamans among the Yokuts. Perhaps shamans who were chronic users of the Daturya plant (jimsonweed) suffered severe (anticholinergic) interferences with the parasympathetic nerve impulses to its potent alkaloids atropine and scopolamine. Long-term use may have caused sufficient organic damage to create behavioral and mental changes in its users. Thus, drug poisoning may be at the root of some of the tales. The presence of the shaman killer in the culture suggests that abuse of power and toxic psychosis did occur with sufficient frequency among shamans to legitimize the role.

The Yokuts name for the datura plant and the drug derived from it is *tanyai.* The drug is administered as a water extract, a decoction of the roots. The roots selected must come from a dormant plant with no new spring growth in evidence. After the first new growth appears, the root becomes lethally toxic. The roots were simmered in water or roasted under ashes. The sap was wrung out of them into a large basket. Practicing shamans dried datura roots and powdered them for use anytime, eating it to obtain clairvoyant power (Gayton 1948, 39, 211).

Another toxic plant integral to the experience of the Yokuts shaman is tobacco, *Nicotiana rustica.* Both tobacco and datura are

members of the plant family *Solanaceae,* and both have anticholinergic properties, acting upon the nervous system in ways that can produce paralysis and death (Ray and Ksir 1999). Tobacco, *so'go'on,* was not cultivated or pruned. The leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes. Tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells, moistened, and drunk by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced dreams. Doctors smoked and ate tobacco to induce a narcosis in which they saw the cause of the illness (Gayton 1948, 31, 93, 191).

Sickness and Curing

Shamans were called to cure headache, chest pains, bronchial congestion, vertigo, rheumatism, chills, and fever. Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans, who shot malignant, intrusive objects into people. Less frequently ghosts, or offended supernatural animals or birds sent the intrusion. Rarely, if a person were shot, his soul "would not be where his body was, but away off" (soul loss) (Gayton 1948, 109–111).

In curing a patient, a doctor took with him an obsidian knife for cutting, a bunch of hand feathers to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walat were pressed against the patient's body while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper the walat represented. A powerful doctor, *mets angtu* (true, actual doctor), who cured with rubbing or brushing, was able to remove sickness without making any incision (Gayton 1948, 32–33, 169).

A cure usually lasted two days; the first call was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. When a doctor was in the process of curing a person, he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his helper who would tell him what to do. Then he returned to perform the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and began to work by cutting, sucking, and brushing (Gayton 1948, 33).

Ceremonies

The Yokuts ceremonial cycle usually involved shamans as leaders, religious specialists, and key participants. For shamans who led ceremonies there were two classes of ceremony: (1) dramatic displays of control over death and (2) increase festivals.

The annual mourning ceremony, *Lonuiwis,* the largest and most complex of Yokuts ceremonies, was held in the summer or fall. Invoking the ritual number, six, it was six days long. The ceremony included shamans' displays and contests where one or more shamans caused other shamans to become unconscious, and then revived them (Gayton 1948, 41–44, 129; Powers 1877). The few ceremonies in which shamans were not leaders, but were participants, included the spring jimsonweed ritual and the flower festival. The two major ceremonies were the mourning ceremony and the jimsonweed initiation.

Jimsonweed Initiation

This ritual was based on the hallucinogenic properties of the plant *Datura metaloides.* The drug was administered as a water extract of the roots. The decoction was made by the leader, an old man who had datura as a dream helper. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. Young men and women drank the decoction early in the morning at the end of the first month of seclusion, and the drinkers fell unconscious. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the next morning the drinkers spoke their revelations. They could see people who were far away, see the causes of sickness, and see supernatural helpers (Gayton 1948, 38, 53, 118). It may have been at this time that initiates or shamans made polychrome paintings of their visions at sites where suitable rock outcrops abound (Whitley 2000).

The last recorded ceremonial use of datura was at the funeral of the Choinimni doctor, Pony Dick Watun, in 1949. Participants who spoke to the author about the experience in 1983 recalled it as "Indian television" that "let us see relatives in Bishop; we talked to them and saw what they were doing; we could see right through the mountains."

Elliott A. Gehr

See also: Entheogens and Shamanism; Rock Art and Shamanism; Yuman Shamanism

References and further reading:

Castillo, Edward D. 1978. "The Impact of Euroamerican Exploration and Settlement."

Pp. 99–127 in *California,* vol. 8 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Cook, Sherburne F. 1978. "Historical Demography." Pp. 91–98 in *California,* vol. 8 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Gayton, Anna H. 1930. "Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 24, no. 8: 361–420.

———. 1948. "Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography." *University of California Anthropological Records* 10, nos. 1–2: 1–302.

Kroeber, Alfred L. 1925. *Handbook of the Indians of California.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Latta, Frank F. 1977. *Handbook of Yokuts Indians.* Santa Cruz, CA: Bear State Books.

Powers, Stephen. 1877. "Tribes of California." *Contributions to North American Ethnology* 3. U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region.

Ray, Oakley, and Charles Ksir. 1999. *Drugs, Society, and Human Behavior.* New York: WCB McGraw-Hill.

Shipley, William F. 1978. "Native Languages of California." Pp. 80–90 in *California,* vol. 8 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Wallace, William. 1978. "Post-Pleistocene Archaeology, 9000 to 2000 B.C." Pp. 25–36 in *California,* vol. 8 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Whitley, David S. 2000. *The Art of the Shaman: Rock Art of California.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

YUMAN SHAMANISM (NORTHERN BAJA CALIFORNIA)

The spiritual and healing traditions of the Yuman cultures have been characterized as a shaman-*toloache* complex, with *toloache* referring to the various species of the datura plant used in training shamans. These practices were attacked by missionaries, leading to their disappearance. Secondary accounts provided to anthropologists (Aschman 1968, Hohenthal 2001, Levi 1978, Meigs 1939, Owen 1962) illustrate that the practices were remarkably similar to the features of Core Shamanism identified by Michael Winkelman (1992). This entry describes these practices of the Yuman-speaking cultures of northern Baja California, specifically the Ipai or Tipai (also known as Digueño) and the related Pai Pai, Kiliwa, and Kumia. Shamans from the different groups were quite similar, as were other aspects of culture, due to their geographical proximity, similar environments, and shared hunter-gatherer lifestyles.

Shamans were primarily men, and referred to as *kusiyai* (with alternative spellings). The Digueño called them *simup kwisiyaya,* meaning "doctors of dreams." Shamans had various specializations: *kusiyai ñopa,* curing shamans; *kusiyai mispit,* sorcerers; *awi kusiyai,* specialists in snake bites; and *kwamyar,* weather specialists (Hohenthal 2001).

The role of greatest importance was healing; other principal activities involved diagnosis and divination and sorcery. Shamanic abilities included communication with the dead, prophecy, transformation into animals, and "magical flight," traveling great distances and with extraordinary speeds. Shamans were generally avoided out of fear. They all were thought to have the potential to kill through their supernatural powers.

Shamanic Power

Shamanic power was generally seen as innate, revealed in dreams, but needing to be developed through dream and datura experiences. Other sources of power included songs, crystals, and special relations with animals, all of which were acquired through dream experiences with spirits (Owen 1962). The animal guardian that revealed itself in the initiatory dream was another source of shamanic power. These special animal relations were believed to assist the shaman in hunting activities, to generally protect the shaman, and to provide guidance and direction to the shaman if he was lost.

Dreams were essential paths to shamanism. Although preliminary visions occurred in spon-

taneous dreams, other altered states of consciousness might be deliberately induced by fasting, sleep deprivation, smoking tobacco or sage, and ingestion of datura (Owen 1962). Dreams provided access to spirit communication and acquisition of power (Levi 1978). Although some activities took place under the supervision of older shamans, teachings by the spirits were the principal source of learning for the shaman. Spirits taught the songs that were learned in dreams, which were sung in curing rituals. Curing songs were unique to each shaman and could not be learned from other shamans. Many songs were not intelligible to others, even of the same tribe. It was thought that these songs had no power unless they were sung by the individual who had dreamed them, with the special relationship with the spirits in the dreams making the songs effective.

Datura in Shamanic Training

Homer Aschmann (1968) described the spiritual and healing traditions of the Yuman cultures as a shaman-toloache complex. Those whose dreams revealed that they had the potential to become shamans underwent initiation rites involving the use of datura. This central role of datura in shamanism is reflected in the similar terms, *kusi* (datura) and *kusiyai* (shaman). Datura put the initiate into a condition similar to dreaming that was used to acquire shamanic power. An older shaman organized the youth undergoing the datura ceremony, isolating them from the community in a cave or shelter. During a nighttime ceremony they consumed the prepared roots of the plant and used the visionary experiences induced by the plant to establish contact with the spirits. The visions occurring during this initiation activity revealed the nature of the person's power. Datura was ingested for as many as five days to develop their power.

Crystals

Acquisition of crystals began in dreams that revealed to the shamans the hidden location of their personal crystal. Crystals, or *wii'ipay* (living rocks), were one of the most powerful objects of a shaman (Levi 1978) and were an essential item for the practice of shamanism. Dreams provided instructions on how to extract the crystals and care for them. Care of the crystal was learned in special dreams during fasts, in which spirits conveyed instructions for the care of the crystal. Crystals made demands of the shaman as a condition of using their power, including feeding, attention, affection, and periods of sexual abstinence. The crystals were treated as people with whom the shaman had a personal relationship. They could be male or female, and could have human emotions such as jealousy, anger, and resentment. To avoid the potentially deadly consequences of the crystals' jealousy, shamans would bury them when they had sex. Crystals were described as being neither intrinsically good nor bad; they could be used both to heal and to kill. But their powers were always referred to as evil. It was believed that the power brought about by the crystal would do harm to the owner and others if the owning shaman was not strong enough to control the crystal's power.

Crystals could be deliberately used to inflict sickness and death. One way a shaman could use his crystal to inflict harm was to slip it under the victim's pillow. When the person was asleep, the shaman could channel power to the crystal, making the person go crazy or stop breathing (Levi 1978). The power of the crystal could be terminated by submerging it in a body of water. Nonetheless, inactive wii'ipay, as with other shaman tools, were generally not handled by others and were treated with great caution, even avoided. These stones were treated with so much reserve that it was considered bad luck even to speak of wii'ipay. Tipai shamans used crystals to heal and to kill as well, and bolder Tipai Indians were cited as using the powerful stones to help their luck in gambling (Hohenthal 2001; Levi 1978).

Healing Practices

Healing was the primary activity of shamans. Gifts were commonly awarded to the shaman for his services, whether the patient lived or died. These gifts could range from agricultural goods or leather to livestock, pesos, or even horses (Hohenthal 2001; Owen 1962). Most shamans were able to predict if a patient would live or die, often without even seeing the patient (Owen 1962).

Illness could be caused by many factors, including taboo violations, theft of one's soul by a

sorcerer, and the intrusion of sorcery powers or objects. Shamans treated physical, psychological, and spiritual conditions using a wide variety of techniques: ritual movements around the patient, made with reference to the cardinal directions; songs; herbal remedies; blowing on the patient and touching and massaging the body; sucking out objects, especially spines; warming and covering the body; manipulation of small human figures carved in wood; use of medicinal plants, especially tobacco; and imposition of dietary restrictions (Meigs 1939). A shaman might also hold a crystal in his hand while conducting healing ceremonies to increase his power and effectiveness in the healing ritual. Dream interpretation was also used to address psychological problems.

Tipai ceremonies involving shamans usually took place in the presence of the *kwelpai,* "chief," who acted as the elder, being the expert on the ancient procedure that directed the shaman (Hohenthal 2001). The Tipai shaman could use a short stick *(kotat')* to channel his power. These kotat' were tools used to heal and send spells by touching them to people or waving them around during an incantation. It was believed the shaman's power could remain in the kotat' after he used it, and it was dangerous to anyone who would handle it.

Healing ceremonies were quite lengthy, taking a day and a night. During this time, the shaman would ask the afflicted patient where it hurt or what was wrong. If he determined that he could heal the individual, he would sit by the patient and massage the body with his hands, manually manipulating the pain to a localized point on the body. Then, he might remove the pain with his mouth by sucking it out (Hohenthal 2001). One of Hohenthal's informants described a ceremony:

> The patient lies prone with his face pointing east, and the shaman sits to his left. . . . The shaman sings, and blows tobacco smoke over the head and body of the sufferer; he rocks back and forth and sometimes "appears crazy." . . . If this is possession, I do not know by what or by whom the shaman is possessed; maybe it's the tobacco the shaman smokes. The cure goes on all day until the victim feels better, or until he sweats profusely. During this time the curing shaman has felt all over the body of the sufferer and occasionally sucks with his lips certain parts of the body where it hurts. He spits out the disease in his hand and shows it to the victim, telling the latter that "now he will get better." The shaman does not walk around the patient during the curing process. (cited in Hohenthal 2001, 233).

Most healing shamans possessed great knowledge in first aid as well. It was not uncommon for a shaman to prescribe a special diet to be followed after the ceremony. One diet in particular is recalled in Hohenthal's paper: "After this [healing] the patient is put on a diet; he may eat only unsalted broth and boiled, bland foods with no meat fat pepper or tobacco. He must drink special water from mountain pools. Upon conclusion of the diet, which lasts a week, the patient bathes in tepid water" (Hohenthal 2001, 233).

Pai Pai shamans held curing sessions in the form of public ceremonies that anyone living near by could attend. Some tools of the Pai Pai shaman included small wood figurines resembling human beings. These figurines were treated much like healing crystals, in that they were used to channel the supernatural, and a person who was not a shaman would not handle them out of fear of their power (Owen 1962). Referred to as "the brother in-law of the people," these figurines were stored in caves when they were not being used (Owen 1962, 92). When they were used in ceremonies, they were thought to channel the spirits of long dead shaman with a reputation for curing certain types of illness. Thus in the event that some Indian was bitten by a snake, the spirit of a shaman that was particularly good at healing bites would be channeled.

Divination

Divination played a role in the diagnosis of illness and in determining other conditions of importance to the group. One shamanic divination activity involved the ability to channel the spirits of dead community members and ancestors, including the spirits of more powerful deceased shamans. This activity usually turned into a process that lasted almost all night, during which fire and food were specially prepared for the spirits being channeled (Owen 1962). Contact with the dead was achieved as

the shaman's spirit left his body and traveled looking for the soul of the deceased. The shaman attracted the spirit, which would enter the shaman and speak through the shaman's mouth. This speech was generally unusual and understood by few people. It provided an opportunity to interrogate the deceased to determine the cause of death, including the person responsible.

> A pole was put deeply into the ground and an old, brave man stood near it while another sat next to him and twirled a bull-roarer. When this is twirled the spirits come, and as they come the old brave man is sitting in front of the pole holding it with one hand. As the spirits enter [the brave man] he pulls and twists the pole, which is securely stuck in the ground. When the spirits enter him he falls as though dead and in a moment sits back up and the others have a clay pipe. . . . After a few puffs he says who it is that has arrived and says his name and asks, "why do you need me?" Then one of the elders comes forward to speak to him and tell the spirit why they called him. (Owen 1962, 93)

After the shaman, through the spirit, has understood the cause of the problem, he might call other spirits from the dead to help with the cure, or to find a witch among the living who could reverse a curse that was cast upon the sick individual.

Rock Art Sites

One of the most dramatic forms of evidence of the shamanic activities of the past is in the numerous rock art sites that are distributed in the Yuman areas. Rock art sites are generally interpreted as sources of power and places where shamans carried out rituals (Hedges 1976, 1985). Shamans were likely responsible for producing the rock art, using the sites in ceremonies, particularly initiations. One of the most dramatic survivals of this shamanic activity is at the Rumorosa site east of Tecate, Baja California, where a shamanic figure referred to as the *diablito* (little devil) is located. This rock shelter also serves as an astronomical device: The rays of the winter solstice sunrise form a dagger that crosses through the eyes of the shaman figure. Such evidence eloquently attests to the wisdom of these shamans in both supernatural and natural domains.

The Present

The shamanic practices of the Yuman peoples died out due to the impact on their cultures by Europeans, especially the missionaries, who deliberately sought to eradicate the indigenous religious practices. What have survived are beliefs about the shamans and fear about their powers. Today, Protestant and Evangelical churches are prominent features of the indigenous reserves. Yet the potential for shamanic revival exists in the traditional modes of shamanic access to the spirits through dreams.

Michael Winkelman
Peter Finelli

See also: Entheogens and Shamanism; Rock Art and Shamanism; Yokuts Shamanism

References and further reading:

Aschmann, Homer. 1968. "Historical Accounts and Archaeological Discoveries." *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 4, no. 1.

Hedges, Ken. 1976. "Southern California Rock Art as Shamanic Art." Pp. 126–138 in *American Indian Rock Art,* vol. 2. Edited by Kay Sutherland. El Paso, TX: El Paso Archaeological Society.

———. 1985. "Rock Art Portrayals of Shamanic Transformation and Magical Flight." Pp. 83–94 in *Rock Art Papers,* vol. 2. Edited by Ken Hedges. San Diego Museum Papers, vol. 18. San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum of Man.

Hohenthal, William. 2001. *Ethnographic Field Notes: A Baja California Community at Mid Century.* Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press.

Levi, Jerome M. 1978. "Wii'ipay: The Living Rocks Ethnographic Notes on Crystal Magic among Some California Yumans." *The Journal of California Anthropology* 5, no. 1: 42–52.

Meigs, P. 1939. *The Kiliwa Indians of Lower California.* Ibero-Americana no. 15. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Owen, Roger. 1962. "The Indians of Santa Catarina Baja California Norte, Mexico: Concepts of Disease and Curing." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles.

Winkelman, Michael. 1992. *Shamans, Priests and Witches: A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-*

Religious Practitioners. Anthropological Research Papers no. 44. Tempe: Arizona State University.

YUPIK AND INUPIAQ MASKS (ALASKA)

Wooden masks were probably the most surprising items that early travelers observed in Alaska, and the first exploration expedition (1788–1792) to spend a winter in Alaska published pictures of six Aleut masks in its report (Sauer 1802: pl. 11; Merck 1980). These early explorers saw in these masks merely grotesque representations of human beings, used in festivities to mock others. Curiously enough, the masks they reproduced are unique; no mask of this type can be seen in anthropological museums, nor have they been described since. They are caricatural portraits of persons with facial painting or tattoos, labrets, and headdresses. At a later date outside observers saw masks as part of the paraphernalia used in ceremonies. In the nineteenth century the Yupik (i.e., Central Yupik and Alutiiq) masks rendered transformations of beings, usually representing an animal in the process of changing itself into a complex spirit, whereas the Inupiaq masks represented human faces with strongly typified traits differing from area to area.

The scanty information on masks, together with the very small number of masks collected before the arrival of the first professional collectors, is very puzzling, almost as if the masks were a rare item. The early collections by Cook, Billings, Langsdorff, and Krusenstern do not include masks. The oldest masks were collected by Ivan Veniaminov and Ilia Voznesienskii and are now kept in the Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg (Liapunova 1994). It has been suggested that masks were originally made of leather, a material that decays faster than wood and that can barely be recovered with current digging methods.

Many observers reported that the masks were used only one time; after the ceremony they were broken, burned, left on the tundra, or given to the children to play with (Lantis 1946, 191; Ray 1981, 28). This practice could partly explain why so few masks were collected in the early period of colonization; on the other hand, almost all the masks now kept in museums' collections seem to be old, showing signs of long use, of changes in their decoration and appendages. The method by which they were attached appears to have been modified, and their painting is fading. All this suggests that they were used over a long period of time. These traits are so characteristic of museum collections that a mask with fresh color that looks new is thought to have been made for sale. These signs of frequent use seem to contradict observations made in the field by travelers. Maybe traditions should not be seen as static, but subject to variations in time and from village to village, as is suggested by ethnographic collections.

Another possible explanation would take into account that most of the masks kept in museums were collected in the second half of the nineteenth century by Americans and Europeans who were passionate collectors, and whose collections include a large number of masks. Questions arise concerning these masks. Were the masks at that time no longer in use? Or were they desacralized so they could be sold? Did the wood and the carpenter's tools then available, and also the demands of the collectors, start an ephemeral but significant renaissance of this art form and thus produce masks with fresh color?

The fact that the majority of the masks were collected in the second half of the nineteenth century suggests a revival of the art of making masks, with an exceptional explosion of creativity in this field. This hypothesis of an art fallen into disuse and then revived could explain the changes in what was found. The travelers of the late eighteenth century reported on masks. Then, from the turn of the century to the 1840s, travelers reported that masks were no longer used (Langsdorff 1814 and Veniaminov 1840, cited in Ray 1981, 28) and are missing in all the important collections (Krusenstern, Choris, Leuchtenberg, Etholen, Wrangell, and Koprianof) from the first half of the nineteenth century. And then between 1870 and 1890 four collectors, Alphonse L. Pinart (Rousselot and Grahammer 2002), Edward William Nelson (1899), J. Adrian Jacobsen (Woldt 1884), and Sheldon Jackson (Corey 1987), were able to gather several hundred masks in a few years (Rousselot et al. 1991).

Archaeological Finds

Very few masks were recovered from excavations; most of those recovered are very small (about 2 inches, or 5 cm, in diameter), and are therefore called maskettes by archaeologists. They were made of walrus ivory. In locations where such maskettes were discovered, archaeologists believe that wooden masks had been in use but were lost due to poor conservation of wooden items or had been discarded after use. Nevertheless, full-sized masks belong to the inventories of some sites in south Alaska, especially from sites submerged in water where preservation of wooden objects is better (Jordan 1994).

Graves

Masks were sometimes found in connection with graves, as in a graveyard at Point Hope, where Sheldon Jackson gathered a large number of them in the 1890s (Corey 1987, xviii). In the Kuskokwim area of Southwest Alaska they were part of the wooden monument built for a deceased person (Ray 1982), and some were found with the corpses in graves. It is not clear whether the masks were placed on the faces or on the chests of the deceased to protect them or whether they were part of the equipment, such as tools, weapons, that the dead would need in the other world. These masks were portraitlike masks, or at least masks with a human face.

A mask from a subsequently famous archaeological site was discovered in 1943 by Helge Larsen of the National Museum of Copenhagen, near Point Hope, at the cemetary of the Ipiutak (a prehistoric tribal group). The composite mask was made of ivory, in such a way that the face of the deceased was mainly framed with the mask. The natural openings of the body were closed with ivory plugs, and the eye cavities filled with balls of ivory (Larsen and Rainey 1948). In the Aleutians, where whale hunting distinguished the successful hunters from the rest of the community, the hunter society concealed the corpses of deceased hunters in caves. They held ceremonies in these caves in which very special portrait masks were used. Probably at the end of the celebration the masks were broken, or more precisely they were slashed in two with an adze, as can be seen from the remains collected by William Dall (1878) and Alphonse Pinart (1875) in such caves (Rousselot 1990).

The limits of the information gathered from archaeological sites of the Arctic and Subarctic should not be underestimated. Digging in these areas is by and large limited to sites exposed to strong erosion, wind, and snow inland, and water damaging the stratigraphy of fluvial and coastal sites. Archaeologists depend heavily on ethnographical observations in their reconstruction of the original situation.

Ethnographical Data

Ethnographic data describing the use of masks can be gathered from the logs and books of travelers and missionaries from the second half of the eighteenth century and from the early nineteenth century; after the middle of the nineteenth century, Christianization of the native population had destroyed most of the indigenous religions. But "the spirit of mask-making had not died, and there were always some persons who had kept the tradition alive, usually by copying the old designs" (Ray 1981, 26).

Unfortunately, it was not until 1913 that the first description of a masked ceremony was published (Hawkes 1913). In 1911 Ernest Hawkes attended the Inviting-In Feast at Saint Michael, and he published a description of it.

As mentioned above, the masks are not present in the early collections; illustration of masks is also quite rare in early ethnographic works. Even stranger is the fact that masks are very rarely mentioned in the mythology and legends, but the explanation could be that spirits, supernatural beings, and ancient shamans did not need masks, since they had the ability to transform themselves.

Types of Mask

Such ethnographic reports as exist report that some masks representing human beings, birds, or sea animals were used purely for entertainment, and these could be carved by anyone. Other masks rendered visions or supernatural experiences of the shaman. In that case the shaman carved himself a mask or asked a skilled carver to represent his vision. In spite of this individualistic approach to mask making, each carver worked within the stylistic pattern characteristic of the area where he lived.

The size of masks varied considerably, the smallest covering half of the face or only the

forehead of the dancer, to the largest (up to 80 cm high). When the largest masks were used, the actor danced behind the mask, which hung from the ceiling of the community house. An assistant of the dancer pulled and lowered the rope on which the mask was attached, in accordance with the rhythm of the melody.

Another kind of mask was used in the Yukon-Kuskokwim area, the so-called finger mask (Ray 1981, 29). They were pairs of small masks that the dancer held in each hand, often the miniatures of a large face mask. The custom in southern Alaska was that the dancer should hold something in his hands; when it was not finger masks, it could be wands or rattles, or he might wear gloves.

The simplest masks were realistic portraits of persons or animals; such masks were more common north of the Yukon delta, the Inupiaq territory. East of Alaska, in what is now Canada, masks were made of just a rectangular piece of skin, with two holes for vision, and at the eastern end of the Inuit territory in Greenland, one-piece wooden portrait masks occurred, but often with distorted faces. South of the Inupiaq area, the Yupik made more complex masks. They were carved from driftwood and painted to represent an animal or the transformation of an animal, with the face of its spirit appearing. Rings of roots often encircled the central motif; these rings supported feathers, skins, or geometric pieces of wood radiating from the mask. These wooden appendages could also represent seals, birds, or human hands and legs.

Like masks made of a simple piece of skin, facial painting provided a temporary covering of the face (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988, 141; Ray 1981, 28). The practice of facial painting is reported only by early observers, prior to the second half of the nineteenth century. The practice of facial painting might help to explain the lack of masks in the early period. Helmets and masks made of bent twigs are also reported from the Krusenstern-Davydov voyage (1802–1807) (Liapunova 1994, 187, 189).

Ceremonial mask, Nunivak, ca. 1929. (Library of Congress)

Meaning of Masks

At festivals the dancer wearing the mask reenacted his supernatural experiences or retraced the mythological perpetuity of a hero or spirit of early times (Lantis 1947, 200–201). The dancer, transformed by the mask, became the incarnation of the being the mask represented. The belief was that in primordial times, spirits had taught the ancestors the skills that human beings need to know to survive. In recalling the mythical past, those who performed the ceremony kept in touch with the spirits who make life possible on earth. The best hunting methods and technology would have been ineffective without the active cooperation of the spirits. Only the spirits could free the animals needed by the people, permitting a successful hunt. At ceremonies prior to the departure of an important hunting party, the shaman would visit the spirit that presided over the animals to be hunted, seeking assurance of a successful hunt.

The meaning of the masks was not recorded when they were collected, and today little is known about their iconography. Therefore it is not safe to say more than that many masks are the plastic representation of an experience with supernatural powers. Such experiences were the product of journeys to the spirit world, of a vision, or of a dream.

A clear interpretation can, however, be given of the kind of mask that represents an animal,

say a raven, holding other animals in his beak and his feet, or the kind that has animals on a hoop encircling the mask. The mask indicates that the spirit represented by the mask has command over the game. When the shaman wore this mask, he acted as if he were the spirit itself, deciding whether to give the game to the people. The shaman was no longer asking for game, but instead incorporated the spirit that was master of the game. The spirit announced his decision, speaking through the mouth of the shaman.

Jean-Loup Rousselot
Edited by Jane Ripken

References and further reading:

See also: Costume, Shaman; Inuit Shamanism; Yupik Shamanism

Corey, Peter L. ed. 1987. *Faces, Voices and Dreams: A Celebration of the Centennial of the Sheldon Jackson Museum, 1888–1988.* Juneau: Division of Alaska State Museums.

Dall, William Healey. 1878. *On the Remains of the Later Pre-Historic Man Obtained from Caves in the Catherina Archipelago, Alaska Territory.* Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 22, no. 318. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Fitzhugh, William W., and Valérie Chaussonnet, eds. 1994. *Anthropology of the North Pacific Rim.* Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Fitzhugh, William W., and Aron Crowell, eds. 1988. *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures in Siberia and Alaska.* Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Hawkes, Ernest William. 1913. *The "Inviting-In" Feast of the Alaska Eskimo.* Memoir 45, no. 3 Anthropological Series. Ottawa: Department of Mines.

Jacobsen, Johan Adrian. 1977. *Alaskan Voyage 1881–1883.* Translated by Erma Guenther. Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press.

Jordan, Richard H. 1994. "Qasqiluteng: Ceremonialism among the Traditional Koniag of Kodiak Island, Alaska." Pp. 147–173 in *Anthropology of the North Pacific Rim.* Edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Valérie Chaussonnet. Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Langsdorff, Georg Heinrich von. 1812. *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807* [Remarks on a trip around the world in the years 1803 to 1807]. Frankfurt am Main: Friedrich Wilmans.

Lantis, Margaret. 1946. "The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo." Transactions of the American Philosophical Society n.s. 35, no. 3: 151–323. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society.

———. 1947. *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism.* American Ethnological Society Monograph no. 11. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Larsen, Helge, and Froelich Rainey. 1948. *Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture.* New York: American Museum of Natural History.

Liapunova, Roza G. 1994. "Eskimo Masks from Kodiak Island in the Collections of the Peter the Great Museum." Pp.175–203 in *Anthropology of the North Pacific Rim.* Edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Valérie Chaussonnet. Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Merck, Carl Heinrich. 1980. *Siberia and Northwestern America, 1788–1792.* Edited and introduced by Richard A. Pierce. Kingston, Ont.: Limestone Press.

Murdoch, John. 1892. *Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition, 1881–1883.* Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report for 1887–1888, vol. 9. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Nelson, Edward William. 1899. *The Eskimo about Bering Strait.* Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report for 1896–1897, vol.18, no. 1. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Pinart, Alphonse Louis. 1875. *La caverne d'Aknanh, île d'Ounga* [The cavern of Aknanh, Island of Ounga]. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Ray, Dorothy Jean. 1977. *Eskimo Art: Tradition and Innovation in North Alaska.*Vancouver: J. J. Douglas.

———. 1981. *Aleut and Eskimo Art: Tradition and Innovation in South Alaska.* London: C. Hurst.

———. 1982. "Mortuary Art of the Alaskan Eskimos." *American Indian Art* 7, no. 2: 50–57.

Rousselot, Jean-Loup. 1990. "Walfänger-gemeinschaften der Eskimo in Alaska" [Whale-hunting Society of the Eskimo in

Alaska]. Pp. 225–230 in *Männerbände-Männerbunde.* Edited by Gisela Völger and Karin von Welck. Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum.

Rousselot, Jean-Loup, B. Abel, J. Pierre, and C. Bihl. 1991. *Masques Eskimo d'Alaska. Art et Ethnologie* [Eskimo masks of Alaska: Art and Ethnology]. Saint-Vit, France: Éditions Danièle Amez: F-25410.

Rousselot, Jean-Loup, and Veronika Grahammer. 2002. "Catalogue raisonné de la collection du Château-Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer" [Descriptive catalog of the collection of the Castles-Museum of Boulogne-sur-Mer]. Pp. 206–243 in *Kodiak, Alaska. Les masques de la Collection Alphonse Pinart* [The masks from the collection of Alphonse Pinart]. Edited by Emmanuel Désveaux. Paris: Musée du quai Branly.

Sauer, Martin. 1802. *Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia.* London: T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies.

Woldt, Adrian. 1884. *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas 1881–1883. [. . .] für den deutschen Leserkreis bearbeitet von A. Woldt* [Captain Jacobsen's voyage to the Northwest coast of America 1884–1883 . . . prepared for the German reader by A. Woldt]. Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr.

YUPIK SHAMANISM (ALASKA)

The Yupik Eskimo shaman *(angalkuq)* of southwestern Alaska held a central position in his society. He (though women could be shamans, most shamans were men) was the mediator between the world of the spirits and the people. His fellow tribesmen expected that he could predict the future, that he knew where the wild animals were, and that he could cure illnesses. Some shamans were able to fulfill these tasks only to a limited extent and instead specialized in a given area. The required abilities depended on the helping spirits who promised the shaman their support. Without the firm support of the spirits, the shaman was powerless. If he agreed to perform a task, he appealed to a benevolent spirit and sought his advice. If the specialized spirit turned a deaf ear to his appeal, the shaman understood that his helping spirit in this particular constellation was unable to show him the way to a solution. The shaman had to explain to those present that he could not solve the problem at hand.

The Yupik were animists who believed that all living creatures and important natural phenomena (like storms, wind, rain), celestial bodies (moon, stars, sun), and landmarks (river mouths, hot springs, mountains) had souls and personalities and led their lives concealed in the background. Their lives paralleled those of people and were patterned along anthropomorphic lines. They were capable of speech, either directly with the shaman or through an intermediary, the helping spirit. The role of the shaman was to make contact with the helping spirits and to negotiate with them.

Hardship in life such as illnesses, difficulties in obtaining provisions, or bad weather that makes hunting impossible could be solved on the basis of an agreement with the responsible spirit. First the accountable authority had to be established. The shaman, having determined the cause of the ill will of the spirit, negotiated with the spirit to obtain favorable terms for the people. The shaman made suggestions how to remedy the spirit's unhappiness, or the spirit dictated its terms; in both cases, new taboos would have to be observed to please the offended spirit.

Sickness was explained by the loss of the soul. The stolen soul was in another world. The shaman's helping spirit would look for the soul, and once it had located the soul, it was the shaman's job to get it and replace it in the patient's body. The lost soul would have been kidnapped by a malevolent shaman and hidden in a secret place in the Underworld. The shaman, after getting contact with his helping spirit and receiving from the spirit information about the approximate location of the soul, started his journey to the Underworld. He had to defeat numerous difficulties and eliminate malicious spirits that tried to create obstacles to his advance; eventually he reached the scared soul and brought it back to the patient. The shaman pressed it back with his hands into the patient's body, at the place where the soul originally resided. If the shaman were not able to recover the soul, the sickness would probably be fatal. The relatives of the patient might therefore ask the shaman to make a second attempt or ask another shaman to try to rescue the soul.

The sequence ideally started with the shaman drumming and calling his spirit and ended with the reintroduction of the soul into the body of the patient. Some shamans would comment while they were in trance on what was happening to them, others would relate what they experienced at the end of the séance, after recovering from their trance.

Becoming a Shaman

There was no institution for training candidates to be a shaman. Anyone who aspired to this vocation had the opportunity to become a shaman. In theory, everyone could try his hand at it. Those who became shamans had a peculiar vision in the loneliness of the tundra after a long exhausting march. A spirit appeared who felt lonely, sought company, and was ready to become friends with someone. In return for friendship, the spirit declared its willingness to help. These spirits displayed very human characteristics; the characteristics of the entities of the spirit world were very much like those of human beings. Having ties to other worlds was felt to mean that one had the future, normally fraught with uncertainty, better under control. Some of the more powerful spirits were believed to control the winds, migration of animals, and the weather. The other worlds in which the spirits operated were situated on the floor of the ocean and at the limit of the sky, where the moon, the sun, and the stars resided. Since each spirit had its own personality and definite competencies, the shaman might seek further helping spirits to extend his field of action.

The community confirmed the shaman in his role. Recognition came when it was established that he was a competent clairvoyant and healer. He was accepted in this role as long as he was effective, in other words as long as his helpful spirits supported him and he was useful to the community.

Since his position in the community was not institutionalized, the shaman did not differ from other members of the tribe. He led a completely normal life, one like others of his social class, age, and sex. Depending on demand, he called his talents into play in order to predict the future or act as healer. He interrupted his daily activities, took his drum, and called upon his helping spirits in order to find out whether he could answer the questions raised. He did not wear special dress that would distinguish him from others. His drum resembled those of other people. His special position was based on his experience with the spirit world and his successes. In addition to his helping spirits, he had songs and amulets. His knowledge of the other world allowed him to advise others on carving masks and making amulets.

When the shaman was urged to provide assistance, he first asked his helping spirits whether the question could be solved. He beat his drums and called upon them, mentioning the task with which he had been confronted in order to give the spirit the opportunity to take a stand in advance. If the spirit could not offer a solution, he generally would not answer the question. If he did answer, however, he would suggest calling upon a more powerful shaman or one specialized in this area. The drum was beaten for hours, calls were repeated, and dances were carried out in a confined space, all creating a monotony that put the shaman into an altered state of consciousness. In this condition he became more receptive to messages from the other world and could understand them. This part required no psychological prelude or drugs. However, such a séance could last several days.

Relationships between shamans were not always friendly. On the contrary, they were often marked by the struggle for influence and the favor of fellow tribesmen. Some shamans strove for dominance, tried to eliminate all obstacles in their way, and attempted to frighten people by alarming them in order to manipulate them better. Struggles between shamans were a frequent topic in stories, as the following story illustrates. The story goes that one of the shamans claimed dominance, tried to exclude the others, and used all kinds of dirty tricks to get rid of the competition. His opponent, on the other hand, was only trying to help his fellows. He did this while leading a normal life. He was modest and did not strive for fame or social recognition. If he was given a task, he had his helping spirits do the job. He himself did not act. They spoke from his mouth and directed his movements. This shaman was naive, and he fell into all the traps set for him. Only when his situation had become hopeless did he take drastic measures, which enabled him to free himself.

More than one story followed this general pattern, and sometimes the story told how the

gentle hero, who in some versions was originally an orphan, took cruel revenge and caused a great deal of bloodshed. The motive of eliminating evil was not central. Evil was perhaps first and foremost seen as that which opposes one's own interests. In the same manner the shaman would attempt to protect his village from the negative magic of foreign shamans who through a curse might send illnesses to revenge an insult, an injustice, or murder.

In the past, shamans supposedly were much more powerful. They could fly, walk on the ocean floor, and transform themselves into different animals as needed. Their bodies were insensitive to pain, and therefore they could cut or puncture themselves or expose themselves to flames or to coldness without suffering harm.

The Death of Shamanism

The core area of the Central Yupik around the Kuskokwim River remained relatively isolated until the United States bought Alaska in 1867 from Russia. Protected by its shallow coastal waters and the river mouth, with no safe natural landing places, the area was avoided by seagoing sailors, who preferred to anchor in Alexandrovsk, Bristol Bay, and Saint Michael at the mouth of the Yukon. The Orthodox Church exerted little influence. The situation changed, however, with the appearance of commercial fishing and the arrival of Protestant and Catholic missionaries in the last third of the nineteenth century. The Herrnhuter (Moravian Church) and the Jesuits were particularly active, establishing not only churches but also clinics with trained medical personnel. Shamanism stood for all that was "heathen and backward," which was countered directly by the Christian religion and Western medicine. The missionaries also had Western technology, in the form of materials, cast iron pots, firearms, plank boats, and so on, on their side, and the acceptance of that technology made daily life easier in many areas. Western innovations became dominant relatively rapidly, within one generation.

Symbiosis and Neo-Shamanism

After almost 150 years of Christianity, a certain return to traditional values can be observed. In an attempt to provide disoriented young people with social stability, elders usually try together with the local Christian clergymen to hold joint festivities of a religious nature. These ceremonies may be occasioned by a birth, a death, or a wedding, or by the introduction of young children into the community. Traditionally the entire village population is invited. Everyone eats, dances, and sings. Masks are carved and worn for such dances, and old songs are sung, as well as new ones commemorating personal events. The priest and a traditional master of ceremonies bless the food and the masks.

Jean-Loup Rousselot
Translated by Jane Ripken

See also: Inuit Shamanism; Yupik and Inupiaq Masks

References and further reading:

Gillham, Charles E. 1955. *Medicine Men of Hooper Bay.* New York: Macmillan.

Lantis, Margaret. 1947. *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism.* Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, vol 11. New York: J. J. Augustin.

Rousselot, Jean-Loup. 1996. "Yupik Eskimo Ceremonial and Masks of the Nineteenth Century." Pp. 78–91 in *The Object as Mediator.* Edited by Mireille Holsbeke. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum.

Sonne, Birgitte. 1988. *Agayut.* Report of the 5th Thule Expedition 10, no. 4. Gyldendal: Copenhagen.

Weyer, Edward M. 1932. *The Eskimos. Their Environment and Folkways.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Overview

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

Introduction: Geography, Human History, and Religion

The geographically and culturally diverse region comprising Mexico, Central and South America, and the Hispanic West Indies is often referred to as Latin America, in recognition of its predominantly Spanish and Portuguese colonial heritage. Strictly speaking, the term Central America refers to the isthmus connecting Mexico (geographically included in North America) and South America, and comprises the republics of Guatemala, Belize (formerly British Honduras), Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Geographers, however, often use the nearly synonymous term Middle America to refer to the larger region of Mexico, Central America, Panama, and the West Indies (Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and the Antilles). In the following regional entries, the term Central America is used in this latter, more inclusive sense. Mesoamerica, a term used frequently by anthropologists, is generally restricted to southern Mexico and western Central America, where the Maya civilizations once flourished. South America comprises Portuguese-speaking Brazil, Spanish-speaking Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela, as well as the former colonies of Guyana (British) and Suriname (Dutch), and the dependency of French Guyana.

Approximately 80 percent of the Central and South American landmass is located within the tropical zone. High mountains of relatively recent origin are found in the Sierra Madre ranges of central Mexico, the volcanic highlands extending from Chiapas in southern Mexico through the Central American isthmus, and the mighty Andes mountain chain forming a backbone along the entire western extension of South America from northern Colombia to Tierra del Fuego in southern Chile. The combination of tropical life zones punctuated by high mountains gives Central and especially South America an almost unparalleled diversity of climatic and ecological zones, plant and animal life, and indigenous cultures and languages.

Central and South America were the last continents to be colonized by humans during the late Pleistocene. Traditional archeological estimates dated the arrival of humans to South America at no earlier than 8,000 years ago, but recent, somewhat controversial evidence dates a human occupation in Chile in southernmost South America at more than 12,000 years old. If confirmed, such early dates would help explain the tremendous cultural and linguistic diversity found especially in native South America, where thousands of languages and dialects have been documented and as many as a hundred distinct linguistic families have been proposed. No precise information exists concerning the human population of the Americas prior to the Spanish Conquest. Estimates for the combined indigenous population of North, Central, and South America at the time of conquest vary from eight million to 100 million. Estimates for the Inca Empire (western South America) alone vary from three to thirty-two million. Disease, military conquest, and assimilation

quickly reduced the native population by over 90 percent, and many cultural groups, especially in coastal regions, were extinguished or entirely assimilated.

The current population and cultural heritage of Central and South America reflects five centuries of conflict, coexistence, and mixing between several distinct and internally diverse peoples: the native inhabitants of the Americas and their descendants, often referred to as Amerindians; people of Iberian (Spanish or Portuguese) origins who made up the vast majority of the initial European colonization; enslaved West Africans and their descendants, brought mostly to northeastern South America (especially Brazil) and the Caribbean beginning in the early sixteenth century to provide plantation labor when enslaved Amerindians proved unable to resist disease and the privations of slavery; and finally, overseas immigrants of diverse European and Asian origins who began arriving in large numbers in the nineteenth century when former Spanish colonies achieved independence.

The religions of contemporary Central and South America reflect the tremendous cultural diversity and historical complexity of the region. Hierarchical state religions practiced in pre-Colombian kingdoms and empires such as the Aztec, the Zapotec, the Maya, and the Inca were persecuted and extinguished early in the Conquest. Persecution of indigenous religions was especially severe during the Spanish Inquisition, but has continued through the present, notably through the practices of Christian missionaries of diverse sects operating in remote, Amerindian-populated areas. The Jesuit Order was especially prominent in its missionary work with Indians during the early Conquest, promoting indigenous languages such as Tupi-Guarani as the *lingua franca* for Iberian colonies. But the Jesuits were expelled from Spain, Portugal, and all American colonies in the mid-1700s, and Franciscan and Dominican Orders came to dominate missionary work in the indigenous-populated hinterlands.

In the twentieth century, fundamentalist Protestant sects greatly expanded their missionary work with Indians as well as with the urban peoples of Latin America, aggressively competing with established Catholic traditions. Protestant-Catholic conflicts divide numerous indigenous populations of Central and South America, and in some cases these conflicts have turned violent, a recent example being among the highland Maya of Chiapas, where political and religious factors together contributed to the Zapatista uprising. Despite five centuries of missionary work and persecution, diffuse elements of pre-Colombian indigenous religions, including shamanism, survive to this day, in some cases inextricably blended with Iberian folk Catholicism or Protestant Christianity. The recent emergence of urban ayahuasca religions in Brazil attests to the tenacity and adaptability of shamanistic practices derived from indigenous roots.

Another important religious current in Central and South America is the West African–derived religious complex that includes Santería, Candomblé, Umbanda, and Voudou (Voodoo). Centering on possession and trance, these religions, together with fragments of the original African languages (notably Yoruba), have survived and flourished in coastal and island regions where the slave trade was most intense. Peripheral European mystical practices such as spiritism and theosophy arrived in Latin America during the 1800s and have blended with folk religions and alternative healing traditions in many urban areas. Minority religions brought by more recent immigrants to Central and South America include Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

Overview of the Entries

The twenty entries in this section attest to the tremendous cultural diversity, historical depth, and philosophical complexity of shamanism throughout an immense region. The entries cover a broad sample of cultural groups from southern Chile to New Mexico, from ancient to modern times, from indigenous forest people to urban dwellers of mixed African, Amerindian, and European descent. Despite their broad coverage, the entries are by no means exhaustive or even representative of the totality of shamanistic practices in this vast and diverse area.

The regional entry "Central and South American Shamanism" includes examples of indigenous shamanistic traditions from a wide range of geographical regions and historical moments, from pre-Colombian and early Conquest times through the present. The entry pays special attention to

Amerindian traditions of the western Amazon (Desana, Cashinahua, Jivaro, Matsigenka, Shipibo, Yaminahua, and others) not covered in other entries, while drawing comparisons between Amazonia and other culture areas. Despite the overwhelming cultural and geographical diversity covered, certain common features of native Central and South American shamanism are identified: the shamanic calling, usually communicated during dreams or illness; the shaman's initiation, which often involves the acquisition of a magical substance that embodies the shaman's power and serves as both a defensive and offensive weapon; the moral ambiguity of shamans, who can be both healers and sorcerers; the centrality of singing or chanting and percussion instruments (drum, rattle) during ritual performance; the notion of soul loss, spirit attack, and sorcery in illness etiology; the concept of a multilayered cosmos inhabited by spirits and traversed by the shaman during trance; and the common use of hallucinogenic and narcotic plants, the most widespread being tobacco and other nightshade relatives *(Datura, Brugmansia).* Such widely shared features attest to the ancient origins of Central and South American shamanism, which should be treated as a unique, parallel, and largely independent development, rather than merely an offshoot of "classic" Siberian shamanism.

The entry "Huichol Shamanism" describes the complex worldview of this colorful and proud people, who call themselves Wixárika, of the deserts of northern Mexico. Huichol shamans, known as *mara'akate,* use dreams, tobacco, the hallucinogenic peyote cactus, and other psychoactive plants to commune with Huichol gods, Catholic saints, and a variety of animal and plant spirits for purposes of divination and healing. Huichol shamans are also responsible for guiding the spirits of the dead to the sky above the sacred landscape of the peyote desert in San Luis Potosí, visited on periodic pilgrimages and peyote-gathering expeditions. The entry "Tarahumara Shamanism" describes religious and social practices among the linguistically related Rarámuri (more commonly known as the Tarahumara). Early in the Spanish Conquest, the Rarámuri took refuge in the rugged Sierra Madre mountain range and were thus able to survive as a people despite four hundred years of encroachment by Christian missionaries and European invaders. Rarámuri shamanism as well as social, economic, and ritual life revolve around the consumption of *tesguino,* a sacred alcoholic beverage made from fermented maize. Known as *owirúame,* "medicine makers," Rarámuri shamans are renowned for their ability to drink large amounts of tesguino without losing control of their faculties. The most powerful shamans also consume peyote. In addition to their healing functions, Rarámuri medicine makers preside over religious ceremonies, transmit myths and cosmological knowledge, and wield considerable political power.

The entries "Mayan Shamanism," "Mayan Cosmology," "Maya Bone Divination," and "Quiche and Zuni Divination" explore multiple facets of religion and healing among diverse Mayan peoples of Guatemala, Belize, and southern Mexico, currently numbering seven million and speaking thirty-two different languages. The first two entries demonstrate a clear continuity of shamanistic beliefs and practices through more than two thousand years of history, from the ancient Maya civilization through present-day Quiche and Yucatec Maya societies. Quiche healers perform charms, spells, songs, and myths, and also engage in hands-on manipulation, including bone setting, massage, herbal remedies, and midwifery. Detailed knowledge of the 260-day ritual calendar, a legacy of the ancient Maya, is used for divination, blessing, and various ceremonial purposes by a special class of priest-shamans known as keepers of days *(ajk'ij).* Yucatec Maya ritual specialists *(h'meno'ob)* use their knowledge of the cosmos to alter the acts and intentions of invisible spirits while also helping people to understand and fulfill their own role in the cosmos, thereby achieving good health and good fortune.

The third entry describes the practice of "bone arrangers" *(wikol baq)* among the Tz'utujiil Maya of Guatemala, who treat bodily injuries through a combination of magical and physical manipulation. Their powers are channeled through a divinatory object (animal bone, pebble, or the like) revealed to them in dreams or by supernatural means during their initiatory calling. The final entry of this group compares and contrasts the divinatory functions of shamans among the Quiche Maya and the Zuni of New Mexico. Shamans in both groups divine by gazing into water or crystals, casting lots, reading natural omens, using hallucinogenic drugs, or interpreting dreams. Despite overall similarities between the two traditions, the Zuni view divination and contact with

dead spirits as a life-threatening enterprise, to be carried out only by a small number of the most powerful priests. The Quiche, on the other hand, view divining and contact with dead spirits as an inborn talent or gift that is not particularly dangerous, and the profession is open to any who receive the proper calling.

The entry "Otomí Indian Shamanism" provides a description of shamanic practices that appear to be mostly extinct among this native group of the highlands of Hidalgo in central Mexico. Otomí shamanism revolves around two fundamental concepts: *zaki,* the life force of all beings that move, and *rogi,* companion animal spirits that are born together with and accompany every person through life. Otomí shamans traditionally prepared paper figures representing animal spirits and the zaki life force for use in healing and divining rituals. Present-day Otomí remember these beliefs and practices in great detail, but few if any practicing shamans remain. The author does not discuss the reasons for this loss, but mentions the presence of *curandero* healers whose practices are less specific to Otomí cosmology, reflecting more widely held Mexican folk beliefs. The entry "Curanderismo" describes this cosmopolitan system of folk healing, found in different forms throughout Latin America and Spain, and among Hispanic populations in the United States. Representing a fusion of Greek-derived humoral theory, nineteenth-century spiritism, Catholicism, Spanish folk beliefs, and indigenous concepts, *curanderismo* is a diverse body of practice that includes spiritual, psychological, and herbal healing.

"Amazon Funeral Rites and Shamanism" is a comparative study drawn from recent ethnographic work among diverse Amazonian indigenous groups of Brazil (Araweté, Baniwa, Bororo, Nambiquara, Kulina, Krahó, Warí). As healers and diagnosticians, shamans provide patients as well as bereaved family members with a culturally mediated conceptual framework for understanding illness, misfortune, death, and the fate of the soul. Ritual acts overseen by shamans during and after the funeral chart the course of the dead person's soul away from the land of the living toward the Underworld, and may open channels of communication between the living and the dead. Shamanic interventions and interpretations facilitate the mourning process while reaffirming social bonds and cosmological beliefs.

The entries "Dark Shamanism" and "Kanaimà Shamanism" draw on ethnographic examples among the Warao of the Orinoco delta and the Carib-speaking Patamuna, Akawaio, Makushi, and Pemon of the Guyana highlands to illustrate the phenomena of witchcraft and attack sorcery, also found widely in the Amazon basin. Though many cultural groups have separate words to distinguish between healing shamans and illness-causing "dark shamans," the distinction is not always so clear in practice, as the power to heal entails the power to kill. The indigenous notion of dark shamanism has evolved in response to external forces, such that the shaman's magical violence mirrors the violence of colonialism while also standing in opposition or resistance to it.

The entry "Ayahuasca Ritual Use" discusses the shamanistic complex surrounding ayahuasca, a powerful hallucinogenic, or "psychointegrator," brew consisting of *Banisteriopsis* vine, *Psychotria* leaves, and other admixtures. Ayahuasca allows shamans to access hidden information about the spirit world and the social and natural environments. Originally an indigenous practice of perhaps limited geographical distribution, ayahuasca use spread throughout the western Amazon, especially during the rubber boom (1895–1917), and was adopted by many indigenous and nonindigenous groups. Several ayahuasca-based ecstatic religions have emerged in contemporary Brazil, blending indigenous, African, spiritist, and Christian cosmology. Though fraught with questions of ethics and authenticity, the growing popularity of urban curanderos and esoteric tourism has contributed to a cultural renaissance of shamanism in some areas.

The entry "Peruvian Shamans" addresses common features found in the diverse indigenous and urban healing traditions of the three distinctive geographical and cultural regions of Peru: the coastal deserts, the Andean mountains, and the lowlands of the Amazon basin. As in Mesoamerica, archaeological and historical records demonstrate a persistence of pre-Colombian beliefs and practices despite five centuries of religious persecution and colonial domination. In recent years, shamanistic rituals and trappings have attracted attention as objects of tourist consumption and political propaganda.

The entries "Mapuche Shamanism" and "Toba Shamanism" cover native practices in the quite distinctive cultural and geographic region of the southern cone of South America. The Mapuche of southern Chile, with a population of over one million, are among the largest indigenous groups of South America. Originally, male and female Mapuche shamans *(machi)* were responsible for propitiating ancestral and natural spirits for purposes of healing, success in warfare, agricultural fertility, and other expressions of collective well-being. Today, Mapuche shamans are mostly women, and their functions include healing, fertility rituals, interpretation of customary law, and presiding over public ceremonies. The Toba of the Chaco region in northeastern Argentina believe all illnesses have a supernatural origin. Taboo violations and vengeful animal spirits were blamed in the past, but today the most common cause of illness is thought to be sorcery inflicted by dark shamans. Toba shamans receive their powers and carry out much of their healing through dreams, guided by helping spirits. They invoke these helping spirits during healing rituals as they suck, massage, and blow on the patient's body until the illness-causing object (a stone, stick, or gelatinous substance) emerges.

The entries "Santería" and "Afro-Brazilian Shamanism" discuss examples of the healing and religious customs of African origin found along the north coast of South America and throughout the Caribbean. Related to Haitian Voudou, Cuban Santería and Brazilian Candomblé and Umbanda stand in sharp contrast to the Amerindian shamanistic cosmologies and practices discussed in the other entries. Whereas Amerindian shamans enter the invisible world in trance to communicate with the spirits, the African deities (*orishás,* spelled *orixás* in Brazil) irrupt into the human world by possessing or "riding" their hosts. For this reason, the term *shaman* is applied rarely and with some hesitation to Afro-Cuban and Afro-Brazilian healers and religious practitioners. Nonetheless, some contact between African and indigenous traditions can be inferred, for example, from the use of tobacco cigars in Cuban Santería and the use of hallucinogenic datura preparations in Afro-Brazilian religions.

Ancient and deeply rooted in Amerindian spirituality, ritual, and mythology, shamanistic concepts have had an important influence on modern religion and popular culture. The entry "Latin American Literature and Shamanism" interprets the phenomenon of magical realism in Latin American literature as an expression of an underlying shamanistic worldview. The entry "Latin American Christianity and Shamanism" discusses the mutual and multiple influences between Christian and indigenous religions. Messianic indigenous movements in different regions and historical moments have manifested a distinctly shamanistic reinterpretation of Christian beliefs. By the same token, emergent religions and healing traditions among non-Indians in rural and urban areas have incorporated distinctly indigenous elements, notably the use of native hallucinogens.

Persecuted by Christian missionaries from the early days of the Conquest through the present, shamans have persisted in many regions and cultural groups. In some cases, shamanism has even come to flourish, exerting important and ongoing influences on broader cultural and religious movements in the Latin American melting pot. Rediscovered by scientists and the popular press in the 1950s, Central and South American shamanism served as inspiration for the psychedelic revolution of the 1960s and the New Age movement of the 1990s. These examples attest to the resilience and universal appeal of shamanism and ecstatic experience, reaching across cultures, geographic regions, and human history.

Glenn H. Shepard Jr.

AFRO-BRAZILIAN SHAMANISM

Shamanism in South America can be found in various regions and almost every modern country possesses its own typical form, derived from the specific ethnicity of its particular native culture. However, Afro-Brazilian shamanism differs from other shamanic practices derived more directly from pre-Columbian cultures in the Americas. It can be considered in its denominations of *Candomblé,* or *Umbanda,* in Brazil and in some neighboring countries, while similar practices in Central and North America are denominated *Santería.*

Candomblé is a form of shamanism widely practiced in Brazil that, like the practice of Santería of Central and North America, has maintained, in their purity, traditions originating in Africa. Unlike the other main form of shamanism practiced in Brazil, Umbanda, it has not been heavily influenced by Catholicism. Candomblé is the name given to a variety of African religious traditions in Brazil. Above all, it is a set of precepts, rules, and rites of a highly sophisticated nature, rites whose authentic practice is reserved for initiates. The term also refers to a community of devotees, who dance in sacred spaces that are oriented to Africa.

History and Belief System

It was during the seventeenth century that ships burdened with slaves began arriving in Brazil. These involuntary immigrants of varied ethnicities (*Jêjê, Marrin, Iorubá, Angolan, Congo,* and *Ketu* among others) possessed a very ancient metaphysical tradition, a tradition held to precede that of the pharaohs of Egypt, and having in common three characteristics:

- Belief in one God, as Creator and Ordainer
- Belief in a pantheon of deities who, from the beginning of the cosmos, have been the administrators of creation, with everything existing in it, including human beings and their passions
- Belief in two distinct worlds, the visible material world and the spiritual world

These three characteristics are shared by the most diverse religions and philosophies, differing only in the terms used. Thus, for example, the pantheon of *orixás* (guardian spirits) can be seen as the equivalent of the guardian angels of the Catholic Church and of the spirits of light of other religions.

Chants and rituals held in the main room of the house of Candomblé recall histories and legends of spiritual entities governing each individual human being. Held to the sound of *atabaques* (small drums), these rituals echo with chants in homage to the diverse orixás, telling the stories of their presence on earth in ancient times. The chants trace a complete history, replete with details concerning the customs of respective spirits and their relationships to one another, as they prepared the conditions necessary to human existence on this planet. The orixás had the function of preparing for and making possible biological existence on earth after the original creation of the planet. For example, Ossãe had the care of plants; Oxum, of fresh water; Yemanjá, of seawater; Oxumarê, of wisdom; and Xangō, of stones.

Cosmogenesis, the Origin of Spirituality, and Human Life

The synthesis that follows derives from the knowledge of the shaman practitioner of Candomblé, Gilson Souza Ferreira, hierarchical descendent of an important African lineage of Candomblé in the state of Bahia, Brazil.

Before Material Life

Two kinds of habitable worlds exist within the universe: stars and planets. Stars are continually formed by ethereal energies in a process of condensation, while planets are formed by energies already condensed. Every star possesses a nucleus, which is the source of its energy. Spiritual beings, eternal inhabitants of the star, are nour-

During "Macumba" sessions, African gods, Christian saints, and Amerindian shamans mingle to a background of frenzied drumming and the cries of followers, most of whom are in a trance. January 1, 1987. (Collart Herve/Corbis Sygma)

ished by the energy from its nucleus, which sustains their existence effortlessly.

Stellar inhabitants are endowed with acute mental faculties and great wisdom, but have always faced the problem of a scarcity of population in their respective worlds. Considering the vastness of the cosmos and its minute population, even communication among its inhabitants is difficult. Therefore, it was resolved to find a means of increasing their numbers throughout the universe; this resolve ultimately became the motive for the existence of the human race. The task of increasing the numbers of stellar inhabitants was delegated to beings known as stellar gods.

A new star was created for that purpose, combining the energies specific to each of the worlds contributing to it, and on that star the stellar gods convened with their retinues in what proved to be an unsuccessful effort to create new ethereal beings. One among them was chosen to remain as guardian of the new world, in company with his retinue and members of another retinue to assist him. So that he might have the necessary ascendancy over his assistants, the guardian received the diverse powers of every stellar god, which they transmitted to him prior to their return to their respective star worlds. Thus a new entity evolved, uniting in himself all power and wisdom from the entire universe, and he was acknowledged as Almighty God. It was he who subsequently found the means the stellar inhabitants were seeking to create new ethereal beings for populating all the stellar worlds. As for the star created and inhabited by Almighty God, it is known as heaven.

When the stellar gods reconvened with the Almighty in heaven to establish norms for the existence of ethereal beings throughout the entire universe, they encountered a new organization of their species, divided into two hierarchical categories:

- Celestial angels: those most directly linked to God Almighty, among them the

two known in our civilization as Christ and Lucifer (also called Lucius Fé in some houses of Candomblé)
- Primordial angels: the rest of the angelic population of the new star called heaven

Among the celestial angels, Lucifer (or Lucius) was distinguished by his great dedication to and confidence in God's plans for the new ethereal beings, the new souls, as they are traditionally called. Lucius's most important function was to accompany the Almighty in his work of populating the star worlds; as he did so, he observed that the newly created spiritual entities were excessively dependent and ingenuous in their behavior. Lucius considered them deficient in wisdom and self-confidence, lacking in the mental attitude appropriate to existence in the star worlds to which they were destined. For this reason, on his return to heaven, while expressing his great joy in the divine creation, he also requested the Almighty to create a new star near to heaven. The new spiritual beings would inhabit this star while they were still in a process of evolution, instead of being sent directly to their respective permanent star worlds, as originally planned. God and his aides agreed, and it was done.

The Creation of Material Worlds and Human Beings

Lucius also devised a solution whereby God created new material worlds, or planets, to be populated by his creatures for the purpose of evolution before being presented to the Almighty in heaven. The new beings would need to learn to control their impulses, so that their minds would be filled with knowledge of life values and they would evolve sufficiently to possess free will and to act and react properly. All these characteristics are seen as very important to the conscience/mind of a stellar inhabitant. Thus, after passing through an odyssey of lives in material worlds, or planets, in search of evolution, the spiritual beings would be prepared for presentation before God, after which they would continue onward to their respective stellar worlds, knowing how to make perfect use of their mental faculties.

This proposal by Lucius generated controversy among the stellar gods, since it brought into existence the dualism of good and evil. Egotism and iniquity were foreign to the stellar gods, and they were perplexed. According to the tradition, God concurred with this plan, perceiving that it would provide a way for the new spiritual beings to acquire the needed mental maturity. The stellar gods, however, did not agree immediately, since according to Almighty God's former promise to them, the newly created spiritual beings would be immediately sent to populate their respective star worlds.

Furthermore, by this plan, it would be necessary to involve nearly all the entities already existing, since when the new beings incarnated they would require nourishment from the energy of their stellar worlds during their material existence; without such protection, the mind in direct contact with the planetary atmosphere would destroy itself. The technology utilized to this end is superficially known to man as pertaining to the energetic field; it is maintained by a specific spiritual entity and his aides, also responsible for the entire task of spiritually protecting the new incarnate beings, until they are considered prepared to inhabit their stellar worlds.

Despite the initial resistance of the stellar beings, Almighty God gave his approval to the plan of the celestial angel Lucifer, who was named god of the star where all new beings must enter to receive those energies that provide the building blocks of an individual human personality, needed for existence in a material world. Thus equipped, the soul begins the process of evolution that will eventually prepare it to re-encounter the angelical mind, good and wise.

To implement the plan one more star was created, and in it the new spiritual beings awaited their guardians, or spiritual stellar energizers, in order to be conducted to the planet deemed appropriate to the prevailing mental evolution of each one. Once they accepted their role in this plan, the stellar beings assumed their proper responsibilities with respect to those who were to populate their star worlds. In such a manner life began for all the new creatures in the universe, including those of every living being on this or any other inhabited planet.

Comprehension of the Processes of Illness and Cure in Afro-Brazilian Shamanism

All religions, whatever their differing tenets concerning the relationship between humans

and divinity, offer counseling to those who seek an approach to their own connections to the spiritual life, and who want to increase their understanding of the importance of spirituality to human existence. Beyond these aspects held in common with other religions, Afro-Brazilian shamanism includes unique practices for treatment of physical and mental disturbances, when these are seen to be caused by energetic disequilibria. Practitioners are drawn to this belief system because they understand it as the only method possible for contact and relationship with the orixás, the spiritual entities who are believed to maintain the human energetic field and the equilibrium of mind and body.

The principal objective of setting up the houses of Candomblé, the actual physical centers of Candomblé activity, is the offering of assistance to those who seek spiritual guidance and solutions to problems of health. For example, a census carried out in 1980 by the Federacão Baiana do Culto Afro-Brasiliano registered 1500 Candomblé centers in Bahia. Each house is under the direction of its so-called spiritual caretaker, an ordained member holding the highest degree in the hierarchy of that house. During a consultation the spiritual caretaker, after casting seashells, establishes voluntary contact with the consulter's guardian spirit, or orixá, and, depending on the level of communication with the spirit world or extrasensory perception, proceeds to conduct some form of dialogue with the spiritual entity concerning the person under consultation.

Good health in the Afro-Brazilian tradition is understood as depending on the correct relationship of the orixás and the individual, a relationship mediated by the energetic field and the mind of the individual. In some circumstances, the light (energy) emanating from the guardian spirits (orixás) may be deficient, causing problems in the energetic equilibrium of the mind and body of the person asking for help. When such an energy deficiency exists, the individual may present vague and ill-defined symptoms, similar to those of functional disturbances, such as lack of physical energy and motivation, diminished libido, dizziness, headaches, and other physical and mental complaints without a defined pathological correlation. Where a definite clinical pathology already exists, the spiritual caretaker refers the patient to conventional medical treatment. Thus a harmonious coexistence is possible between those whose practice is based on Afro-Brazilian beliefs and those who practice conventional allopathic medical science.

The energy used in the process of revitalization is called *axé* (force), and its sources lie in the animal, mineral, and vegetable realms of nature. The rites used are reserved to the initiated and consequently are not performed in the main room of the houses. The rites involve making offerings of energetic essences to be metabolized and retained by the orixás, who thereby recover their capacity to act as protecting entities. Once these procedures have been completed, the individual, now properly sustained by guardian spirits, is expected to enjoy good health, at least with respect to the restoration of equilibrium of energy in mind and body. When indicated, treatment may be complemented by psychospiritual counseling.

Vinícius Braga Martins da Costa, M.D.

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Ayahuasca Ritual Use; Central and South American Shamanism; New Orleans Voudou; Psychology of Shamanism; Santería; Trance Dance

References and further reading:

Aflalo, Fred. 1996. *Candomblé: Uma Visão do Mundo* [Candomblé: A Vision of the World]. São Paulo: Ed. Mandarim.

Araújo, Fernando César. 1997. *Imagens Arquetípicas na Religião Africano-Brasileira* [Archetypal Images in Afro-Brazilian Religion]. Presentation at the V Congresso Africano-Brasileiro—Salvador, Bahia. Published in *Annals of the Federal University of Bahia.*

Barros, José Flávio Pessoa de. 1998. *Terapêuticas e Culturas* [Therapy Techniques and Cultures]. Rio de Janeiro: University of the State of Rio de Janeiro—InterCon (International Relations, Exchange and Agreements).

Brennan, Barbara. 1993. *Light Emerging.* New York: Bantam Books.

Costa, Vinicius Braga Martins da. "The Processes of Illness and Cure In Afro-Brazilian Culture." Proceedings of the First International Pan African Congress of Psychiatry. Cairo, 16–18 December, 1998.

Ferreira, Gilson. 1985. *Tira Teima* [Decisive Argument]. Brazil: Viçosa Edition.

Harman, Willis. 1988. *Global Mind Change: The Promise of the Last Years of the Twentieth Century.* Indianapolis, IN: Knowledge Systems.
Murphy, Joseph M. 1994. *Working the Spirit.* Boston: Beacon.
Wulff, David M. 1991. *Psychology of Religion: Classics and Contemporary Views.* New York: John Wiley and Sons.

AMAZON FUNERAL RITES AND SHAMANISM (BRAZIL)

In the crisis of death in native communities in the Brazilian Amazon, shamans provide ideas, information, and ritual resources to help individuals and groups cope with psychological trauma, social disruption, and cosmological imbalance. Shamanic knowledge and diagnoses offer frameworks of meaning to explain why someone died and to guide survivors about how to respond to the death. At funerals and during the period of mourning, shamans often act to protect people from ghosts and usher the spirit of the deceased out of the world of the living and into the world of the dead. In societies in which dead people's spirits are thought to join the world of animals and other spirits that influence natural processes such as human fertility and the productivity of hunting, fishing, or gardening, shamans' special relations to these spirits help ensure that each death will renew and strengthen life-giving relations between a native community and the spiritual forces on which its well-being depends.

Brazil is home to an estimated 350,000 native people who represent more than 200 indigenous groups and speak more than 180 different languages (Instituto Socioambiental 2000, 15). In the Amazonian region of the country's interior, native people live in a wide variety of circumstances today. In the most isolated areas of the rainforest, several dozen small groups still live independently, avoiding direct contact with outsiders. The vast majority of indigenous populations have experienced decades or centuries of interactions with the national society. In rural areas, most make their living from combinations of farming, hunting, fishing, gathering, and participation in the regional cash economy through wage labor or the sale of forest products, crops, and handicrafts. Growing numbers of indigenous people live on the margins of, or in urban areas in, the Amazonian cities and boomtowns that have grown rapidly since the 1970s with the construction of new roads and intensified economic development. Since the 1980s, secondary and postsecondary education and specialized training have become more widely available for native communities, and the number of indigenous teachers, health care workers, technicians, and administrators is growing.

Funerary rites and the practice of shamanism have been deeply affected by culture change and the history of indigenous communities' relations to outsiders and the national society. Dislocation and social disruption from disease, violence, and poverty, and coercive or persuasive interventions by government agents, missionaries, teachers, traders, and others have contributed to the abandonment or attenuation of many traditions. In particular, indigenous funeral practices that did not follow the national society's custom of burying bodies soon after death have been strongly discouraged. Cremation, cannibalism, exposure (allowing bodies to decompose out of the ground in the forest or a shelter), and the disinterment and reburial of bones have died out or been stamped out in many areas. Similarly, the deaths of elders, the influence of Christianity, and other cultural changes have contributed to the loss of much shamanic knowledge and ritual. In some areas, however, shamanism is now undergoing a revival and revitalization inspired by indigenous peoples' growing pride and self-confidence in being Indian, younger generations' interest in recovering and preserving their people's distinctive cultural traditions, and the influence of outsiders who value native healing practices from the perspectives of holistic medicine and New Age spirituality.

Historical change and cultural diversity in native Brazilian societies make it difficult to generalize about the region as a whole. The following account focuses on the more traditional activities of shamans described by ethnographers in the twentieth century.

As healers, shamans are intimately involved in events leading up to the moment when a sick person dies, but once death is final they may withdraw behind the scenes as close family

members take over the public roles of keening, crying, or chanting their sorrow, preparing for the funeral, and memorializing their loved one. Shamans serve as counselors and diagnosticians, providing families and communities with information and insight about the death, creating a cognitive framework to explain why death occurred, what it means, and what should be done. Robin Wright described how Baniwa shamans in northwestern Amazonas (a Brazilian state) interpret signs and omens after a death and shape mourners' emotional experiences by providing reassuring understandings based in what he called the "curative aspect of myth" (1998, 198–199).

Shamans often reappear as public figures in funerals and other rites of mourning, especially at moments when the spirit of the deceased is in transition and relations to its living relatives need to be restructured. A common idea is that a dead person's ghost wanders the earth for several days or weeks after the body has died, drawn by nostalgia and loneliness for its former life and companions, upon whom the ghost may inflict harm by causing illness, death, or accidents. Shamans are widely credited with the ability to communicate with the dead, and they often have the responsibility to persuade a ghost to leave the world of the living. Donald Pollock described how Kulina shamans in the western state of Acre perform a ritual in which, accompanied by women of the community, they sing the dead person's spirit out of the village and send it to the Underworld, in a movement that inverts the dynamic of curing rituals, in which shamans and women sing to attract animal helper spirits to enter the village to treat sickness (1993, 62). Among the Krahó of Tocantins in east central Brazil, a dead person's hungry spirit may return and speak through a shaman intermediary, demanding its favorite foods. To head off this visitation, a family asks a shaman to invite the spirit to a meal; after consuming the "spirit" of the foods, the dead have no right to make further demands on their living relatives (Cunha 1978, 40–41). Baniwa shamans teach the dead person's relatives orations to protect them from the soul of the deceased, and at the end of the mourners' period of seclusion and fasting, they perform a lengthy series of chants to repel the influence of the dead and make food safe to be consumed (Wright 1998, 198–199).

Among the Nambiquara in western Mato Grosso, a shaman escorts the spirit of the deceased to the abode of the dead in sacred caves behind waterfalls in the Serra dos Parecis mountains. In the Wasusu subgroup studied by Marcelo Fiorini (1997), at the funeral the shaman straddles the tree-bark coffin and bangs on it to usher the deceased's spirit into a gourd, which he then falls upon and breaks. The spirit enters the shaman's body and possesses him. Speaking through the shaman, the dead person addresses people at the funeral, telling of how he or she died, announcing prophecies, curing blemishes, and directing those present about how their lives should proceed. Acting through the shaman's body, the spirit claims its possessions and distributes these to relatives, who burn or scatter most of them. Some of the most cherished items may be carried by the possessed shaman to the sacred caves where the ancestors dwell.

On this ritual journey, Nambiquara shamans walk for many hours along a trail leading to the distant caves. Along the way, the dead person's spirit and possessions may be transferred from one shaman to another, with each shaman in succession becoming possessed and continuing the ritual journey. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, shamans of the Wasusu, Alãntesu, and Waikisu subgroups continue to take the spirit all the way to their groups' sacred caves, whereas Sararé shamans release the spirits of the dead in meaningful locations around their territory, and Hahãintesu dispose of them near large, ancient trees in the forest. The area around the sacred caves is now threatened and degraded by commercial logging.

Among the Bororo of Mato Grosso, one type of shaman, called the *aroe etawa-are* (shaman of the souls), plays a central role in an elaborate series of public mortuary ceremonies, during which he offers drink, food, and tobacco to the spirit of the deceased and chants a long series of esoteric songs (which must be sung without a single mistake), in performances that last two to seven hours (Crocker 1985, 308–309). The shaman of the souls assists the man whom the dead person's family chooses to act as a ritual "substitute" (*aroe maiwu,* "new soul") to personify the dead person in funeral dances before and after the corpse is buried. The body is placed in a shallow grave, and after its flesh has decomposed, the remains are disinterred and washed, and the ritual substi-

tute decorates the bones and skull and places them in a special funerary basket. During the night before the arrival of the bones and on the afternoon of the day when the bones are placed in the basket, the shaman of the souls chants solemn songs inviting the spirit of the deceased to enter its new dwelling, the basket. (If the deceased was himself a shaman of the type called *bari,* "shaman of the spirits", this role would be performed by another bari.) In the final disposal of the funerary basket of bones, the shaman places it in a grave in the ground or submerges it in a lake, and asks the spirits of Bororo ancestors to receive their new companion hospitably and accompany it on its dangerous journeys in the land of the dead (Viertler 1991, 100–105).

Relations to animals, especially jaguars and the major game that people hunt and eat, are at the center of shamanism in many native Brazilian societies. Shamans often receive their powers from animal spirits and have dual human-animal identities. Some native cosmologies see human-animal relations as a dynamic of reciprocal exchanges and cycling between the two social worlds. In some, the spirits of dead people are thought to join the animal world and return in the form of game to feed their living relatives. Shamans often mediate these relations between living people and their ancestors-turned-animals. In western Brazil, the Kulina of Acre and the Wari' of Rondônia believe that their dead return as white-lipped peccaries, pig-like wild animals, and shamans direct hunters to find the peccaries. Wari' shamans dream of their whereabouts (Conklin 2001, 208), and Kulina shamans summon them from the Underworld (Pollock 1993, 62).

The Bororo shaman of the souls consults the spirit of the deceased to learn the location of game that should be killed in its honor by the ritual substitute, whose duty it is to hunt and fish for his ritual "parents," and most importantly, to avenge the death by slaying a "revenge animal," ideally a jaguar or harpy eagle. The revenge animal is not eaten, but the shaman exorcises and blesses the other meat and fish, making it safe for consumption. Together, the shaman and ritual substitute reassert human agency in relation to the nonhuman forces that inflict death on people (Crocker 1985, 281–283; Viertler 1991, 82, 114).

The close relationship between the shaman of the souls and the role of the ritual substitute in Bororo mortuary rites extends to the making of shamans. Jon Christopher Crocker reported that men who become *aroe* shamans typically have acquired great prestige by being chosen multiple times to act as a ritual substitute (1985, 310). The dead person's family repays his services with gifts of body paint and ornaments, decorated bows and arrows, and ritual paraphernalia. This accumulation of symbolic wealth allows a man to carry out the duties of the shaman of the souls, which require a large inventory of instruments and ornaments (Crocker 1985, 310).

In many groups, shamans draw all or part of their powers from the ancestors; in some, the spirits of the dead select those who will become shamans (cf. Crocker and Crocker 1994, 103–104). Whether or not the ancestors endow them with their powers, shamans are widely recognized as authorities on the world of the dead. They are believed to be able to communicate directly with them and, unlike ordinary people, can travel to the villages of the dead and return alive. Shamans often serve as a bridge of communication between the dead and their living relatives, and such communications may provide closure in the mourning process. When a Wari' hunter kills a white-lipped peccary, he calls a shaman to use special vision to identify the ancestral spirit embodied in the carcass; the shaman converses with the dead person and relays information about other deceased relatives and events in the Underworld (Conklin 2001, 205). In the social process of mourning, the bereaved family awaits the shaman's news of an encounter with their dead relative, which is a definitive sign that the dead person's spirit has adjusted to its new existence in the society of the dead. Similarly Arawete shamans inform relatives when the spirit of the deceased is finally installed in its new status. During the period after mourning, the dead person's spirit speaks through the shaman and may sing in shamans' songs for many years (Viveiros de Castro 1992, 201, 218, 235).

Because of his close relationship with extrahuman spirits, a shaman's own spirit may be thought to have a destiny after death different from other people. In some groups, this may be reflected in differences in funerals for shamans (cf. Viertler 1991, 106; Wagley 1977, 195–196).

Beth A. Conklin

See also: Central and South American Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Conklin, Beth A. 2001. *Consuming Grief: Compassionate Cannibalism in an Amazonian Society.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Crocker, Jon Christopher. 1985. *Vital Souls: Bororo Cosmology, Natural Symbolism, and Shamanism.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Crocker, William H., and Jean Crocker. 1994. *The Canela: Bonding Through Kinship, Ritual, and Sex.* Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace.

Cunha, Manuela Carneiro da. 1978. *Os mortos e os outros* [The Dead and the Others]. São Paulo: Editora Hucitec.

Fiorini, Marcelo. 1997. "The Silencing of Names: Identity and Alterity in an Amazonian Society." Ph.D. diss., New York University.

Pollock, Donald. 1993. "Death and the Afterdeath among the Kulina." *Latin American Anthropology Review* 5, no. 2: 61–64.

Ricardo, Carlos Alberto, ed. 2000. *The Indigenous People of Brazil.* [Povos Indigenas no Brasil 1996/2000]. Sao Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental.

Viertler, Renate Brigitte. 1991. *A refeição das almas: Uma interpretação ethnológica do funeral dos índios Bororo–Mato Grosso* [The Meal of the Souls: An Ethnological Interpretation of the Funeral of the Bororo Indians–Mato Grosso]. São Paulo: Editora Hucitec.

Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1992. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society.* Translated from the Portuguese by Catherine V. Howard. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wagley, Charles. 1977. *Welcome of Tears: The Tapirapé Indians of Central Brazil.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Wright, Robin M. 1998. *Cosmos, Self, and History in Baniwa Religion: For Those Unborn.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

AYAHUASCA RITUAL USE

Ayahuasca is the most widely employed shamanic plant in northwestern and southwestern Amazonia, which spans the countries of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, and along the Pacific coastal area of Colombia and Ecuador. Ayahuasca has a long history of ritual use among indigenous groups of the Upper Amazon (see for example the work of Rafael Karsten [1935] and Irving Goldman [1963]). Some prominent ethnographic examples include the shamanistic practices of the Tukano of Colombia (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975), Shuar of Ecuador (Harner 1972; Karsten 1935), and Shipibo-Conibo of Peru (Gebhart-Sayer 1987; Arévalo 1986). Ayahuasca is considered the most complex psychoactive plant medicine used in shamanism in terms of its widespread cultural use and botanical additives. It is found in use among some seventy-two different ethnic groups representing twenty language families (Luna 1986). Ayahuasca is made from the *Banisteriopsis* vine, along with additives; the two most commonly added are the leaves of *Diplopterys cabrerana* and *Psychotria viridis.* Luis Luna (1986) reported as many as thirty plant additives, many of them also highly bioactive.

Shamanic Ayahuasqueros

A variety of sources indicate a wide range of traditional uses of ayahuasca, including healing, diagnosing causes of disease, determining cures, foreseeing the future, sending messages to other groups, contacting distant relatives, determining if wives were unfaithful, determining plans of the enemy, identifying sorcerers, and practicing love magic. Some of these uses are obsolete, especially those associated with warfare and headhunting, but other have continued. According to Oscar Calavia (2000), ayahuasca was used among the Yaminahua in warfare. This was also the case among the Shuar of Ecuador. Ayahuasca was involved in the rituals for the preparation of the *tsentsak,* or head trophy, to insure that the spirit of the killed warrior would be submitted to the will of the victorious one (Karsten 1935). Ayahuasca has also been the source of artistic inspiration, for instance among the Tukano of Colombia (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978), the Shipibo-Conibo of Peru (Gebhart-Sayer 1985), and the Kashinawua of Peru and Brazil. Among the Siona of Colombia the main theme of cultural narratives is the journeys of shamans by means of the sacred brew (Langdon 1979). In healing, its uses include shamanic journeys to restore soul loss, ex-

traction of pathogenic objects, and shamanic fights with the animated agents of illness.

Luna (1986) pointed to the widespread use of ayahuasca in establishing relations with a special source of knowledge and power for dealing with all aspects of life and gaining direction and guidance throughout life. The plant spirits inherent in ayahuasca are viewed as active and intelligent beings that provide direction. In the Amazon the world is thought of being composed of various (spiritual) planes, which are accessible to specialists by means of altered states of consciousness. Ayahuasca facilitates traveling through those realms and access to information from the beings that populate them. It is also used to explore the natural environment. Among the Kamsá of Colombia, for example, it was reported that various plants are added to the basic ayahuasca preparation to study their properties, thus expanding their pharmacopoeia (Bristol 1965).

Luna's 1986 study provided evidence that all the main elements of Core Shamanism are present in these traditions. These include initiation procedures, which include sexual segregation, dietary prescriptions excluding the use of salt, sugar, alcohol, and food containing much fat, and repeated access to altered states of consciousness through the use of ayahuasca or other psychointegrator plants. Dismemberment and other sorts of symbolic death to acquire shamanic powers are also present. Through training, the novices contact animal and plant spirits and obtain from them magic songs they later use in their shamanic practice, including divination, finding lost objects, healing, and journeys to other realms. Concepts of illness include soul loss and soul journey to restore the lost soul, as well as the idea of illness as a pathogenic agent with material and spiritual components that the shaman can extract. Some traditional *ayahuasqueros,* as practitioners who use ayahuasca are called by Spanish speakers, claim to be able to transform themselves into various animals or elements of the natural world to explore various shamanic realms (typically underwater, earth, and sky) and to attack or to defend themselves from the attack of rival shamans.

Vegetalistas

Luna (1986) discussed ayahuasca use among urban mestizo groups of the Peruvian Amazon, as part of the broader healing practice of *vegetalismo,* so called because of its use of the knowledge of plants. An important part of the use of ayahuasca in this practice is the training and initiation of the practitioners, who follow many of the classic features of shamanistic practices in the way they are instructed by the plants as teachers, through the spirits of these plants. Training and initiation require extensive food restrictions and sexual abstinence and segregation from virtually all contact with women. Dietary prohibitions of alcohol, pork, chicken, fats, salt, sugar, condiments, fruit, vegetables, and cold beverages are widely reported. The preferred diet includes plantains, smoked fish, rice, and manioc. Violations of these prohibitions are believed to cause illness or even death. Diet is viewed as a tool helping to maintain the altered state of consciousness that permits the plant teachers to instruct, provide knowledge, and enable the initiate to acquire their power. The diet is viewed as a means of making the mind operate differently, providing access to wisdom and lucid dreams.

The training period involves learning songs, chants, and medicinal recipes, and enhancing the trainees' artistic and intellectual skills. Ayahuasqueros may continue to ingest these plants in group sessions with other practitioners to exchange information, renew their strength, or enhance their visionary powers. Experience with a range of different plant additives is viewed as part of learning about the various potentials that the plants provide. Tobacco is used as an essential part of the practices. Learning magical chants and songs taught by the spirits, receiving phlegm used in healing, and acquiring magical darts for defense and attack are central to the ayahuasquero's learning about the plant spirits and their powers. The chants learned serve many purposes—calling souls and spirits, affecting the actions of the ayahuasca or specific plant teachers, curing specific illnesses, and in love magic. The phlegm and darts are viewed as necessary protectors in any hostile spiritual world into which the initiate enters. They can also be used to harm others through sorcery. The visions produced under the influence of *Banisteriopsis*-based mixtures are a source of information about the causes of illness and spiritual forces involved in sickness and well-being.

Differences between urban and rural ayahuasca traditions have been noted. Urban use is generally under the administration of healing professionals treating strangers, while in rural settings practitioners are focused upon small kin groups. Walter Andritzky (1989) suggested that the use of ayahuasca by adult members of the community strengthened social cohesion and identity. He further suggested that ayahuasca helps people deal with the problems of acculturation. The rituals associated with ayahuasca use mediate between the Euro-American and indigenous worlds, creating a synthesis of the traditional and the new through the use of emotionally relevant images of culture change from the indigenous point of view. Ayahuasca apparently gives the user conscious access to the process of symbolization. The songs and long stories told by the healers about the mythological worlds structure visions and evoke experiences. These and other factors contribute to the powerful effects that characterize experiences induced by ayahuasca.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, ayahuasqueros are a subset of a larger group, vegetalistas, a group that includes specialists in other plants, such as *tabaqueros,* who use tobacco; *camalongueros,* who use *camalonga* (unidentified); *toeros,* who use *toé* (*Brugmansia* sp.) and *paleros,* who use different *palos,* or trees. There are also practitioners who call themselves *oracionistas:* They carry out their tasks mainly with the use of prayers, many from books such as *La Santa Cruz de Caravaca,* widely used by healers in Latin American countries, *perfumeros,* who use the essence of various flowers, and Rosicrucians or members of other semisecret organizations (Dobkin de Rios 1984). Some practitioners use the term *chamán,* due to the influence of anthropologists and non-Amazonian visitors. All ayahuasqueros the author has met consider themselves Christians, and may invoke Jesus or Mary in their rituals. All of them engage principally in healing, and at times also divination.

Modern Ayahuasca Traditions

A growing interest by non-Amazonians in ayahuasca has produced a wide range of changes in these traditions and new perceptions of these sacred plants by other cultures. The sacred plants used by ayahuasqueros of traditional groups are now being employed by others: unqualified members of indigenous communities, mestizo practitioners with various degrees of expertise, and non-Amazonians. Amazonian practitioners suddenly find that their traditional knowledge has a value in the eyes of non-Amazonians and can be an important source of income. Indigenous groups have received the entrance of non-Indian and non-Amazonians differently. In some instances there has been a firm rejection of non-indigenous practitioners, in others an acceptance. The most notable example of rejection of non-indigenous use is the publication of the Yurayaco document issued by UMIYAC (Unión de Médico Indígenas Yageceros de la Amazonía Colombiana), an organization of Indian ayahuasqueros (or *yageceros*). They have denounced the use of ayahuasca by others, especially attempts by Loren Miller, an American citizen, to patent *Banisteriopsis caapi.* Other indigenous practitioners have agreed to share this knowledge with outsiders. Hilario Chiriap, a Shuar shaman from Ecuador, told the author of this entry that "white people are using ayahuasca and are going to use ayahuasca in the future; therefore we should at least teach them to use it properly" (personal communication). Don Hilario teaches foreigners about ayahuasca, emphasizing traditional dietary prescriptions, sexual segregation, and periods of intense training, preferably in isolation.

Due to several waves of migrations into the Amazon from the Brazilian northeast, indigenous and mestizo ayahuasca traditions have met Afro-Brazilian religious traditions, and a new ayahuasca phenomenon has emerged in Brazil. This use of ayahuasca as a sacrament by syncretic religious organizations is now found in every major Brazilian city and in other countries.

Three religious leaders from the Brazilian northeast created syncretic religious organizations having ayahuasca as their central sacrament: Raimundo Irineu Serra (1892–1971) and Daniel Pereira de Matos (1904–1958) in Rio Branco, Acre, and José Gabriel da Costa (1922–1971), in Porto Velho, Rondonia. A fourth religious leader, Sebastiâo Mota (1920–1990) was a follower of Irineu Serra, but created after his death a new religious organization that separated from the matrix. The Centro Eclético de Fluente Luz Universal Raimundo Irineu Serra (Eclectic Center of

Fluid Universal Light Raimundo Irineu Serra), or CEFLURIS, created in 1972, first expanded to urban areas of many Brazilian states, and later into other countries in Europe, the Americas, and Japan. The original nucleus created by Irineu Serra, known as Alto Santo, divided into several small nuclei, all located in Rio Branco, plus an offshoot in Porto Velho.

The religious organization created by Daniel Pereira de Matos, known as Barquinha, has also divided into various churches in Rio Branco, with smaller units in Brasilia and Salvador. The Uniâo do Vegetal (UDV), however, created in 1961 by José Gabriel da Costa, is experiencing the greatest growth. It is found in nearly every major Brazilian city, has members in all layers of society, and is spreading to other countries. Followers of Irineu Serra, Pereira de Matos, and Sebastiâo Mota call the sacred brew Santo Daime, while adepts of José Gabriel da Costa call it Vegetal. The use of ayahuasca in these religions served as the great cohesive force, especially in the aftermath of Amazonian economic ruin after the center of rubber production shifted to Southeast Asia in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Brazilian scholars such as Clodomir Monteiro (1983) and Edward MacRae (1992) have seen a kind of "collective shamanism" in the Santo Daime religions. The accounts of the way that Irineu Serra and Sebastiâo Mota got in touch with ayahuasca reveal shamanistic motives. Irineu Serra kept the typical shamanic diet of the Peruvian Amazon, and Sebastiâo Mota experienced a mystical operation in which he was healed. Brazilian religious organizations differentiate themselves from shamanic practices in that there is an emphasis on a doctrine, codified either in received hymns (as in the case of followers of Serra, Mota, and Pereira de Matos), or in stories transmitted orally in the case of members of the UDV. Barquinha is more closely associated with the incorporation of spirits (influenced both by Umbanda, an Afro-Brazilian religion, and Kardecism [referred to in the Afro-Brazilian entry as "kardecist spiritism," a form of spiritualism that originated in the nineteenth century in France]) than with shamanic flight, even though it is at the same time the closest to Amazonian sources in the importance in its cosmology of the so-called *encantados,* spirits incorporated in plants or animals. The Uniâo do Vegetal, on the other hand, actively rejects any kind of possession or incorporation, as well as any emphasis on healing or shamanic ecstasy.

There is a frequent movement of persons between different ayahuasca doctrinal lines; schisms occur within these religious organizations with the emergence of new charismatic religious leaders; the use of ayahuasca is gradually incorporated by other religious organizations. All these factors have contributed to the appearance of more and more groups led by neo-ayahuasqueros in religious, therapeutic, musical, and artistic settings. Shamanistic use of ayahuasca is thus a broad and complex concept encompassing indigenous use, mestizo use, the use of ayahuasca by some of the syncretic Brazilian religious organizations, and the recent use of ayahuasca by indigenous groups who did not use it traditionally, as well as by non-indigenous practitioners.

Ayahuasca users have been persecuted by many groups—missionaries, physician organizations, the military, and even guerrilla organizations. Among some groups the use of ayahuasca has disappeared altogether; other groups have adopted it at a later stage, and, as discussed above, collective ritual use of ayahuasca has been an important factor in strengthening social bonds. It appears that the indigenous groups that do maintain the ritual use of these sacred plants (e.g., the Shuar of Ecuador, the Shipibo of Peru, and some Tukano groups of Colombia) are likewise better able to maintain social cohesion in the face of opposing economic and cultural forces.

Luis Eduardo Luna

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Dreams and Visions; Peruvian Shamans; Spirit Possession; Trance, Shamanic

References and further reading:

Andritzky, Walter. 1989. "Sociopsychotherapeutic Functions of Ayahuasca Healing in Amazonia." *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 21, no. 1: 77–89.

Arévalo, G. 1986. "El ayahuasca y el curandero Shipibo-Conibo del Ucayali (Perú)" [Ayahuasca and the Shipibo-Conibo healers of Ucayali]. *América Indígena* 46, no. 1: 147–161.

Bristol, M. L. 1965. "Sibundoy Ethnobotany." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.

Calavia, Oscar. 2000. "Mythologies of the Vine." In *Ayahuasca Reader: Encounters with the Amazon's Sacred Vine.* Edited by Luis Eduardo Luna and Steven F. White. Santa Fe, NM: Synergetic Press.

Dobkin de Rios, Marlene. 1984a. *Hallucinogens: Cross-Cultural Perspectives.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1984b. "The Vidente Phenomenon in Third World Traditional Healing: An Amazonian Example." *Medical Anthropology* 8, no. 1: 60–70.

Gebhart-Sayer, A. 1985. "The Geometric Designs of the Shipibo-Conibo in Ritual Context." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 11, no. 2: 143–175.

———. 1987. *Die Spitze des Bewusstseins: Untersuchungen zu Weltbild und Kunst der Shipibo-Conibo.* Hohenschäftlarn: Klaus Renner Verlag.

Goldman, Irving. 1963. *The Cubeo: Indians of the Northwest Amazon.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Harner, Michael. 1972. *The Jivaro: People of the Sacred Waterfalls.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Karsten, Rafael. 1935. *The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas.* Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 7, 1. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Labate, Beatriz Caiuby. 2002. "A literatura brasileira sobre as religiôes ayahuasqueiras" [The Brazilian Literature about Ayahuasca Religions]. In *O Uso Ritual da Ayahuasca.* Edited by Beatriz Caiuby Labate and Wladimyr Sena Araújo. Campinas: Mercado de Letras.

Langdon, E. J. 1979. "Yagé among the Siona: Cultural Patterns in Visions." In *Spirits, Shamans and Stars.* Edited by David Brownman and Ronald A. Schwartz. The Hague: Mouton.

Luna, Luis Eduardo. 1986. *Vegetalismo: Shamanism among the Mestizo Population of the Peruvian Amazon.* Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International.

Luna, Luis Eduardo, and Pablo Amaringo. 1991. *Ayahuasca Visions: The Religious Iconography of a Peruvian Shaman.* Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Book.

MacRae, Edward. 1992. *Guiado pela Lua: Xamanismo e uso Ritual da Ayahuasca no Culto do Santo Daime.* São Paulo: Brasiliense.

Monteiro da Silva, Clodomir. 1983. "O Palacio de Juramidan. Santo Daime: Um Ritual de Transcendencia e Despoluição" [The Juramidan: Palace: Santo Daime: About the ritual of Transcendence and Purification]. M.A. thesis, Recife, Pernambuco.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1975. *The Shaman and the Jaguar.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

———. 1978. *Beyond the Milky Way: Hallucinatory Imagery of the Tukano Indians.* Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, University of California.

Yurayaco Declaration. 1999. *Encuentro de Taitas en la Amazonía Colombiana. Ceremonias y Reflexiones.* Yurayaco, Colombia. See also http://www.ethnobotany.org

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN SHAMANISM

Vast and rich, harboring tremendous biological, cultural, and linguistic diversity, and heirs to a glorious and tragic history, Central and South America have given rise to some of the most ancient, enduring, and spectacular examples of shamanistic practice documented. The Asiatic peoples who migrated to the Americas during the Pleistocene era appear to have brought with them a ritual complex that integrated religious and medical functions, centered around trance states, and may have involved hallucinogenic plant use. As in the case of the Siberian cultures to whom we owe the etymology of the term *shaman,* native societies throughout Central and South America distinguish ritual specialists who enter trance to commune with the spirits for purposes of healing, divination, and other matters of individual and collective well-being. Because of the presumed Asian origins of Amerindians, and also partly because the Siberian term happened to gain wide usage, certain west Asian traditions and similar Arctic and North American examples have been treated as original or more "pure" versions of shamanism than their Central and South American counterparts. Yet recent archeological and genetic evidence suggests a much more ancient date for the arrival of humans in the Americas than had

previously been assumed. Keeping this fact in mind, native Central and South American shamanism should be seen not as derivative of or secondary to "classic" Asian shamanism, but rather parallel, largely independent, and equally ancient bodies of practice that have evolved and diversified in response to heterogeneous ecological, sociocultural, and historical conditions.

Evidence for shamanism in pre-Columbian America is scant and sometimes speculative, but still it suggests a certain continuity of practice from ancient through contemporary times and throughout large geographic areas. Some consider geometric designs and animal motifs in ancient rock art in South America and elsewhere in the world as evidence of shamanistic practices in Paleolithic times (Williams 1993). Spectacular artistic and religious iconography at Chavin de Huantar, cradle of Andean civilization, includes representations of the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus, suggesting an ancient and ongoing importance of hallucinogens and shamanism in highland and coastal Peruvian societies. Snuff kits and tablets containing hallucinogenic plants have been found at archaeological sites throughout South America, echoing shamanistic practices documented in historical and ethnographic accounts (Torres 1998). Pre-Hispanic artwork and early colonial manuscripts from Mexico depict hallucinogenic mushroom and plant species in ritual and mythological contexts; the importance of *Bufo* toads in Aztec and Mayan art and symbolism has been interpreted as evidence for the ritual use of hallucinogenic toad toxins in ancient Mesoamerican religion (Davis 1998, 232). Artwork and heiroglyphic writings of the ancient Maya describe trance states induced by fasting, bloodletting, and perhaps hallucinogenic preparations.

From the early days of the Conquest, explorers and missionaries observed and commented on the religious and medical practices of native societies. Having destroyed hundreds of priceless Aztec codices (painted books) documenting all aspects of life in ancient Mesoamerica, Spanish priests nonetheless continued to write their own accounts of indigenous worship, divination, healing, and other "pagan" customs. Juan de Córdova, a Dominican friar, was sent to live among the Zapotec of Oaxaca in the middle of the sixteenth century to investigate their "idolatrous rites," and was able to document surviving pre-Hispanic customs such as a hierarchical priesthood, ritual bloodletting, and religious uses of tobacco, *datura,* and hallucinogenic mushrooms (Marcus and Flannery 1978). Spanish natural historian Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo described the "very evil [vice]" of tobacco smoking among indigenous peoples of Hispaniola island (modern-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic), who were mostly extinct by the time his book was published in 1535 (cited in Narby and Huxley 2001, 11). Political and spiritual leaders among the Hispaniola islanders smoked large pipes of tobacco to commune with the spirits, heal the sick, and secure bountiful harvests or victory in warfare.

French priest André Thévet visited coastal Brazil in the mid-sixteenth century and provided a similar account about tobacco-consuming prophets (the term shaman did not enter the literature until much later) among the Tupinamba known as *pagé:* "impostors . . . people of evil custom," and "ministers . . . who . . . serve the Devil," in the good priest's opinion (cited in Narby and Huxley 2001, 13). The pagé isolated themselves and abstained from sex and social contact in order to carry out secretive healing and divining ceremonies during which they chanted (and probably consumed hallucinogens) to invoke spirits. Writing in the same period about Peru, Spanish priest Bernabé Cobo describes *achuma,* the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus, as being "the plant with which the devil deceived the Indians of Peru in their paganism . . . Transported by this drink, the Indians dreamed a thousand absurdities and believed them as if they were true" (cited in Davis 1998, 172).

Despite their cultural bias, such early accounts provide us a glimpse into the shamanistic practices of societies that are now extinct or completely assimilated. Condescension and a disparaging attitude toward shamans continued to color the writings of missionaries, travelers, naturalists, and early anthropologists at least through the first decades of the twentieth century, when more sophisticated ethnographic accounts became available.

Shamanism and Gender

Shamanism in Central and South America has been most frequently documented as a male profession, but women are by no means excluded.

One of the earliest written records of shamanism in the Americas is from a Classic Mayan inscription concerning a noblewoman of Yaxchilan who, as shaman-priestess, carried out blood-letting rites and had visions of snakes and ancestor spirits (Schele, Freidel, and Parker 1993). Among the historical Carib, women shamans could sometimes surpass their male counterparts in importance; among the tribes of Patagonia, male shamans dressed as women (Dixon 1908), reminiscent of cross-dressing *(berdache)* in some North American and Siberian shamanic traditions. Maria Sabina, a female Mazatec shaman of Oaxaca, initiated American banker and mushroom enthusiast Gordon Wasson into the mysteries of the divine mushroom, and thus helped spark the psychedelic revolution of the late 1950s (Narby and Huxley 2001, 141).

Nonetheless, menstruating women are considered anathema to the shaman's practice in many traditions, as the odor and impurity of menstrual blood repel the deities or guardian spirits. Prolonged abstinence from sex and avoidance of contact with menstruating women are fundamental to the shaman's ethic, especially during initiation and immediately before and after trance rituals.

Shamanism in Lowland South America

In an important survey, Alfred Métraux (1949) reviewed three centuries of Western writings about shamanism in lowland South America, recovering important factual information while finding much irony in the unenlightened denunciations of some writers. He wrote that far from being impostors or ministers of evil, shamans are dedicated and indeed pious practitioners of native religion who perform important social, spiritual, and medical functions and are often held in high esteem by their fellows. Though widespread, shamanism is not universal among tropical forest tribes, being absent or extremely reduced among most Gé-speaking groups of central Brazil, for example. Where shamanism is practiced, a series of common themes and elements are found throughout large areas and in culturally and linguistically diverse groups.

Native peoples of the West Indies, Guyanas, Amazon basin, and as far south as Paraguay recognize ritual specialists known as *piai* (or pagé), a word of Tupi and Carib origin that is similar in meaning to the Siberian term *shaman.* The piai passes through an arduous period of apprenticeship that requires fasting, sexual abstinence, dancing, and the consumption of large amounts of tobacco. Among Tupi and Carib groups, the novice is subjected to painful ant stings. In some groups, emetic or psychoactive teas are consumed. By undergoing these privations, the apprentice shaman frees the soul from the physical body and is able to fly to distant realms or ascend the heavens by means of a twisted ladder, making contact with spirits in animal, human, or other forms. From among the available pantheon, the novice seeks out a more intimate association with one or more spirits who serve as guardians or guides for the shaman from then on.

In some cases, only people who receive a spiritual calling through dreams, visions, or severe illness undergo a shamanic initiation. In other traditions, especially those involving group consumption of pyschoactive plants, a substantial part of the population (especially young men) may undergo basic shamanic initiation rites, but only those who attain special visions or show exceptional virtuosity and healing skill go on to become master shamans. In most cases, the novice's apprenticeship is supervised by an older, more experienced master.

An important aspect of the South American shaman's training is the acquisition of esoteric songs, chants, and other invocations that are used to contact specific spirits, relate myths, recall the wayward souls of people who are ill, or describe sensations and adventures in the spirit world. Among the Akawaio of Colombia, songs are believed to be the wings of the shaman's magical flight; various bird spirits lend the shaman their "wings," in the form of specific songs, during trance. Healing songs of Kuna shamans of Panama employ symbols derived from myths to situate illness in the cosmos and address its underlying etiology (Lévi-Strauss 1963). In those shamanic traditions involving hallucinogenic plant use, songs and other auditory cues play an important role in guiding initiates or patients and manipulating the content of personal and collective trance experience. Rattles or packets of rustling leaves are widely used as a percussive accompaniment to the singing and as an auditory signal of the comings and goings of the shaman's winged soul.

The Yaminahua of Amazonian Peru and Brazil consider songs to be the shaman's most prized possessions and the essence of his power, knowledge, and ability to heal. Yaminahua songs employ "twisted," metaphorical language to build complex narratives that act as paths, guiding the shaman safely through the trance experience and the ambiguous, dangerous spirit world (Townsley 1993). Shamanic songs of the Matsigenka of southeast Peru come directly from the spirits, and are difficult to translate or interpret, as they contain much onomatopoeic, archaic, and other nonordinary language. Most songs are not rehearsed, remembered, or fully intelligible in ordinary states of consciousness, and seem to derive their power largely from their acoustic properties, augmented by hallucinogenic trance (Shepard 2004). Among the Shipibo of the Ucayali River, shamanic songs in conjunction with hallucinogens generate a multifaceted synesthesia, or mixing of the senses. Shipibo shamans in trance are able to perceive people's auras, lace-like patterns of interlocking geometric designs that become visually distorted and malodorous during illness. The shaman sings, smells, and visualizes geometrically patterned, "fragrant songs" to correct the deformed aura and thereby restore health (Gebhart-Sayer 1986).

The shaman's power is often attributed to the presence of a magical substance in or around his body or on his person, variously described as stones, crystals, arrows, darts, or a black or luminous phlegmlike matter (Métraux 1949; Chaumeil 1993). The magical substance is an embodiment of the spirit helpers, and often materializes or is transformed during trance to be manipulated in special ways, serving as both a shield and a weapon, a medicine and a poison. Matsigenka shamans of the Peruvian Amazon carry small stones or carved human figures known as *serepito* (tobacco stones), totemlike representations of invisible spirit helpers to which tobacco is continually fed (Baer 1992). Desana shamans of Colombia guard precious quartz crystals imbued with magical power and a complex symbolism uniting myth, mind, and the cosmos (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1979). Among the Jivaro of the Ecuadorian Amazon, the shaman gets his power from spirit helpers in the form of invisible darts *(tsentsak),* which are passed from master to apprentice and stored in the mouth, stomach, or elsewhere in the body (Harner 1973). Sorcerers cause illness and death by throwing tsentsak at victims, while healing shamans use their own tsentsak to suck out, absorb, and return sorcery darts.

Though widely considered vital for the collective well-being, shamans and their spirit allies also occupy a position of moral ambiguity. Undoing sorcery requires an intimate understanding of the black arts, and often involves firing the pathogenic factor back at the perpetrator. Most South American societies have terms to distinguish between good, or "healing shamans," and sorcerers, or "killing shamans." In practice, however, the distinction is not so clear, as the same set of techniques, powers, and spirits that allow the shaman to heal also allow him to kill and commit sorcery. Shamans, even those generally considered to be healers, are often prime suspects for sorcery accusations. In some cases, shamans may become targets for revenge killings by the families of sorcery victims (Brown 1978).

Mesoamerican Shamanism

Shamanistic practices among contemporary indigenous peoples of Mexico and Central America share many general similarities with those of South American societies; most of the circum-Caribbean indigenous groups who represented a direct link between the two culture areas were exterminated or assimilated. As in South America, Mesoamerican shamans may receive an initiatory calling through dreams or severe illness, or enter the profession by choice. In other cases, candidates for shamanism may be identified through inheritance, by surviving a lightning strike, or due to auspicious omens or calendrical indications at the time of birth. Mesoamerican shamans also generally undergo a prolonged period of apprenticeship, and tobacco and other psychoactive plants play an important role in many traditions. As in South America, chanting and singing are a key part of healing ceremonies and the trance experience. Divination is an important function of Mesoamerican shamans, since their contact with the world of spirits allows them to see things that are hidden from ordinary vision. As in South America, quartz crystals are important items in the shaman's toolkit. Huichol shamans are said to be able to capture the souls of sick people or the dead in quartz crystals, while

Mayan shamans gaze into crystals or cast them as lots for purposes of divination.

The contemporary Mexican and Central American indigenous societies where shamanism has been studied tend to be larger, more sedentary, and more hierarchical than their counterparts in lowland South America, though they are comparable in many ways to Andean societies. The distinction between shamans and priests in such hierarchical Amerindian societies becomes somewhat artificial, as shaman-healers may also officiate as priests in religious festivals and life-cycle ceremonies. To a greater extent than in lowland South America, native Mesoamerican and Andean religion and shamanism are inextricably blended with Spanish folk Christianity, reflecting five centuries of political, economic, and religious colonization. Indigenous shamans in Mexico and Guatemala as well as highland Peru and Bolivia often invoke native deities and Catholic saints in the same breath, and their syncretic personal altars and community churches blend indigenous and Christian symbols.

Healing Functions

Healing is a key function performed by Central and South American shamans. For many societies, shamans are the only hope for curing certain categories of illness, especially those associated with sorcery, spirit attack, and soul loss. Key features of shamanic healing throughout Central and South America are the calling back of wayward souls, usually through singing or chanting; the identification of harmful spirits or sorcerers who inflict illness, usually through visions in dream or trance; and the removal from the patient's body of intrusive objects believed to cause illness, usually through sucking, massage, or transference to some ritual object or sacrificial animal. The examination, diagnosis, and curing of the patient often take place in prolonged, elaborate, group-attended rituals during which the shaman enters trance through drug use or other means, sings or performs dramatically, handles symbolically potent objects, and manipulates the patient.

Many groups distinguish between therapy that relies primarily on contact with the spirits (i.e., shamanism) and that which employs plants and other empirical cures (herbalism, bone-setting, and the like). (Note that this distinction does not necessarily imply a dichotomy between supernatural and natural etiology or mental and physical ailments. Medicinal plants may be used to treat spiritual ills, and the spirit illnesses treated by shamans sometimes include introduced Western diseases.) The Cashinahua of the Peruvian Amazon describe two kinds of healers: those who possess "sweet medicine" *(dau bata)* and those who possess "bitter medicine" (*dau muka*) (Kensinger 1974). Sweet medicine consists of wild and cultivated herbs as well as animal glands, usually administered to the patient by a family member, sometimes but not always in consultation with a specialized herbalist. Bitter medicine is the esoteric domain of shamans, who use bitter hallucinogenic plants to enter trance and address the spiritual cause of illness. The Warao of the Orinoco delta make a similar distinction: Male shamans belonging to three classes—white shamans, black shamans, and priest-shamans—perform elaborate rituals to treat illnesses caused by the attack of spirits known as *hebu* (Wilbert 1996). Warao herbalists, exclusively women, use medicinal plants for treating illnesses caused by other means and administer their medicines without ritual accoutrements.

In some traditions, shamanism and herbal therapy overlap. Among the Maya of Mexico and Guatemala, herbal healers as well as bonesetters and midwives, like shamans, receive an initiatory call from spirits during dreams or illness. Krahó shamans of Brazil gain their considerable knowledge about plant medicines from animal spirits (Melatti 1974). Kamsá and Inga shamans of the Sibundoy valley in Colombia claim to have learned their extensive knowledge of medicinal plants directly from the plants themselves during drug-induced visions (Schultes and Raffauf 1990). In a similar vein, urban shamans, or *vegetalistas,* of Amazonian Peru obtain information about herbal medicines from plant spirits, perceived in dreams and other altered states as doctors, teachers, or mother spirits (Luna 1986). The Matsigenka shaman visits the realm of the guardian spirits to obtain new medicinal plant varieties and other cultigens (Shepard 1998). Sacred plants used by shamans to enter trance often have mundane, medicinal uses as well.

Even though he has been evangelized by the Salesian missionaries, it is best to keep out of the way of the pajé shaman when he wanders, machete in hand, with hallucinations in his head. Manturaca-Village Yanomami, Amazonas-Pic de Neblina, Brazil, August 1, 1990. (Herve Collart/Corbis)

Other Functions

Though an important and sometimes primary task, diagnosis and healing of illness is not the only function of the shaman. Shamans may also interpret omens, predict the future, charm game animals, control the natural elements, preside over ceremonies, perceive events occurring at distant locations, and kill enemies at a distance. In Mesoamerican societies, shamans often occupy formal positions of political and religious authority. Though lowland South American indigenous societies tend to be less hierarchical, shamans there may also wield some degree of political power. In diverse Central and South American cultures, powerful shamans are said to control the elements and other natural forces and have the ability to change into jaguars, pumas, wolves, eagles, hummingbirds, or other animals. Shamanism is often intimately associated with hunting and, in some cases, agriculture. The deer hunt among the Huichol of Mexico is an important occasion laden with shamanistic rituals and symbolism, for the deer is a deity that relays messages between the shaman and the gods. Mayan shamans bless maize seeds at the time of planting and harvest. For the Matsigenka, shamans created biological diversity in the mythical past, maintain the genetic diversity of crops through the present, and ensure the ongoing availability of game animals (Shepard 1998). Former shamans among the Tupi-speaking Tapirapé of central Brazil were able to locate game animals in their dreams, and performed public trance rituals during which they acted out fierce battles with spirits, enemy tribes, and dangerous natural forces such as thunderstorms (Baldus 1974).

In many Amerindian societies, collective well-being represents cosmological and ecological balance that can be upset when humans exceed their bounds and Nature settles her scores. The shaman serves as a kind of ambassador who negotiates with the spirits and the forces

of nature in order to restore or redefine the equilibrium of the cosmos-as-ecosystem. The Matsigenka believe shamans to be immortal, joining at the time of their physical death an invisible society of guardians who use magical powers and natural forces (lightning, earthquakes, river dynamics) to keep illness, demons, and the forces of evil at bay. Among the Kogi of Colombia's coastal mountains, *mamas* are priestlike specialists whose constant ritual interventions are necessary to bring fertility, ensure the continuity of natural processes, and guarantee the order of the universe. The mamas do not practice healing and are thus not considered shamans in the strict sense. But echoing the practices of shamans elsewhere, mamas make frequent use of a narcotic preparation (coca) and pass through a long initiation period during which they live in darkness, mastering techniques of breathing and meditation that allow them to enter trance and see the true nature of reality beyond the distractions of ordinary vision (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976).

Psychoactive Plant Use

One striking aspect of Central and South American shamanism is the frequent use of hallucinogens, stimulants, narcotics, and other psychoactive substances for entering into contact with the spirit world. The most widespread of these is tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum, N. rustica*), among the first plants to be domesticated in the New World (Wilbert 1987). Tobacco is mentioned in historical and modern accounts of native Central and South American religion and ritual in a myriad of forms, preparations, and modes of ingestion: snuffed, chewed, drunk, inhaled or swallowed as smoke, dripped in the nose, eaten as a concentrated paste, and even taken as an enema. Tobacco is especially important in the initiation of the novice shaman, who may consume huge doses in order to obtain an initiatory vision involving a spirit guide or helper. For the Matsigenka, tobacco and shamanism are synonymous: The word for shaman, *seripigari,* means literally, "the one intoxicated by tobacco" (Baer 1992). The master shaman among the Matsigenka swallows a quid of tobacco paste, regurgitates it, and gives it mouth-to-mouth to the apprentice, thus passing his magical substance and his shaman's soul *(isure)* through his tobacco (*isere*) (Shepard 1998). The dedicated shaman comes to crave tobacco as much as food, and may become so involved in the relationship with spirits that he withdraws from social affairs, eats little, and loses interest in sex (Kensinger 1974). Tobacco smoke is intimately associated with the notion of the shaman's magical breath, blown on patients to heal them or at enemies to kill them (Métraux 1949).

Datura meteloides, Datura stramonium (jimsonweed), and other naturally occurring nightshades belong, like tobacco, to the *Solanaceae* family, and were once used widely by indigenous peoples of North and Central America to induce profound, sometimes deathlike states of trance in rituals of initiation, divining, and healing. *Brugmansia* is essentially a domesticated *Datura,* and numerous species and varieties are cultivated by indigenous populations throughout Central and South America for their medicinal, narcotic, and hallucinogenic properties. Like the closely related *Datura, Brugmansia* contains potent bioactive and psychoactive tropane alkaloids. Widespread medicinal uses, for example setting broken bones and resolving difficult childbirth, recall similar biomedical applications of tropane alkaloids atropine and scopolamine. Ingested in moderate doses by shamans, sick people, or victims of misfortune who seek healing or revelatory visions, *Brugmansia* embarks the user on a journey in which reality and hallucination are utterly indistinguishable. Depending on the dose, the narcotic effects may last for one night, several days, or many weeks; excessive doses can cause insanity or death (Shepard 1998).

Among the Aguaruna Jivaro of Peru, the name for *Brugmansia* refers to a mythic hero, Bikut, from whose bones sprang three Aguaruna cultivars of the plant: "enemy *bikut,*" used by warriors to obtain killing visions that bring luck in warfare; "tranquility *bikut,*" used by shamans to obtain visions for healing and general prosperity; and "remedy *bikut,*" valued for its medicinal properties in setting bones and curing other illnesses, but which may confer witchcraft darts if taken frequently (Brown 1978). Other nightshade relatives are used for various medicinal, divinatory, and psychoactive purposes and as admixtures for hallucinogenic plants (Schultes and Raffauf 1990; Shepard 1998).

Natural hallucinogenic compounds used ritually in Mesoamerican religions became a focus

of scientific and popular attention beginning in the 1950s, and many were appropriated for recreational use. Known to the Aztecs as *teonanacatl,* "flesh of the gods," hallucinogenic mushrooms of the genera *Panaeolus* and *Psilocybe* have been used widely among indigenous groups of Mexico since ancient times. The Mazatec Indians of Oaxaca consider these mushrooms to be divine entities that travel to the earth on thunderbolts (Wasson 1990). The sacred drink of the Aztecs, *ololiuqui,* was prepared from the seeds of a morning glory *(Turbina corymbosa)* containing hallucinogenic compounds closely related to LSD. The peyote cactus *(Lophophora williamsii)* contains dozens of psychoactive alkaloids, including mescaline. The Huichol, Tarahumara, and other indigenous groups of the deserts of Northern Mexico gather and consume peyote in communal rituals, and their shamans use peyote to gain access to aspects of knowledge and power not attainable through other means. For the Huichol in particular, not only the cactus itself but also the mythical landscape of the peyote desert stand at the center of religion, cosmology, and spirituality (Furst 1990, 136–184).

South American shamans make use of a tremendous diversity of psychoactive plants and plant mixtures, containing some of the most potent hallucinogenic compounds known in nature. Shamans of the northwest Amazon use the tryptamine-laden red resin of several *Virola* species, trees in the nutmeg family, to prepare hallucinogenic powders for purposes of healing and divination. Known locally as *paricá* or *yopo,* it is taken as a snuff by Barasana, Cubeos, Kuripakos, Taiwanos, Tukanos, and other tribes of eastern Colombia and northern Brazil. The Bora and Witoto of Peru ingest it in the form of small pellets, while the Maku of Brazil consume the resin directly. Shamans and laymen alike among the Yanomami of Brazil and Venezuela inhale *Virola* snuff, known as *epena* (semen of the sun), at frequent rituals and feasts. During trance, a succession of spirits *(hekura)* enter the chest and take possession of the epena user, causing him to dance and gesticulate in ways specific to the possessing spirit. *Anadenanthera peregrina* (also known as *Piptadenia peregrina*) is a tree in the legume family whose seeds contains tryptamine alkaloids much like those found in *Virola* resin. Like *Virola,* it is used to prepare a hallucinogenic snuff by shamans of Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil. Restricted in its natural habitat to the open grasslands, savannas, and dry forests of the Venezuela-Brazil border area, it appears to have been cultivated in the past throughout a much larger area (Schultes and Raffauf 1990).

Banisteriopsis caapi is a liana used in the preparation of a hallucinogenic beverage used widely throughout Amazonian Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and western Brazil, known by various local and indigenous names: *ayahuasca, caapi, yagé, natema, kamarampi, vegetal,* and *hoasca.* In most accounts, the pounded liana is boiled with the leaves of one or more species of *Psychotria,* a shrub in the coffee family, among other admixtures. The principle hallucinogenic component is not provided by the *Banisteriopsis* itself but rather by *Psychotria,* containing demethyl tryptamine (DMT), a potent natural hallucinogen. Beta-carbolines in *Banisteriopsis* potentiate the effects of DMT, which otherwise would be inactive, via oral administration. Ethnobotanists have been as much intrigued by the vision-inducing qualities of the beverage as by the mystery of how tribal peoples with no knowledge of organic chemistry managed to identify, among the tens of thousands of available species, the synergistic properties of these two plants, neither of which is hallucinogenic when taken alone (Davis 1998, 164).

Like peyote, the San Pedro cactus *(Trichocereus pachanoi)* of highland and coastal Peru contains mescaline and other psychoactive alkaloids. Known in Quechua as *huachuma,* "cactus of the four winds," this hallucinogenic plant is found in the art and religious symbolism of ancient Andean civilizations beginning with Chavin de Huantar in the second millennium B.C.E., and continuing through Nazca, Moche, and Chimú reigns until shortly before the Spanish conquest (Davis 1998, 169–172). Little is known about how San Pedro was used in ancient religious or shamanistic practice. Despite the extinction or cultural assimilation of coastal native civilizations and four centuries of persecution by the Catholic Church, vestiges of the ancient cult seem to have survived in the practice of urban shaman-healers, or *curanderos,* in northern Peru (Sharon 1990).

The coca plant (*Erythroxylum coca*), the notorious botanical source of cocaine, was held sacred by the Inca, whose empire once

stretched along the Andes from modern-day Chile to Colombia. Today, shamans of the Andean region chew coca leaves mixed with alkali-providing ash or lime in order to facilitate meditation or trance when healing and performing other ceremonies. Dried coca leaves are also cast by shamans and priests for purposes of divination. Coca cultivation spread from the Andes to the heart of the Amazon basin, where the plant has been used by lowland indigenous peoples for ritual and social purposes, perhaps for centuries.

The discovery of LSD and the rediscovery of psychoactive plants in Amerindian religions led to a growing scientific and popular interest in hallucinogens, provoking a revolution in anthropological and psychological understandings of shamanism. Whereas earlier studies had focused on the supposed psychopathology of shamans, in the 1950s researchers began to appreciate the fundamental role of hallucinogenic compounds and altered states of consciousness in shamanic trance. Describing his first experience with ayahuasca, Michael Harner (1973, 15) wrote, “For several hours after drinking the brew, I found myself, although awake, in a world literally beyond my wildest dreams. . . . Transported into a trance where the supernatural seemed natural, I realized that anthropologists, including myself, had profoundly underestimated the importance of the drug in affecting native ideology.” In addition to providing new insights into native belief, firsthand experience of ritual hallucinogens by researchers may lead to profound personal insights and a paradigm-shifting reassessment of worldview (Narby and Huxley 2001, 301–305).

Although the use of narcotics and hallucinogens is conspicuous among Central and South American shamans, it is by no means universal. Krahó and other Timbira shamans of Brazil, for example, do not use any psychoactive plants during their apprenticeship or normal practice. Instead, they receive their call to the healing profession through a severe illness during which an animal appears, offering healing secrets and other special powers (Melatti 1974). Modern Mayan shamans of southern Mexico do not use the “magic mushrooms” so eagerly sought by foreign tourists, but they do consume tobacco snuff and rum during their curing ceremonies.

Other Observations

The data from Central and South America help debunk a number of popular misconceptions about shamanism. Contrary to the notion that shamans are only found in archaic hunting societies, shamanism in Central and South America has been documented in a wide range of social systems, including hunting, agricultural, and urban societies in ancient and modern times. Whereas some researchers consider trance and spirit possession to be distinct phenomena, Amerindian shamans do not appear to honor such a distinction. Among the Matsigenka, for example, trance is a form of possession in which the shaman and his brother or twin among the *Saangariite* spirits switch places: The spirit occupies the body of the shaman on the earthly plane while the shaman takes his brother’s place in the Saangariite village of the spirit world (Shepard 1998). The distinction between shaman and priest is also dubious in some South American and most Central American cases. Contrary to the notion of shamans as marginal members of society, shamans in many Central and South American groups have been found to wield considerable political power. Shamans are often rewarded in the case of a successful cure and may be afforded a degree of social prestige, even within egalitarian, small-scale societies. On the other hand, shamans who fail in their cures or predictions may be discredited or, especially in the case of suspected sorcerers, put to death. Yet in some situations, suspected sorcerers may be afforded a certain degree of respect and toleration for error so as to avoid provoking their wrath.

Change and Continuity

Beginning with the arrival of Columbus and continuing through the present, the conquest and colonization of the Americas by Europeans has unleashed warfare, epidemic disease, territorial dispossession, and forced cultural assimilation on native societies, leading to the extinction of many, the assimilation of others, and the marginalization and profound transformation of the surviving groups. Among the many aspects of indigenous society affected by these processes, shamanism, religion, and traditional healing are among the hardest hit. Initial contact with novel Western diseases resulted in virulent epidemics and extremely high mortality

rates, often leaving shamans among the dead and undermining the survivors' faith in traditional healing. Throughout the twentieth century, Catholic and Evangelical Protestant missionaries working with native communities have followed the example of their sixteenth-century forebears and vigorously discouraged shamanism and other manifestations of traditional healing and religion. The coincidence between devastating new diseases, the breakdown of the traditional social order, missionary propaganda, and the introduction of firearms—in conjunction with the inherent moral ambiguity of shaman-sorcerers—has sometimes led to a witch-hunting paranoia, driving shamans into hiding or extinction (Baldus 1974).

Despite such threats, shamanism has survived and even thrived in many Native American societies. More than just a therapeutic alternative, shamanism and traditional healing are an expression of indigenous religion, values, and worldview, and reflect five centuries of cultural and spiritual resistance. Contemporary Indian shamans of Mexico and Guatemala combine Christian and indigenous elements into a unique and dynamic body of belief and practice. Indigenous federations throughout the Peruvian Amazon have promoted programs to revitalize traditional medicine, resulting in a cultural renaissance of herbal therapy and ayahuasca-based shamanistic healing (Alexiades and Lacaze 1996). Shamanism has flourished in many South American cities and towns, where urban *curanderos* combine indigenous and Western cosmologies and ancient and modern symbols into a complex, contemporary brand of ecstatic healing. At the same time, native hallucinogens and indigenous as well as not-so-indigenous shamans have become a significant attraction for esoteric and spiritual tourism. While maintaining a healthy skepticism about local shamans and Western intermediaries who "sell out" to the demands of the New Age tourism market, Donald Joralemon (1990) noted that shamans have always been improvisers and innovators, adapting ancient techniques of ecstasy to fit the unique conditions of their particular society and worldview.

Glenn H. Shepard Jr.

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Archaeology of Shamanism; "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Colonialism and Shamanism; Curanderismo; Ecology and Shamanism; Entheogens and Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism; Huichol Shamanism; Initiation; Kanaimà Shamanism; Latin American Christianity and Shamanism; Latin American Literature and Shamanism; Mapuche Shamanism; Mayan Shamanism; Otomi Indian Shamanism; Peruvian Shamans; Peyote Ritual Use; Piman Oral Literature and Shamanism; Santería; Toba Shamanism; Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Alexiades, Miguel N., and Lacaze D. Didier. 1996. "FENAMAD's Program in Traditional Medicine: An Integrated Approach to Health Care in the Peruvian Amazon." Pp. 341–365 in *Medicinal Resources of the Tropical Forest: Biodiversity and Its Importance to Human Health.* Edited by Michael J. Balick, Elaine Elisabetsky, and Sarah A. Laird. New York: Columbia University Press.

Baer, Gerhard. 1992. "The One Intoxicated by Tobacco: Matsigenka Shamanism." Pp. 79–100 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by Jean Matteson-Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Baldus, Herbert. 1974. "Shamanism in the Acculturation of a Tupi Tribe of Central Brazil." Pp. 385–390 in *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent.* Edited by Patricia J. Lyon. Boston: Little, Brown.

Brown, Michael F. 1978. "From the Hero's Bones: Three Aguaruna Hallucinogens and Their Uses." Pp. 119–136 in *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany.* Edited by Richard I. Ford. Volume 67, Anthropological Papers. Ann Arbor: Anthropology Museum, University of Michigan.

Chaumeil, Jean-Pierre. 1993. "Del Proyectil al Virus: El Complejo de Dardo-Mágicos en el Chamanismo del Oeste Amazónico" [From Dart to Virus: The Magic Dart Complex in West Amazon Shamanism]. Pp. 261–277 in *Cultura y Salud en la Construcción de las Américas.* Edited by Carlos Ernesto Pinzon et al. Bogota: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología.

Davis, Wade. 1998. *Shadows in the Sun: Travels to Landscapes of Spirit and Desire.* New York: Broadway Books.

Dixon, Roland B. 1908. "Some Aspects of the American Shaman." *Journal of American Folk Lore* 21: 1–12.

Furst, Peter, ed. 1990. *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Gebhart-Sayer, Angelika. 1986. "Terapia Estética: Los Diseños Visionarios de Ayahuasca entre los Shipibo-Conibo" [Aesthetic Therapy: The Ayahuasca Visionary Designs of the Shipibo-Conibo]. *América Indígena* 46, no. 1: 189–218.

Harner, Michael. 1973. "The Sound of Rushing Water." Pp. 15–27 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.

Joralemon, Donald. 1990. "The Selling of the Shaman and the Problem of Informant Legitimacy." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 46 (summer): 105–118.

Kensinger, Kenneth. 1974. "Cashinahua Medicine and Medicine Men." Pp. 283–289 in *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent.* Edited by Patricia J. Lyon. Boston: Little, Brown.

Lévi-Strauss. 1963. "The Effectiveness of Symbols." Pp. 186–205 in *Structural Anthropology.* New York: Basic Books.

Luna, Luis Eduardo. 1986. *Vegetalismo: Shamanism among Mestizo Populations of the Peruvian Amazon.* No. 27, University of Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion. Stockholm: Almqist and Wirksell International.

Marcus, Joyce, and Kent V. Flannery. 1978. "Ethnoscience of the Sixteenth Century Valley Zapotec." Pp. 51–79 in *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany.* Edited by Richard I. Ford. Volume 67, Anthropological Papers. Ann Arbor: Anthropology Museum, University of Michigan.

Melatti, Julius Cezar. 1974. "Myth and Shaman." Pp. 267–275 in *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent.* Edited by Patricia J. Lyon. Boston: Little, Brown.

Métraux, Alfred. 1949. "Religion and Shamanism." Pp. 559–599 in *Handbook of South American Indians.* Vol. 5. Edited by Julian Steward. Washington, DC: United States Printing Office.

Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley, eds. 2001. *Shamans through Time.* New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1976. "Training for the Priesthood among the Kogi of Colombia." Pp. 265–288 in *Enculturation in Latin America: An Anthology.* No. 37, UCLA Latin American Studies Series. Edited by Johannes Wilbert. Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California.

———. 1979 "Desana Shamans' Rock Crystals and the Hexagonal Universe." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 5, no. 1: 117–128.

Schele, Linda, David Freidel, and Joy Parker. 1993. *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path.* New York: William Morrow.

Schultes, Richard Evans, and Robert F. Raffauf. 1990. *The Healing Forest: Medicinal and Toxic Plants of the Northwest Amazon.* Portland, OR: Dioscorides Press.

Sharon, Douglas. 1990. "The San Pedro Cactus in Peru." Pp. 114–135 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* Edited by Peter Furst. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Shepard, Glenn H., Jr. 1998. "Psychoactive Plants and Ethnopsychiatric Medicines of the Matsigenka." *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 30, no. 4: 321–332.

———. 2004. "A Sensory Ecology of Medicinal Plant Therapy in Two Amazonian Societies." *American Anthropologist* 106, no. 2: 252–266.

Torres, Constantino M. 1998. "Psychoactive Substances in the Archaeology of Northern Chile and NW Argentina." *Chungara* 1: 49–63.

Townsley, Graham. 1993. "Song Paths: The Ways and Means of Yaminahua Shamanic Knowledge." *L'Homme* 33, nos. 2–4: 449–468.

Wasson, R. Gordon. 1990. "The Divine Mushroom of Immortality." Pp. 185–200 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* Edited by Peter Furst. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Wilbert, Johannes. 1987. *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wilbert, Werner. 1996. "Environment, Society and Disease: The Response of Phytotherapy

to Disease among the Warao Indians of the Orinoco Delta." Pp. 366–385 in *Medicinal Resources of the Tropical Forest: Biodiversity and Its Importance to Human Health.* Edited by Michael J. Balick, Elaine Elisabetsky, and Sarah A. Laird. New York: Columbia University Press.

Williams, Denis. 1993. "Forms of the Shamanic Sign in the Prehistoric Guianas." *Archaeology and Anthropology: Journal of the Walter Roth Museum of Anthropology* 9: 3–21.

CURANDERISMO (THE AMERICAS)

The term *curanderismo* describes a holistic system, one in which the healer is connected with a spiritual aspect of healing. Curanderismo is found mainly in Latin America and in Mexican American communities in the United States. The system is similar to other holistic systems throughout the world that incorporate a designated individual such as a shaman who uses a variety of plants, herbs, symbolic articles, and prayer. Since Western industrialized society uses a biomedical model to define and treat disease, there is no equivalent term for curanderismo in modern technological practice. Nonbiomedical healing systems vary cross-culturally, but conceptually they focus on balance and harmony, which may be achieved by mental, physical, or spiritual methods (Balick et al. 2000, 344).

There is variability in how curanderismo is practiced. Healers may be either female *(curanderas)* or male *(curanderos),* and the treatment will be different in each geographic area, depending on the specific plants, traditions, body therapies, and religious beliefs of the particular country and group within that country. Since each country has its own traditions, predictably there will be differences in the actual methods and the choice of plants and herbs. Since there are no textbooks, each curandera's practice is highly idiosyncratic and dependent on her actual experience and training or apprenticeship.

To understand holism and the integrated system of curanderismo it is necessary to think in terms of process rather than product. Where Western medicine is didactic, and diagnosis is dependent on a variety of laboratory results and quantitative evidence, holistic medicine takes into account qualitative factors, such as the relationship of the patient with others, the environment, and supernatural forces. The concept of psychosomatic disease as a category separate from somatic disease does not exist. From the point of view of the Westerner's cognitive analysis, there are specific ailments that are classified as *culture-bound syndromes,* a term given to illnesses that have no equivalent in other cultures. These syndromes are legitimately diagnosed and adequately treated by the curandera. A few examples follow. *Ataque* is a culturally recognized emotional response to a great shock or bad news, characterized by hyperventilation, bizarre behavior, violence, and sometimes mutism. *Bilis* is an illness believed to be caused by strong emotions that result in an imbalance of bile, which "boils over" into the bloodstream. Symptoms include vomiting, diarrhea, headaches, dizziness, and migraine headaches. In *susto,* "soul loss," there is extreme anxiety, restlessness during sleep, depression, lethargy, anorexia, and lack of interest in appearance.

The Cartesian mind-body dichotomy, with its division between mental health and physical health, does not exist in curanderismo; a much earlier structure underlies this system, and that is the humoral scheme. In this ancient system, there were four elements—fire, air, water, and earth; four qualities—hot, dry, cold, and wet; and four humors—yellow bile, black bile, blood, and phlegm. The humoral theory began in China and India and later was incorporated by the Greek physician Hippocrates (ca. 460–377 B.C.E.). The Greek physician Galen (129–ca. 199 C.E.) elaborated on it, and later the belief spread to the Islamic world. When the Moors took over the Iberian Peninsula, Spanish and Portuguese physicians (and soon all of medieval Western Europe) adopted the humoral system, which they later brought to South and Central America (Helman 1994, 22).

The human body was conceived as a microcosm of the macrocosmic world. The amount and balance of these humors determined personality types and diseases that the individual was prone to acquire. When the humors were in balance, the body was healthy; excess or deficiency of one or more humors caused illness. In Latin America, the humoral theory has come to be called the Hot Cold Theory of Disease. Hot

and cold refer to symbolic power, not actual temperature. In order to keep the body in balance, prolonged exposure to any quality must be avoided. When a curandera or curandero diagnoses an individual, theories of hot and cold play an important part of the diagnosis and treatment. Since organs, diseases, foods, and liquids each are assigned "hot" or "cold" qualities, the healer must use a treatment to restore the balance. For example, in Puerto Rico, women after childbirth are treated with "hot" foods to prevent *lochia* (a normal discharge) from clotting.

A curandera is best understood within the framework of a non-Western medical system, the study of which is referred to as ethnomedicine (Brown 1998, 14). Her knowledge and techniques extend beyond the borders of any one culture or language. Hence, the meaning of the word is as varied within Hispanic cultures as are the methods (Perrone, Stockel, and Kreuger 1989, 85). The curanderas that were found in the new world in Spanish colonial culture spread their legacy to Spanish-American, Mexican-American, and Chicano groups, whose practitioners continue the tradition in Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, and Spain.

The curandera is predominantly a practitioner in rural communities. Her methods include conversations with the family as well as the patient, and since she usually shares the same neighbors, the history she obtains will entail a lengthy process of interviewing more than one person. In contrast, at least one curandero practicing in the city of Bogotá, Colombia, has appropriated the ways of a biomedical healer and sees up to seventy patients a day. His consultations last a mere five to ten minutes (Press 1971, 744).

Spirit Worlds and Mexican Healers

Spirits are an essential part of the healing process, and although belief in spirits as causative agents in illness cannot be equated with the germ theory, it is a useful analogy. An alien spirit or force is blamed for the illness, but more important is the unconditional belief that the cure will be effective. Once this patient expresses this trust, the healer needs to determine the patient's faith in God, because no healing is possible without this belief.

In the mid-1800s, a movement known as spiritualism, or spiritism, spread throughout Europe and the United States (Kearney 1978, 19). Certain Mexican American groups were highly influenced by the movement, and a system closely related to curanderismo known as *espiritualismo* or *espiritismo* developed. Healers in espiritualismo incorporate ecstatic and trance states into their rituals. Dealing largely with illnesses that have a large emotional component, such as depression, paranoia and anxiety, healers in this system teach and believe that there are spirits, good and bad, who can enter them for the purpose of healing. Once inside, they speak through the healer. Other spirits or witches exist in other parts of the universe, but occasionally enter the atmosphere of the earth, where they threaten and cause health problems in the community. They too penetrate the minds of the healers or mediums. As the emotional intensity of the experience heightens, the patient experiences freedom from the problem. The shared worldview of the healer and patient, that is, that there are magical forces that have caused illness and can be expelled, serves to promote the reputation of the healer and the satisfaction of the patient.

In contrast, the supernatural world of the curandera is more concrete. One practitioner describes the object of her prayers as a sacred world primarily occupied by "the Lord," "God," "Jesus," or "Our Savior," (Perrone, Stockel, and Krueger 1989, 87). Both espiritualismo and curanderismo share dependence on a largely invisible world of spirits that can only be seen by the healing practitioners through special means of communication.

The Mexican American Curandera

In Mexican American culture, women who are thought to have a special gift of healing are known as curanderas (Stafford 1978, 12–22). A curandera may develop her lifestyle in many different ways, but typically, like the shaman, she is designated as special at birth. She has an awareness of a power that could be described as spiritual. The curandera may inherit her power to heal through a *don,* a "gift." If a child "cries in the womb," she will become a curandera.

Mexican Shaman Katuza, accompanied by his student-cum-muse Hikulima, holds healing herbs and chants as he sits in his Temazcal, a pre-Hispanic sauna designed to heal illness and discomfort, in his back yard. Katuza, an ex-alcoholic, who gave up drinking to become a mystical healer, treats people from all over the world for a wide variety of ailments at his lakeside home. (Daniel Aguilar/Reuters/New Media/Corbis)

There is an awareness of and dependence upon the intimate connection between nature and the healer, and this level of consciousness is spiritual. What a Westerner might call her pharmacognosy involves the knowledge of plants and treatments that is necessary for these medical practitioners. The curandera will learn about plants and treatments from a practicing healer, usually a close relative. A special curandera called a *partera* deals with pregnancy and childbirth. Her role could be compared to the medieval and Renaissance midwife who had exclusive contact with the health concerns of women.

Jesusita Aragon, a healer and midwife of northern New Mexico, was trained as a curandera and partera from the time she was a young girl. She lived in a rural community, and beginning at age thirteen she had firsthand experience watching her grandmother deliver babies. Prior to that, she helped deliver calves on the land where she was raised. It was not until she was forty that she began her solo practice, after a more than thirty-year "internship." Jesusita's vocabulary is interspersed with words that reflect her spiritual orientation, and she considers birth a miracle (Perrone, Stockel, and Krueger 1989, 116).

Gregorita Rodriguez, a native healer of Santa Fe, employs herbs, massage, and religion in her practice. She trained with her aunt, who was trained by Gregorita's grandmother. In her practice, touch is important, as is the energy she transfers to patients. She attributes her ability to heal to God; she focuses on feeling the patient's internal organs for indications that they are displaced. Her treatment consists of moving the displaced organs back to their normal positions (Perrone, Stockel, and Krueger 1989, 110).

Sabinita Herrera, a curandera from Truchas, New Mexico, broke with tradition, in that she learned about plants from her father instead of her mother. At age ten, she began taking trips with her father by horseback, two weeks at a time, to learn the names of roots and herbs growing in the highlands. She learned about conservation and ecology, carefully leaving some plants intact to grow and reproduce in the future. Her epistemology could be described as transcendental in Western terms: She describes feeling the spirit of life in the mountains, trees, streams, and air. As a continuation of her training, she learned how to clean, wash, and cut each plant. Drying required additional knowledge about which plants could remain outside and which were too fragile to remain subject to sun and rain. Her formal education went up to the seventh grade, but the close mentorship by her father gave her enough background to call herself a curandera by the time she was a young adult. Both philosophically and practically, she was well entrenched in her calling.

Not all curanderas are willing to make known their *remedios* (remedies). Their attitudes vary with regard to sharing their knowledge. An example of how Western culture has coopted parts of ethnomedicine is that in certain areas of the United States where there are large Hispanic populations and curanderas, a hospital will hire a herbalist. In this way, the curandera or other person with "folk knowledge" can assist in cases where a patient may have taken medicines from both systems. There is an increasing need for "alternative medicine" to be acknowledged in treating and diagnosing patients as society becomes more multicultural.

Since curanderismo has a long and complex history, each practitioner should be viewed in the context of his or her culture and chronology. An obvious syncretism of Native American indigenous belief, possibly related to Eurasian shamanism, and Christianity has developed during the well over four centuries since the Spanish first came to the New World. Interestingly, as Western medicine adopts more holistic therapies and assimilation dilutes closed communities, there is a growing commonality in the two systems, a shared recognition of the importance of belief in a spiritual dimension of healing.

Lana Thompson

See also: Central and South American Shamanism; Ethnocentrism and Shamanism; Huichol Shamanism; Latin American Christianity and Shamanism; Maya Bone Divination; Mayan Shamanism; Otomí Indian Shamanism; Peruvian Shamans

References and further reading:

Balick, Michael J., et al. 2000. "Medicinal Plants Used by Latino healers for Women's Health Conditions in New York City." *Economic Botany* 54, no. 3: 344–357.

Brown, Peter J. 1998. *Understanding Medical Anthropology.* Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.

Foster, George M., and Barbara Anderson. 1978. *Medical Anthropology.* New York: John Wiley.

Helman, Cecil. 1994. *Culture, Health and Illness.* 3d ed. Oxford: Butterworth/ Heinemann.

Kearney, Michael. 1978. "Spiritualist Healing in Mexico." In *Culture and Curing: Anthropological Perspectives on Traditional Medical Beliefs and Practices.* Edited by Peter Morley and Roy Wallis. London: Peter Owen.

Perrone, Bobette H., Henrietta Stockel, and Victoria Krueger. 1989. *Medicine Women, Curanderas, and Women Doctors.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Press, Irwin. 1971. "The Urban Curandero." *American Anthropologist* 73: 741–756.

Stafford, Anita M. 1978. "Application of Clinical Anthropology to Medical Practice." In *The Anthropology of Health.* Edited by Eleanor Bauwens. St. Louis, MO: Mosby.

Thompson, Lana. 1999. "Bodies from the Dark Side: Paradoxes of Female Anatomy in the Renaissance." M.A. thesis, Florida Atlantic University.

DARK SHAMANISM (AMAZONIA)

The concept of *dark shamanism* is intended to draw attention to the systematic and fundamental place of assault sorcery and malevolent witchcraft within Amazonian shamanism as a whole. The term *dark shaman* therefore includes the many notions of *sorcerer* and *witch,* which have their own particular and complex histories in the region. Examples from the Warao of Venezuela and the Patamuna of

Guyana will be used here to illustrate the main features of this practice. Both groups are part of the tropical forest agricultural complex that is well known from the general literature on the region. The Warao inhabit the fluvial world of the Orinoco delta, and the Patamuna are mountain dwellers. Together they number around 12,000 persons.

A significant starting point for any general anthropological consideration of witchcraft and sorcery must be the widely used definitions that Edward Evans-Pritchard developed for the Azande, or Zande of the Sudan, that "the difference between a sorcerer and a witch is that the former uses the technique of magic and derives his power from medicines, while the latter acts without rites and spells and uses hereditary psycho-physical powers to attain his ends" (1937, 387). This distinction cannot, however, be neatly transposed to Amazonian cultures, for both sorcerers and witches act with an overt intentionality, and the notion of a psychophysical inheritance of a "witchcraft substance" is largely absent. Although magical techniques do pass from one generation to the next along kinship lines, such inheritance is not inevitable, and magical assaults are never unconscious to the same degree that Evans-Pritchard suggested for African witches.

The term *dark shaman* thus reflects distinct features of Amazonian assault sorcery and malicious witchcraft, but also alludes to the ambiguity inherent in all shamanic practice, such that even curing shamanisms may shade into the darkness of assault sorcery. The ability to cure entails the ability to kill. The lack of a clear indigenous distinction between beneficent and malevolent shamanisms in Amazonia also implies that the dark shaman has a broader knowledge and power than that of the mere witch or sorcerer, who have often been conceived of as marginal to the central spiritual or religious notions of the society from which they come.

A number of recent studies have begun to focus on this aspect of shamanic practice in Amazonia, and many suggest that dark shamanism has a key relevance to the overall spiritual and cosmological ideas of Amazonian peoples in general. There are also important links between the practice of shamanism and social and political goals broader than individual revenge or maliciousness. In particular, forms of dark shamanism have emerged strongly as responses to colonialism, epidemic disease, and modern development. In this way the practice of assault sorcery or malicious witchcraft can become markers of ethnic persistence and resistance to the encroachment of the modern world, based on understanding and responding to the violence of colonialism or development with the violence of magical and spiritual attack.

As with senior *piya* (curing shamans) of the Patamuna, among the Warao the *daunonarima,* literally "fathers of the wooden figurine," are also assault sorcerers. In Patamuna accounts of shamanic killing, reference is made to the "spirit masters" that are used to assail enemies, and these are similar to the figurines used by the daunonarima. This kind of assault sorcery is usually deployed in intervillage conflicts or as part of intergroup warfare, and the same is true for the Patamuna piya. However, this kind of shamanic assault is general and relatively indiscriminate in its effect, since it is directed to whole villages rather than specific individuals. In the case of the Patamuna, historical study has shown that this form of shamanic attack became less relevant as gun warfare emerged in the nineteenth century. As a result more specialized forms of assault sorcery, such as that known as *kanaimà,* became predominant. This was due to kanaimà's particular style of shamanic assault, individual assassination, which provided an appropriate complement to the emergence of smaller-scale military units under the individual leadership of powerful warriors. This historical change in military practice and social organization was therefore an important factor in the emergence of kanaimà practice over the last hundred years or so. The historicity of shamanism in general and the way shamanism changes ritually and symbolically in response to colonial and national intrusion is thus very apparent from the practices of dark shamans.

Comparisons between Warao and Patamuna assault sorcery, as well as with other groups such as the Baniwa, suggest a provisional tripartite distinction among the various forms of dark shamanism, based on the following characteristics: (1) the existence and possession of certain magical techniques that may be widely known, such as *talen* magic among the Patamuna or *hiuiathi* among the Baniwa, 2) the counteraggression of shamans against the attacks by outsiders—war shamanism, and (3) a class of dark

shamans who are initiates in a distinct system of ritual practice. Johannes Wilbert (1993, 92–125), for example, describes the *hoaratu,* dark shamans of the Warao, whose cosmological origins derive from the connections between humanity and the *Hebo* (Ancient Ones) residing at the cardinal points of the earth. The hoaratu ensure that the Scarlet Macaw and his spirits are continuously appeased with a constant supply of human victims.

As with kanaimà assault, to be killed by the hoaratu is to be completely erased ontologically; their victims have no hope of an afterlife in the spirit world. The physical dismemberment of a Warao who is assailed by the hoaratu is similar in purpose to the anal and oral mutilations carried out by the kanaimà, which detaches the human soul from its body and shatters its vital force. The inert flesh can then become divine food for the spirits. However, because feeding the gods sustains cosmological relations, there is a reluctant acceptance of the necessity for such dark shamans among the Warao, just as with the kanaimà among the Patamuna. The kanaimà are shamans dedicated to Makunaima, creator of all animals and plants, and so are responsible for ensuring the beneficence of Makunaima by a sacrifice of human flesh that feeds Kaikusi-yumu (Lord Jaguar) and nourishes Koumima (the Garden Spirit). However, Makunaima shared responsibility for the creation of the cosmic order with his younger brother Piai'ima, which has meant that, as with the Warao, there are other forms of shamanic intercession. In the case of the Patamuna there is an inherent conflict and tension involved in the relationships of the piya and kanaimà, mythically chartered by the conflicts between Piai'ima and Makunaima.

In this context it is apparent that, whatever the fear, pain, and death that dark shamans and similar ritual specialists may inflict upon humanity, they are an inevitable, persistent, and even a necessary part of the cosmic order. As a result dark shamans are not necessarily reviled even if they are feared; their very potency and secrecy allow them to become the source and symbol of an autonomous indigenous society and culture that is more than able to protect itself against the attacks of the outside world, be they attacks of a neighboring village or even the national state. Religious campaigns against "witchcraft," both in the New World and the Old, may be partly understood as part of the establishment of the authority of the state through the priestly control of the church. As a result, the identification of indigenous shamanisms, of whatever kind, with "satanic" practices and the "black arts" has been an important political tactic of Western Christian evangelism.

Unlike Africa, New Guinea, and Europe, native South America has not stimulated an extensive analysis of witchcraft and sorcery. Writings on Amazonia have mostly subsumed the topic of witchcraft and sorcery under the topic of shamanism. This tendency certainly reflects the ethnographic reality that curing shamans may also be assault sorcerers. This dual or ambiguous capacity of the shaman to heal and to cause harm has often been recognized in the ethnographic literature and is frequently referred to as the "moral ambiguity" of the shamans. Even curing shamans do not necessarily act out of solicitude for the sufferings of others but do so in return for payments, which are often quite substantial. The figure of the shaman also stands in contrast to priestlike specialists, whose functions are rarely considered ambiguous and are connected to "legitimate" social reproduction in the cosmological sphere. Nonetheless, as antiauthority figures, shamans have also been pictured positively. Broader connections between state power and shamanic ability, especially emanating from the dark side, are also evident from the history of various political regimes in the region—Haiti under "Papa Doc" Duvalier, Venezuela under the dictator Vicente Gomez (as well as others), or Guyana during the rule of Forbes Burnham (Taussig 1997; Whitehead and Wright 2003).

The tendency has been to concentrate on the morally "good" side, that is, the healing function of the shaman, as a vital service to both individuals and the community. However this tendency to emphasize only the positive, therapeutic, and socially integrative dimensions of shamanism is a distortion. Nonetheless, it is this image of the shaman that has proven very popular among well-educated North Americans, Europeans, and urban Latin Americans, who approach shamanism as a set of magical techniques that can be used for self-realization by attaining profound or mystical experience, and as a source of alternative therapy, both physiological and psychological. Ethnographic experi-

ence of Amazonian dark shamanism, as briefly outlined here, very much contradicts this imagery and provides a reminder of the complex and dangerous nature of actual Amazonian practices. The "dark" side—the shaman's power to destroy or inflict harm through sorcery and witchcraft—though recognized, has received little in-depth attention. In several of the most important contributions to the South American shamanism literature in recent years, the weight of attention is on the shaman's capacities to harness cosmic forces for the benefit of humanity. This is not to say that witchcraft and sorcery have been totally ignored, but some of the more notable extended studies have not been widely read in North America.

It is premature to suggest hard-and-fast contrasts between dark shamanism within the various cultural traditions in Amazonia, but certain tendencies do begin to emerge that may well be a useful basis for future research into shamanism generally. Among the Tupian groups shamanic power is always dangerous and threatening, even when it has a "curing" aspect. The historical and ethnographic sources refer to the cannibalistic nature of the shaman's rattles *(maraka)* and the imagery of the pet or captive suffuses the notion of shamanic assault. Among the Arawakan groups there seems to be an incipient notion of a witchcraft substance, not directly inheritable as in the African case, but nonetheless seen as a distinct penetration of the body, which is simultaneously seen as a disruption and an attack on the conviviality and siblingship hierarchy. In this guise dark shamanism is an attack on specific sets of social relationships rather than on sociality itself, suggesting particularly strong links between the exercise of power and shamanism in these societies. In the case of the Warao and the neighboring Carib peoples, there are hints that there is a far more legitimate role for the dark shaman. Even if the sorcerer is a highly antisocial figure, those social relationships are in any case seen as impermanent. The attacks of the dark shaman paradoxically ensure the possibility for sociality through his offer of human sacrifices to the predatory rulers of the cosmos, who might otherwise consume humanity utterly and destroy the possibility of growth and fecundity on the earth. In this sense the dark shaman enables, even though he does not aid, the construction of sociality and as such is an inevitable and necessary part of Amazonian spiritual life.

Neil L. Whitehead

See also: "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Kanaimà Shamanism; Spirits and Souls; Transformation; Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism; Witchcraft in Africa

References and further reading:

Brown, Michael F. 1985. "Shamanism and its Discontents." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 2(3): 102–120.

———. 1989. "The Dark Side of the Shaman." *Natural History* (November): 8–10.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Taussig, Michael. 1997. *The Magic of the State.* New York: Routledge.

Whitehead, Neil L. 2002. *Dark Shamans: Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Whitehead, Neil, and Robin Wright, eds. 2003. *In Darkness and Secrecy—The Anthropology of Assault Sorcery and Witchcraft.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Wilbert, Johannes. 1993. *Mystic Endowment: Religious Ethnography of the Warao Indians.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University Press.

Wright, Robin. 1998. *For Those Unborn: Cosmos, Self, and History in Baniwa Religion.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

HUICHOL (WIXÁRIKA) SHAMANISM (MEXICO)

Huichol (Wixárika) Culture

Wixárika (Wixáritari pl.), is the name the "Huichol" use to distinguish themselves from other cultures, even though that is not the name familiar to Anglo-Americans. Their language belongs to the Utonahuan (Uto-Aztecan) language family. Wixárika homelands lie within the southern part of the Sierra Madre Occidental, or western mountain range. This area includes parts of the Mexican states of Jalisco, Nayarit, Durango, and Zacatecas. A number of Wixáritari have settled around Mexican towns

and cities such as Tepic, Nayarit; Guadalajara, Jalisco; and Mexico City as well. Some documented and undocumented Wixáritari also live in the United States.

Wixárika culture is not homogeneous; significant differences exist between communities closer to mestizo towns and cities and those located in the more remote areas of the sierra. In the sierra communities the political organization is based, to a large degree, on the civil-religious structure introduced by Spaniards during colonial times. Through the dreams and consensus of the wise old shamans of the community, collectively known as the *kawiterutsixi,* a new governor and tribal authorities are selected every year to fulfill government positions, commonly called cargos. These shamans also dream who will carry the cargo roles in the church to care for the antique carved wooden figures of Jesus Christ and a number of other saints, several of which have assumed Wixárika names. Some communities maintain rustic old colonial churches used primarily for the religious observances of Holy Week and baptisms, and for the changing of the government authorities. Additionally, some communities are organized by temple districts, which are distinguished by region and family lineage affiliations. Every five years the kawiterutsixi decide upon these cargo roles as well.

Wixáritari in the sierra live in ranches scattered throughout the countryside composed of extended family members. The principal shaman in the family presides over the ceremonies at the ranch. Family shamans and shamans in charge of the temples lead the ceremonies that mark the annual cycle, which is divided into the rainy season from around June to October, and the dry season from November to May. During the rainy season, Wixáritari focus their attention on cultivating and harvesting corn, beans, and squash. The dry season is the time when many Wixáritari hunt deer, go on the pilgrimage to the peyote desert, and make other pilgrimages and journeys within or outside of the sierra.

The Wixárika universe is divided into five sacred directions: To the east lies their sacred desert, Wirikuta, in the state of San Luis Potosí; located in the west along the Pacific Ocean near San Blas, Nayarit, is Haramaratsie. In the north are the sacred caves ’+t+tawita in the state of Durango, and in the south is Xapawiyemeta, Lake Chapala, in the state of Jalisco. The fifth direction is the center of all sacred spaces, the center of the temple, the center of the community, the center of Wirikuta. In this universe there are three worlds: the Upper World of the sky realm, *taheima;* the Underworld, *taheit+a,* where the sun travels at night; and the Middle World, *hix+apa,* the world of the living. The Wixárika pantheon is extensive, and virtually all the gods, *kaka+yarixi,* are associated with the forces of nature. Some of the major kaka+yarixi recognized for their formidable shamanic powers are Takutsi Nakawe, the grandmother goddess of creation, growth, and vegetation; Tatewari, grandfather fire; Maxa Kwaxi, Grandather Deer Tail; and Kauyumarie, the deer person, who also serves as the shamans’ messenger to communicate with the other gods.

Wixárika Shamans *(Mara’akate)*

Wixárika beliefs and traditions lie in the hands of the shamans, *mara’akame* (singular) or *mara’akate* (plural), who may be male or female. Male shamans are the public figures, while females carry out their profession in more domestic ranch settings, as they are much more circumspect about their shamanic powers and abilities. Women, for the most part, prefer to keep their specialist training secret, except among family members. This is because they fear that their male counterparts will be envious and resort to sorcery to take their powers away, as exemplified in a creation myth about the first mara’akame, Takutsi Nakawe, the grandmother of creation. With her powers and song Takutsi Nakawe created the world and all that exists. There were several male shamans who were jealous of Takutsi and her powers and decided to trick her. They asked her to perform a curing ceremony at their ranch. On the way there they got her drunk, killed her, and took her body apart in order to steal her powers. Takutsi escaped under the earth, where a hill formed and red brazil trees grew from her blood. Afterwards, according to the myth, male shamans became the leaders of the community, both as religious specialists in the temple and as tribal government authorities.

The Path to Becoming a Shaman

In Wixárika culture there are several ways that one realizes his or her calling to become a

shaman. Some children are believed destined from birth to be shamans; a child or baby's actions may indicate to family shamans and elders it is destined to be a son or daughter of a particular god (such as the fire god, Tatewari, or the god of deer and the hunt, Paritsika, or the god of rain N+'ariwame). The manner in which the child's destiny may manifest can vary. One example is if a child shows a proclivity to smoking the sacred tobacco used by shamans for ceremonial purposes. Tobacco is considered to be the plant ally of the fire god, Tatewari, and is only smoked ceremonially by shamans; hence, the parents would interpret this behavior as indicative of the child's calling to be a shaman and a protégé of Tatewari. Severe or prolonged illness can also be an indicator of a child's destiny to become a shaman. Other individuals who have not experienced these kinds of profound life events may choose to follow the shaman's path; in such a case it is said that the training is very challenging, for that person must work even more diligently to achieve this powerful role.

During the training a shaman initiate must remain chaste or faithful to a spouse for the five years or more of training; families strongly encourage children to complete their apprenticeship at a young age because as they grow older it is much more difficult to focus on their training. Individuals following the shaman's path seek out an experienced shaman, usually a family member or a shaman with whom the family has had a long friendship, to interpret the apprentice's dreams and signs sent by the gods, and guide him or her through the training. The actual learning, however, occurs through the personal relationship the shaman initiate develops with the Wixárika gods. Over the five-year training the apprentice focuses on his or her dreams and regularly consults with the guiding shaman to interpret them and solicit advice regarding actions to be taken.

There are two crucial achievements that must be accomplished during this five-year period. The first is acquiring the ability to remove illness-causing objects from a patient's body, as manifested by kernels of corn, small stones, charcoal, or deer hair. The second major challenge to meet is developing the ability to communicate with Kauyumarie, the messenger god, who is represented as a blue deer, yet appears in different forms in the dreams of shaman initiates. In his dreams Kauyumarie talks to the shaman apprentice, teaching him or her knowledge that will be useful in the training process. Kauyumarie is the link between the shaman and the gods, serving as the intermediary in the communication process.

In training to become a religious specialist, it is mandatory from the start that the shaman initiate make special vows to particular gods, and sometimes also popular Catholic saints from the local church. With these vows the novice leaves offerings of votive arrows painted with geometric and line designs using pigmented resins, and prayer bowls made from hollowed shells of gourds decorated with figures made of beeswax and sometimes other decorations. The miniature wax figures are affixed to the interior walls of the gourd and speckled with beads. Some of the images made from wax include a simple representation of the shaman apprentice, a corn plant, a deer, and in the center a mandala-like image indicating it as a *nierika,* a portal that will carry the initiate's prayers in the bowl to the realm of the gods. A beeswax candle also accompanies the votive arrow and bowl offerings. These are left every year at the sacred houses, caves, bodies of water, or shrines for the particular gods whose help is needed in the apprenticeship.

Shaman initiates may also seek to develop a special alliance with specific animals, such as the horned toad lizard *(Phyrnosoma),* the *teka,* which has the unique ability to squirt blood from its eyes as a defense mechanism; snakes, such as the *wiexu* (a kind of boa constrictor); and the venomous beaded lizard *(Heloderma horridum),* admired for the designs on its back. An alliance is made with any of these animals by catching it alive, cutting off the tip of its tail and anointing oneself with the reptile's blood on the cheeks, throat, inner wrists, and base of the feet. The animal is thanked and set free; its tail is kept with the other power objects collected by the shaman apprentice. This ritual must be performed with five horned toads, snakes, or beaded lizards sought as animal allies. In recognition of this alliance, the initiate completing his or her fifth year leaves an offering for that animal at its shrine located in the countryside. Shaman initiates may make pacts with other animals, such as hummingbirds and deer, through the act of eating the raw heart of a recently killed animal. This ritual is also per-

formed five times, after which offerings are left for the animal along with prayers (Eger 1978; Schaefer 1993, 2002).

Plant alliances are also crucial in this training. Two psychoactive plants that feature prominently in the lives of shamans and shaman apprentices are peyote *(Lophophora williamsii),* known as *hikuri,* and tobacco *(Nicotiana rustica),* called *makutse.* Peyote is a spineless cactus that contains mescaline, a naturally occurring mind-altering chemical; it is ritually consumed by Wixárika members young and old in family, temple, and community settings. Peyote consumption typically provides powerful visionary experiences enabling shamans and shaman apprentices to communicate with the gods and learn more about the Wixárika cosmos in ways that cannot be duplicated by other methods. Some children are introduced to peyote while in their mother's womb, or afterwards, through the milk of lactating mothers, if the mother has consumed peyote before nursing her child (Schaefer 1996b). Children whose family members have gone on the pilgrimage to the San Luis Potosí desert consume peyote brought back to the family ranch. Some children will also accompany their parents to the desert where they learn firsthand about peyote and consume it as well. A child who shows an affinity for peyote is looked upon as having the calling to become a shaman and will be encouraged to continue this path.

Making the pilgrimage to Wirikuta is not an absolute prerequisite for the training; however, this journey through sacred time and space in the Wixárika universe and the experiences gained from ingesting peyote over the course of the apprenticeship are intrinsic to the learning process of becoming a shaman. Often the guiding shaman will select specific peyote tops for the apprentice to consume; afterwards the initiate will describe the experience, and the shaman will interpret its meaning and what course of action, if any, should be taken.

Tobacco is also a vital part of the shamanic experience, and during their training shaman apprentices are introduced to this sacred plant. The particular type of tobacco used by shamans contains an extremely high level of nicotine (more than 18.76 percent ± 2.6 percent) and is strong enough to facilitate an altered state of consciousness (Siegel, Collings, and Diaz 1977, 22). The tobacco is carefully cultivated by shamans in their gardens; the first young leaves that appear on the plant are ritually harvested, brought to the temple, and ceremoniously placed into a miniature woven bag that is attached to the forehead of the first deer killed that season. This tobacco bag and the dried face of the deer are carried in the lead by the pilgrims on their journey to the peyote desert (Schaefer 2002). Shamans and shaman initiates smoke the tobacco rolled in cornhusk cigarettes during ceremonies, deer hunts, and on the peyote pilgrimage. Pilgrims who are shamans or shamans in training carry their own hollowed gourd containers filled with tobacco leaves. The tobacco is smoked in conjunction with peyote consumption; the nicotine from the tobacco and the mescaline from the peyote most likely enhance each other's visionary effects (Schaefer 1996a).

A third plant used by some shamans is a solanaceous plant called *kieri;* it is both revered and feared by many Wixáritari. Shamans or shaman apprentices desiring exceptional powers seek out this plant, leaving offerings and/or ingesting small amounts of it over a five-year period. Kieri is viewed as a dangerous ally: If too large a dose of the plant is consumed, the individual is likely to have a terrifying experience; in more extreme cases the pharmacological activities of kieri can cause madness and death. Wixáritari attribute these occurrences to the supernatural powers of the plant and the god associated with it of the same name; some also associate evil shamans and hexing with this plant (Yasumoto 1996; Furst 1989; Furst and Myerhoff 1966).

Power objects acquired through pilgrimages and quests are essential to the work of the shaman; both shamans and shaman apprentices continually add to their collections, which they guard in a woven palm leaf basket known as *takwatsi.* The basket and the feathered wands *(muwierite)* stored inside it are used for healing patients and communicating with the gods; they are the shaman's insignia and tools. Muwierite may be passed down from one generation of shamans to another in the family. A shaman may also acquire, through hunting or other means, the feathers from birds admired for their hunting abilities, such as hawks and other raptorial birds. Colorful plumage from parrots that inhabit the more tropical zones of the region are also sought for feathered wands. Another important object used by the shaman during all-night singing ceremonies is a circular

mirror that is placed on top of the shaman's mat *('itari)* by the fire. Throughout the night the shaman glances into the mirror where, it is said, he or she watches the movement of the sun on its journey through the Underworld. The shaman's mirror is also used when praying to peyote in the desert of Wirikuta. Other objects that may be kept in the shaman's basket are amulets, plants, stones, and other objects that hold special power or meaning.

A ceremony marking the completion of the novice's formative training occurs after five or more years. This event takes place after the shaman apprentice has successfully developed ongoing communication with the messenger deer god, Kauyumarie, and has learned to heal by sucking out intrusive illness-causing agents from a patient's body. A cow or young bull is sacrificed during this ceremony, and a number of offerings, as well as the shaman's power objects, are anointed with the animal's blood. The offerings are then placed in the sacred locations of the specific gods who were called upon to help in the training. Now fully initiated, the young shaman will begin to put his or her knowledge and skills into practice, learning through experience and from other trusted shamans. The young shaman will also continue to pursue more specialized training with the gods; in other words, throughout a shaman's lifetime he or she is presented with ongoing challenges that will ultimately lead to the acquisition of even greater knowledge, power, and prestige.

Shamans, especially those renowned for their abilities, may request payment for their services for healing patients. The shaman calculates the cost of services by factoring in the time involved and difficulty in treating a patient. Trade in food or goods, money, or the transfer of ownership of a young cow or bull to the shaman are all forms of payment; the latter is reserved for especially difficult cases in which the patient's life is seriously threatened. Consequently, a successful shaman may accumulate cattle or wealth in other forms throughout his or her career.

Powers and Responsibilities Held by Shamans

Wixárika shamans are, above all, diviners and healers. They consult the gods through their dreams to learn the causes of illness and misfortune that have befallen their patients, family, or community and how to rectify the situations. Through their dreams shamans learn auspicious times to have ceremonies, plant corn, and hunt deer, and they receive personal messages from the gods intended to guide them in their own lives.

Shamans also have the unique ability to perceive a person's personal designs. Every Wixárika is born with special designs called *nierika,* which are located on the cheeks, wrists, throat, and base of the feet, and are only visible to shamans and the gods. When a person is in a healthy state these designs appear bright and animated with movement; during illness, a person's designs appear faint, incomplete, without movement. To heal the illness or hex that has been placed on the patient, the shaman works to restore the patient's designs to their original state.

Another crucial function of shamans is leading the pilgrimage to the peyote desert, Wirikuta. The shaman is the chief navigator for the ranch or temple group to the sacred places. He explains the myths and histories of these locations and directs the pilgrims in the rituals, prayers, and leaving of offerings. On the pilgrimage several shamans may come along. One is the designated leader of the entire group; others assist the leading shaman and also focus their attention on guiding members of the group of pilgrims who are close kin. The leading shaman has extensive knowledge of the plants in this desert environment, especially peyote. In many respects he is the native botanist and pharmacologist, advising pilgrims on the different kinds of peyote and the quantities of peyote to be consumed.

Well attuned to the visionary experiences peyote can evoke, the shaman serves as a kind of psychologist, guiding the pilgrims during their inner journeys while in an altered state of consciousness induced by peyote, and later helping them interpret the meaning of their visions within the framework of a general Wixárika worldview.

Shaman Specialists

Shamans travel to the peyote desert with specific objectives in mind, such as healing a patient or themselves, or petitioning the gods for rain, plentiful crops, abundant cattle, and good health for family members. Shamans may also

go on the pilgrimage with the intention of gaining greater expertise in specific areas of esoteric knowledge. Some shamans are specialists in healing infertile couples desiring to have children; these shamans are recognized by the community for their powers to select the sex of the child, if the couple requests it, and to metaphysically place the fetus in the woman's womb. Other shamans may specialize in healing scorpion stings. Several types of scorpions in the *Centruroides* and *Vaejovis* families, with highly toxic venom, are endemic to the Wixárika sierra. A drop of venom injected into a human being from the tail of one of these scorpions can kill a baby, a young child, or an older adult. Shamans make special vows with the scorpion god, Paritsika, and form alliances with some of the animals associated with the scorpion in order to treat patients who have been stung.

Another shamanic tradition is the specialized training to become a wolf shaman. As with the other specialties noted above, this apprenticeship lasts five years, during which time the shaman leaves offerings to the wolf god Kumukemai at his mountain shrine and communicates with him through dreams. Wixáritari believe that a shaman who follows this path will eventually acquire the ability to transform himself into a wolf (Valadez 1996).

Gaining greater esoteric knowledge brings prestige to the male shaman and his family; this combined with fulfilling temple, church, and local government cargo responsibilities enable a shaman to elevate his power and status in the community. A shaman working his way up the hierarchical ladder must eventually achieve the ability to sing, calling upon Kauyumarie to help him lead ceremonies in public settings. Singing shamans lead temple and community ceremonies; those who complete the five-year temple responsibility of Tsaulixika, the singing shaman in charge of the temple, receive special recognition, especially if they complete this role in more than one temple. When the singing shaman in charge of the temple sings, his name changes to Tunuwame, which means Venus, or the morning star. Renowned shamans will be chosen to fulfill the elevated position of the kawiterutsixi, the wise old shamans, who determine the present and future directions the community shall take. Many shamans who achieve this distinguished role are also entrusted in one form or another with the responsibility of caring for the souls of members in the community and their ancestors.

From birth until death, and beyond, Wixárika shamans care for the souls of their family, their patients, and the members of their community. Oftentimes a shaman serves as a midwife, and, in this role, shortly before birth he or, more usually, she invokes the goddess Niwet+kame, who is keeper of the souls, asking her to provide a soul for the soon-to-be-born baby. The shaman then helps place the soul into the body (Furst 1967; Schaefer 2002). Five days after birth, a shaman officiates over the blessing and naming of the newborn and may be one of the adults who bestows a name on the baby. The shaman also is charged with locating the lost souls of sick or startled children and placing them back in their bodies.

Upon the death of an individual, the shaman leads the singing ceremony to find the soul of the deceased on its journey to the Otherworld and brings it to the ceremony, so that family members can make their farewells. Afterwards the shaman sends the soul of the deceased to the sky above the peyote desert of Wirikuta. A shaman who specializes in catching souls in the form of rock crystals may be appointed to bring the soul of the deceased back to the family in this form. Only the most experienced shamans are able to do this. During a singing ceremony, the shaman catches the rock crystal, which may come from within the fire, from the body of a hunted deer or sacrificed cow or bull, or from the corn field, or it may be caught in mid-air. The rock crystal is wrapped in a layer of cotton and fabric and attached to a votive arrow that is cared for inside the family shrine of the ranch. Rock crystals of these family members are brought out on ceremonial occasions, offered food and drink, and anointed with fresh blood from sacrificed animals (Furst 1967; Perrin 1996).

Shamans and Western Specialists in Religion and Health

The relations Wixárika shamans have with Western religious specialists vary; often they are tenuous. Some Wixárika do not allow priests to reside in their communities; however, depending upon the political climate, priests may receive permission to visit and of-

ficiate at ceremonies such as those held during Semana Santa, the Holy Week of Easter, that take place in the Catholic church in their community. Shamans will also carry out ceremonies in the church during this time, including baptismal rituals for Wixárika children, which establish godchildren and godparent kin relationships. Wixárika shamans may also make pilgrimages to Catholic churches to leave offerings and gather holy water, and some shamans will perform healing ceremonies for non-Wixáritari, including mestizos who are practicing Catholics. Catholic boarding schools in the Wixárika sierra have also put a strain on relations with shamans, especially if the curriculum in the school and the attitude of the staff strongly criticize Wixárika cultural beliefs and traditions and make no attempt to incorporate these into the children's education.

Even more problematic are the relations between shamans and Wixáritari who have converted to an evangelical form of Christianity. Wixáritari refer to them as *aleyluyas,* and explosive confrontations over religious beliefs and practices can occur, especially when the converts refuse to carry out traditional cargo roles they have been given, or when land and political power are involved.

As for medical doctors, shamans are more likely to have collegial relations with these Western specialists. Medical doctors who have received training or interacted with rural indigenous communities often work collaboratively with shamans in treating Wixárika patients. The patient will receive treatment from both the shaman and the doctor; medications prescribed by the doctor may be purified by the shaman before the patient takes them. Shamans also go to medical doctors for their ailments. The underlying belief held by many shamans is that Western doctors may be able to cure the body, but only shamans are able to discover the root cause or causes of the illness. Only shamans can treat the body and soul together. Through their knowledge and skills gained over many years of intensive study, Wixárika shamans fill a larger role in the culture than doctors can; they heal individuals and families, guide them on their lives' paths, and look after their well-being in this world and the afterworld.

Stacy B. Schaefer

See also: Art and Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Entheogens and Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism; Latin American Christianity and Shamanism; Peyote Ritual Use; Pilgrimage and Shamanism; Transformation

References and further reading:

Coyle, Philip E., and Paul M. Liffman, eds. 2000. "Ritual and Historical Territoriality of the Náyari and Wixárika Peoples." Themed edition of *Journal of the Southwest* 42, no. 1.

Eger, Susan. 1978. "Huichol Women's Art." Pp. 35–53 in *Art of the Huichol Indian*s. Edited by K. Berrin. New York: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and Harry N. Abrams.

Furst, Peter T. 1967. "Huichol Conception of the Soul." *Folklore Americas* 27, no. 2: 39–106.

———. 1972. "To Find Our Life: Peyote among the Huichol Indians of Mexico." Pp. 136–184 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* Edited by Peter T. Furst. New York: Praeger.

———. 1989. "The Life and Death of the Crazy Kieri: Natural and Cultural History of a Huichol Myth." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 15, no. 2: 155–179.

———. 1994. "The Mara'akáme Does and Undoes: Persistence and Change in Huichol Shamanism." Pp. 113–177 in *Ancient Traditions.* Edited by Gary Seaman and Jane S. Day. Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Furst, Peter T., and Barbara G. Myerhoff. 1966. "Myth as History: The Jimson Weed Cycle of the Huichols of Mexico." *Antropológica* 17: 3–39.

Lumholtz, Carl. 1902. *Unknown Mexico.* Vol. 2. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Myerhoff, Barbara. 1974. *Peyote Hunt: The Sacred Journey of the Huichol Indians.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Perrin, Michel. 1996. "The *Urukáme,* A Crystallization of the Soul: Death and Memory." Translated from the French by Karin Simoneau. Pp. 403–428 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Schaefer, Stacy B. 1993. "The Loom as a Sacred Power Object in Huichol Culture." Pp. 118–130 in *Art in Small-Scale Societies:*

Contemporary Readings. Edited by Richard Anderson and Karen L. Field. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
———. 1996a. "The Crossing of the Souls: Peyote, Perception, and Meaning among the Huichol Indians." Pp. 138–168 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
———. 1996b. "Pregnancy and Peyote among the Huichol Indians of Mexico: A Preliminary Report." *Yearbook for Ethnomedicine and the Study of Consciousness/Jahrbuch für Ethnomedizin und Bewusstseinsforschung* 5: 67–78.
———. 1998. "Freedom of Expression: Huichol Indians, Their Peyote-Inspired Art and Mexican Drug Laws." *Yearbook for Ethnomedicine and the Study of Consciousness/Jarbuch für Ethnomedizin und Bewufbtseinsforschung* 7: 205–221.
———. 2002. *To Think with a Good Heart: Wixárika Women, Weavers, and Shaman*s. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
Schaefer, Stacy B., and Peter T. Furst, eds. 1996. *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Siegel, Ronald, Peter Collings, and J. Diaz. 1977. "On the Use of *Tagetes lucida* and *Nicotiana rustica* as a Huichol Smoking Mixture: The Aztec '*Yahuatil'* with Suggestive Hallucinogenic Effects." *Economic Botany* 31: 16–23.
Valadez, Susana (Eger). 1996."Wolf Power and Interspecies Communication in Huichol Shamanism." Pp. 267–305 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Weigand, Phil C. 1981. "Differential Acculturation among the Huichol Indians." Pp. 9–21 in *Themes of Indigenous Acculturation in Northwest Mexico.* Edited by Phil Weigand and Thomas Hinton. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
Weigand, Phil C., and Acélia Garcia de Weigand. 2000. "Huichol Society before the Arrival of the Spanish." *Journal of the Southwest* 42, no. 1: 13–36.
Yasumoto, Masaya. 1996. "The Psychotropic *Kiéri* in Huichol Culture." Translated from the Japanese by Kunie Miyahara. Pp. 235–263 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Zingg, Robert. 1938. *The Huichols: Primitive Artists.* New York: G. E. Stechert.

KANAIMÀ SHAMANISM (AMAZONIA)

Kanaimà, a form of assault shamanism that involves ritual mutilation of its victims, is practiced among the peoples of the Guyana Highlands at the headwaters of the Branco, Caroni, and Essequibo rivers, a region known as the Circum-Roraima region, after Mount Roraima, which defines the point where the borders of Brazil, Venezuela, and Guyana meet. The principal practitioners of Kanaimà are the Carib-speaking peoples of this region, the Patamuna, Akawaio, Makushi, and Pemon. These peoples are known from the historical records of 200 years ago, and they have sustained much of their traditional culture in the face of repeated invasions by missionaries, miners, and loggers. The fact that three international borders also meet here has resulted in increasing attempts to develop the region economically. Shamanic practices also reflect this persistent presence of predatory strangers and have been affected accordingly. Historically shamanic forms of spirituality were prevalent in this region until the advent of extensive missionary work. However, the instability of the border also meant that no colonial power ever established itself definitively or exclusively in the region. As a result, although conversion to Catholic and Protestant religions has taken place, shamanic techniques themselves have borrowed from and been influenced by missionary work. In particular, Alleluia shamanism represents a borrowing of Christian forms of song and prayer. By the same token, resistance to missionary evangelism has been expressed through the practice of Kanaimà shamanism.

The Patamuna, the Akawaio, the Pemon, and the Makushi number about 20,000 persons, typically distributed in villages ranging from fifty to a hundred people. But this figure rises to nearly a thousand people where schools,

shops, or missions have induced greater agglomeration. The Guyana Highlands comprise both the heavily forested Pakaraima mountains, so named for the *pakara* (basket) shape of the granitic uplifts, *tepui,* that characterize the region, as well as the vast grassland savannas that surround the mountain regions. Communication between villages therefore most often involves walking rather than canoe travel, and most major settlements are about a day's walk apart, with smaller clusters of houses sometimes occurring in between.

These groups are all Carib speakers, and their languages are somewhat related, with the Patamuna being linguistically closest to the Akawaio to their north. Their general lifestyle is well known from the many descriptions of tropical forest manioc farmers that already exist, although no particular ethnographic study of any of these groups, except the Pemon, has been made so far. Socially these groups also broadly conform to other better known Cariban groups of the region, practicing cross-cousin marriage as a preference, ideally combined with a matrilocal residence rule (living with the wife's kin). Native society is, however, very much in flux, and Kanaimà itself plays into the construction and persistence of particular forms of sociality in important ways.

Kanaimà shamans are often socially marginal figures before their initiation, but gain in prestige by their new status and through the fear they can command. As a result Kanaimà practice can comprise whole families, especially in cases where the preferred rules of matrilocal residence are ignored and a kanaimà, with his sons, becomes a powerful force in social life. Kanaimà is also attractive to disempowered young men, working in the mining camps or at other wage labor jobs in the region, who are "befriended" by an adept practitioner. Many people mention having been approached in this way or in other contexts outside their home village. Nonetheless, Kanaimà's appeal is not limited to those of low social status; it must be remembered that Kanaimà is a powerful form of shamanism, understood as more powerful than other forms, and so may also be taken up by men previously initiated in shamanic techniques as a way to augment and extend their own ritual and spiritual power.

In the imagination of peoples of the highlands, Kanaimà is from the "first time"; it is a primordial force that has structured the universe and formed the world as we know it. Kanaimà is more ancient than warfare and more ancient than society itself. It is also a more powerful form of shamanism than the other forms of healing shamanism and magical action, called *piya* and *talen.* Thus in a sense Kanaimà exists outside history, or at least it is a universal and constant human possibility that is only contingently realized in the course of human history. In this way one may say that, although there is a history to the ritual practice of Kanaimà, Kanaimà as a way of being in the world is beyond time.

The aspect of temporal and spatial dislocation in Kanaimà is therefore an integral part of its ritual and symbolic force, for practitioners are able both to travel vast distances in a short space of time and to expand the length of their lives and the space in which their lives are lived by the means of the ritual practices that are involved in Kanaimà—that is, they have access to the plane of shamanic encounter and exploration *(karawali),* as well as being directly nourished by the production and consumption of the "honey," or juices, of necrosis *(maba),* derived from the bodies of their victims. Because its practitioners do not see Kanaimà as governed by the ordinary laws of space and time, it seems natural that they have no oral history of its practice, nor is there a synthetic account of the deeds of powerful killers and sorcerers except one founded on the historical testimony by the uninitiated, both native and colonial. The kanaimà act in a ritual space that is both then and now, simultaneously here and there, and part of the paradox and contradiction that appear in accounts of Kanaimà reflects this conflation of ritual and historical practice.

Kanaimà has been narrated in nonnative sources since at least the early nineteenth century. However, it is more generally assimilated in these works to revenge. As a result any instance of revenge was considered an instance of Kanaimà, and certainly native discourse might have alluded to Kanaimà in cases of violent or unexpected death. But this attribution of all revenge killings to Kanaimà meant that a vast array of different kinds of death were attributed to Kanaimà when they may not have been ritual killings at all. The result was inevitably that the nature of Kanaimà deaths appeared to be quite obscure. The claim that a killing was the

work of Kanaimà was therefore seen rather as the superstitious invocation of a spirit-ghoul than a reference to a distinct and ritually significant mode of death. Thus, as more systematic ethnographic observation began, and as the native discourse of Kanaimà certainly would have raised the possibility of action by kanaimàs in all manner of deaths and injuries, it could appear that a Kanaimà killing was no more than a vague attribution of sickness and injury to an all-encompassing evil force.

Thus the idea of Kanaimà as the name of an evil force equivalent to the Judeo-Christian Satan was central to the earliest ethnological and literary work on Kanaimà. Over time, however, Kanaimà came to be seen in early anthropological thinking as a functionalist mechanism for sustaining social order, and the ritual killing at the heart of Kanaimà practice was seen as a kind of "jungle justice" that regulated society and punished the "criminal." As a result the deeper symbolic and ritual meanings of Kanaimà were effectively ignored, or understood as an unfortunate welling up of Amerindian savagery.

In both the colonial literature and native oral testimony, Kanaimà refers to the killing of individuals through a violent mutilation of, in particular, the mouth and anus, into which are inserted various objects. The killers are then enjoined to return to the dead body of the victim in order to drink the juices of putrefaction. This ritual performance is designed to sustain cosmic relationships through the invocation of Makunaimá. Makunaimá is one of the original beings, and Kanaimà's orientation to the mythical figure of Makunaimá contrasts and conflicts with the better-known forms of beneficent shamanism, such as piya, which are mythically derived from Makunaimá's younger brother Piai'ima. The ritual performance of Kanaimà is as follows.

People may first realize that they are intended victims when the kanaimàs approach their house in the night, or on lonely forest trails *(asanda).* Kanaimàs alert their victims to their presence by making a whistling noise that imitates the night-owl. This stalking of potential victims is part of the ritual, and a direct physical attack could come at any time, even in daylight. The extended nature of this process is likened to hunting, since victims are gauged as to their likely resistance and their appropriateness as a ritual "food." In attacks victims may have minor bones broken and joints dislocated, while the neck will be twisted to try and induce injury and pain. This kind of attack is generally considered to be a preliminary to actual death and mutilation, or even a "training" exercise for kanaimà initiates. A lethal attack may follow, but, informants stress, this could be many months later. If the victim is to be ritually turned into "food," then they are struck down and physically restrained. It is then that the kanaimà carries out the ritual mutilation that is central to this form of shamanic assault. This involves several procedures that are intended to produce a lingering death. The tongue of a victim is pierced with the fangs of a venomous snake, and the victim is then turned over, and an iguana or an armadillo tail is inserted into the rectum so that the anal muscles can be stripped out through repeated rubbing. After the rectum has been opened up, the stomach of the victim is squeezed in order to force out a section of the sphincter muscle, which is cut. In this condition the body of the victim is rubbed all over with astringent plants. Finally, a thin pliable stick is doubled over and inserted into the rectum, so that it holds open the anal tract. Small packets of plant material are then rammed into the gut as deeply as possible, which is said to start a process of autodigestion. The victim in this condition also gives off the special aroma of Kanaimà enchantment, rotting pineapple.

Victims are thus unable to speak or to take any thing to eat or drink, and their bowel control is lost. As a result, the clinical cause of death is an acute dehydration aggravated by constant diarrhea. In this condition, victims usually last no more than three days. After death, the kanaimàs search out the burial place and wait for the onset of putrefaction in the corpse. In a tropical environment this is no more than a few days. When the burial is located, the kanaimàs return to it to complete the killing ritual. A hollow cane is driven through the ground directly into the stomach of the corpse. The stick is withdrawn, and the *maba* (honey-like) juices licked off. If such a corpse is "sweet" to the taste, it is dug up in order to recover jaw and finger bones, as well as a section of the anal tract. These body parts form part of the magical substances that enable the superior tracking skills of kanaimà assassins and are also used to avert the consequences of being unable to locate the corpses of future victims. The substance maba is itself likened to a narcotic, and

its ingestion also allows the kanaimà his special powers of fast, secretive movement.

Kanaimàs are the very epitome of antisociality and are therefore opposed by both piyas and Alleluia prophets on behalf of the community. However, no cure is believed to be possible following kanaimà assault, since the vital force *(ekati)* of the victim is considered to be driven out completely by the physical and ritual force of the attack. The persistence of Kanaimà practice is related to wider factors, particularly the way in which the possibility of Kanaimà inhibits the casual disrespect and oppression of outsiders, since the figure of the kanaimà has become widely known in the region. This leads to the paradox that, although the violent practice of kanaimà works against the integrity of the community, the possibility for community is sustained in other ways through both the external meanings of Kanaimà and the way in which kanaimàs also conduct important relationships with Makunaimá, creator of all plants and animals. Plant magic and hunting magic are therefore related to the charms and poisons used by kanaimàs for tracking and attacking their victims.

Neil L. Whitehead

See also: "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Central and South American Shamanism; Dark Shamanism

References and further reading:

Butt Colson, A. 1998. *Fr. Cary-Elwes S. J. and the Alleluia Indians.* Georgetown: University of Guyana.

———. 2001. "Kanaima: Itoto as Death and Anti-Structure." Pp. 221–34 in *Beyond the Visible and the Material.* Edited by Laura Rival and Neil L. Whitehead. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomas, David John. 1982. *Order without Government : The Society of the Pemon Indians of Venezuela.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Whitehead, Neil L. 2001. "Kanaimà; Shamanism and Ritual Death in the Pakaraima Mountains, Guyana." Pp. 235–246 in *Beyond the Visible and the Material.* Edited by Laura Rival and Neil L. Whitehead. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2002. *Dark Shamans—Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Whitehead, Neil L., and Robin Wright, eds. 2003. *In Darkness and Secrecy—The Anthropology of Assault Sorcery and Witchcraft in Amazonia.* Durham: Duke University Press.

LATIN AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY AND SHAMANISM

Latin America represents a cultural area full of ethnic sociocultural diversity and creativity. Its very name implies the encounter between Spanish and Portuguese traditions and indigenous South American cultures and the development of *criollo* (people born in a land, the new, native generation) traditions as a consequence of it. This panorama led to the emergence of native interpretations of European religion and social customs. Given that the empires that conquered what is now Latin America were both Roman Catholic empires, the links between local shamanism and Christianity produced many cultural fusions and syncretisms that were and still are pervasive in all of Latin America throughout its history.

Introduction: History of Latin American Christianity

In the early days of the Conquest, Catholicism was the only religious framework accepted in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the New World. Indeed, from the arrival of Columbus in the late fifteenth century to the mid–nineteenth century, the Catholic Church was hegemonic in Latin America. The religious monopoly did not erase all native religions in spite of its efforts to do so; what happened instead was that the native religions adopted many Christian symbols, images, and ritual gestures, which became part of their own mythological horizons. Thus South American shamanisms interiorized Christian concepts (e.g., notions of God, the Devil, the Virgin Mary, Jesus, the Holy Ghost, the Bible, the angels), but they were reinterpreted according to native assumptions shaped by tradition and the historical contingencies of the colonial encounter. Different sociohistorical contexts determined variable symbolic adaptations and religious creativity; and the weight of Christian

symbolism and ritual depended upon the political economy of these cultural encounters.

Although it is safe to say that Latin America is still culturally Catholic in a general, diffused way, since the mid–nineteenth century several Protestant missions have arrived in the region. Their theological confidence in the individual interpretation of the Bible, together with their less hierarchical model of organization, produced a deep impact in indigenous and criollo populations.

These cultural encounters, always influenced by a subtle but potent Christian religious domination, produced various syncretic religious systems. Systems rooted in ancient shamanic traditions displayed these influences in various kinds of neoshamanism, in "native Christianities," and in "popular religions," in which Christian language and symbols played a key role.

During the early times of the Conquest and colonization (in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), indigenous shamanic practices were regarded by the Europeans as closely connected with the Devil, and for that reason they had to be destroyed and replaced by the "true" religion. Nevertheless, indigenous religions in Mesoamerica, the Andes, Amazonia, Chaco, and Patagonia incorporated Christian elements as part of their own myths, rituals, and cosmologies. The processes of nation building throughout the nineteenth century did not radically change the influence of Catholicism and its ideology or the role played by religion and rituals in people's lives. That is apparent in Mexico and the Andes, where indigenous and criollo peoples still maintain religious systems that are complex and refined rereadings of the Christian message within pre-Columbian frameworks. All of them, in one way or another, condense the historical experience lived by each group in its relationships with indigenous and nonindigenous societies.

Shamanisms

Conceptually, three intertwined sets of shamanisms are connected with the Christian influence in Latin America. They are (a) indigenous religious movements organized as "Indian churches," which display shamanic features; (b) rural criollo religious practices, usually called *curanderismo,* which combine medieval beliefs and practices brought by the Europeans during the Conquest with indigenous shamanic elements; and (c) urban criollo curanderismo, combined with indigenous shamanism and different forms of peripheral European religious practices, such as spiritism (in Spanish, *espiritualismo* or *espiritismo*) and theosophy. In what follows, some examples of these categories are included to illustrate the conceptual and cosmological bridges built as a result of the contact between native shamanic ideologies and Christianity. In each case, if information is available, historical origins, initiation processes, cosmological features, healing techniques, and notions of illness are summarized.

Corona de Luciano

The Corona de Luciano (Luciano's Crown) is an example of reinterpretation of Protestant Christianity from a shamanic perspective. Indeed, it was a religious movement founded by a Pilagá individual named Luciano Córdoba. The Pilagá people, formerly nomadic hunter-gatherers of the Guaykuruan linguistic branch, live in the Central Chaco region (Formosa province, Argentina), mostly in rural agricultural settlements. The origin of this cult is related to the presence of North American and British evangelical missions in the Argentine Chaco since the early 1930s (see Miller 1980). In this context, Luciano had contacted an evangelical mission in El Zapallar (Chaco province) in the early 1940s. Then he experienced a divine revelation triggering an initiation process that led him to found a peculiar "church." He was called to propagate a religion, giving testimony of God's power. God had showed him a huge gourd rattle—a key shamanic instrument—filled with light, and it seemed that it could bring good things to people, and a lot of luck. In addition, God told him that he had "to perform His Words and to fulfill them very firmly" (Vuoto 1986, 22). After that visionary episode, he began his religious task.

His message did not purge shamanic elements that had persisted among his people but reintegrated them into a new cultural framework, more adapted to the context of cultural change the indigenous Chaco peoples were living at the time, with the advancement of capitalism and national institutions in the area. Luciano started to spread his movement throughout the Argentine Chaco. Mainly, he

granted spirits to people who participated in the religious services of La Corona, as the rounded elevation of dirt in which participants received these powerful entities was called. These entities were like shamanic auxiliary spirits; they had either traditional names, such as *A'eloq* (Crocodile), *Kiyok* (Tiger), *AwoGoik* (Moon), or biblical ones, such as Eva (Eve), San Pablo (Saint Paul), or San Lucas (Saint Lucas). A third category of spirits had to do with new elements of life in the context of expansion of capitalism and foreign Christian proselytism: Participants could receive the *espíritu de campana* (spirit of bell)—that marked time-table work—or the *espíritu del inglés* (spirit of English), which produced a "version" of the language spoken by evangelical missionaries. Between the 1940s and 1950s, almost all Formosan Pilagá and Toba settlements had a Corona; it implied a hierarchic local organization, headed by a male or female captain. This title resembled those of the indigenous leaders working in sugar mills in Salta and Jujuy; such a leader was called a *capitán de ingenio* (captain of sugar mill). These leaders mediated between nonindigenous bosses of white descent and the indigenous working crew. Many Chaco peoples used to migrate seasonally to sugar mills in northwestern Argentina; this activity was discontinued in the late 1950s.

During his tours Luciano was accompanied by white-dressed *secretarios* (secretaries). In many cases, he would "sell" spirits for a small fee. The religious cult consisted of a gathering of people in and around the Corona, and a series of dances and songs performed by the secretaries and the attendees. During those gatherings, either Luciano himself or the captains and secretaries asked the participants if they would want a spirit. If they nodded, they received one, and as suddenly as if they were shocked or hit by an invisible hand, they would start to dance in circles and sometimes fall on the ground. Any spirit granted by Luciano was generally felt as an intense presence, as heat in the chest, and a need to talk, walk, jump, and cry. In La Corona, healing was conducted by the hierarchy, using the traditional shamanic techniques of prayer, blowing, sucking, and hand imposition. Those who bought and received spirits were able to perform unusual activities, such as healing sick persons, knowing future events, talking with animals, plants, and natural phenomena, and performing dream journeys, and they gained luck in different kinds of work, love, and business. Possession by a spirit was a sign of membership in La Corona. As happened in Pilagá shamanism, spirits could leave a person for various reasons.

Luciano's movement not only presented a first, native reinterpretation of Protestant Christianity in the Argentine Chaco but also a critical millenarian attitude toward white culture. He preached that a time would come soon when the Pilagá and other indigenous peoples of the area would receive goods from heaven; a time of independence from white influence would begin. Ecstasy and joy experienced in La Corona gatherings would contribute to the fulfillment of that promise. La Corona established the sociological basis of the later emergence of Toba and Pilagá "evangelical churches" like the Iglesia Evangélica Unida (IEU, or United Evangelical Church, UEC), under Toba leadership (Miller 1980; Vuoto 1986). Indeed, many of these churches in Formosa province were established in the same areas as La Corona had been and with former members of La Corona. Luciano's movement decayed after his death in the midfifties. However, many former members who are currently members of the IEU manifest their former Luciano spirits when the religious cult reaches its sensorial climax of music and collective dance and prayer.

Curanderismo

As with that found throughout Latin America, popular curanderismo in southwest Colombia is a remarkable example of the dialectical fusion between three elements: indigenous cosmologies and healing techniques, the religion of the Spanish conquerors, and popular culture—the latter being an offspring of Spanish, African, and Amerindian cultural influences. In this regard, curanderismo is a sort of a popular shamanism practiced by individuals of European, African, Amerindian, or mixed descent, always having close connections with "pure" indigenous shamans of the Amazonian forest. The ideal of a primeval and powerful shamanism located in the heart of the forest is a pervasive symbol of legitimacy.

Popular curanderos participate in an informal network of ideas and activities that function outside any religious or secular institution. The

wide geographical range this network displays extends from urban and agro-industrial zones of the Cauca Valley—centered in the city of Cali—to the Amazonian border, also characterized by its dynamism, economic potential, and cultural pluralism. In curanderos' mythical and ideological horizon, the Amazonian forest appears as the locus of mystic and healing power, specifically of the knowledge and shamanic practices related to the use of *yagé*, a hallucinogenic infusion made with two plants, *Banisteriopsis caapi* and *Psychotria viridis.* Yagé is widely used in ritual practices by a number of Amazonian indigenous peoples; in some contexts it receives the name of ayahuasca.

The master-apprentice relationship in Colombian curanderismo is based on mutual reciprocity and trust, but it is also a source of tensions and conflicts, depending on the way shamanic power is actually used. As in many shamanic systems, a person's own illness—usually conceived of as caused by another competing curandero—is the initial step of his career as apprentice. (Curanderos are usually male, but there are cases of female specialists.) Power is obtained after the ingestion of yagé and the shamanic manipulations carried out by the master in the world of spirits. Curanderos' healing rituals follow the pattern of Amazonian shamanism, mainly of the Putumayo riverside (i.e., Kofán, Siona, and Ingano peoples) (see Langdon 1974; Matteson Langdon and Baer 1992; Chaumeil 1992). These elements include the drinking of yagé by the curandero and the patient together, singing as a way of accessing the spirit world and its power, and the practice of sucking the illness from the patient's body as a key healing technique.

The universe is composed of different interconnected layers, and the beings from the earth layer can penetrate into the other layers; in the process, they are able to transform themselves into animals or plants. Drinking yagé allows access to these spiritual planes and face-to-face interactions with the master spirits of hunting and fishing animals or the spirits involved in illness production. They are the so-called people of yagé who guide the person in the process of diagnosis and therapy of a disease. The cultural appropriation of yagé shamanic cosmology carried out by the curanderos is apparent in their myths of origin and in narratives about ascension through the different cosmic layers. The role of God and the angels occupying the upper layer of the universe, usually visited by every curandero seeking advice, knowledge, and power, along with the prayer to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit as part of the consecration of yagé, accounts for the open dynamism and expansion of the cosmic structure. Furthermore, the spirits of saints from the Catholic pantheon coexist with powerful indigenous shamans and popular saints of the region.

Metasyncretism: Churches and Congregations

The third case of fusion between shamanism and Christianity can be identified in a "metasyncretism" of religious imagination and ritual practices institutionalized under the modality of churches or congregations. The example discussed here, the Santo Daime Church, is characterized by another kind of cultural interpretation regarding the use of ayahuasca. Originating in Brazil in the 1920s, this religious group displays a cosmological synthesis including elements from indigenous shamanism, Catholicism, Esoterism, spiritism, and Afro-American worship. During the twentieth century, the Santo Daime achieved an important institutional and international expansion, which also produced a splitting into several branches. Its current geographical and social range of influence extends from poor peasants of Brazilian central-southern Amazonia to professionals and artists living in Brazil's major cities. In addition, an increasing number of Santo Daime churches have been established overseas, mainly among middle-class individuals; there are more than fifty churches scattered in America, Europe, and Japan.

The founder of the movement was Raimundo Irineu Serra, an individual of African descent who lived in the state of Acre in western Brazilian Amazonia and used to work in rubber extraction. Serra, usually called Mestre Irineu, had been in contact with popular Catholicism, spiritism, Rosicrucianism, and Candomblé. These religions were reinterpreted after his experience contacting Tukano indigenous groups of the area and drinking the "Wine of Gods," another name for ayahuasca. Serra's ayahuasca visions put him in touch with several spirits of the forest, and finally with a white woman wearing

a light blue dress who lived in the moon, whom he identified as the Virgin Mary and the Queen of the Forest. She offered herself as protector and guide, communicating to him the need to found a new religion in which the use of ayahuasca would be the sacrament to reach divine illumination and bodily and spiritual healing. The town of Rio Branco, in the state of Acre, became the sacred territory of the Daime worship and the locus of spiritual pilgrimage from all over the country. Since the sacred drink is only produced in Acre, its network of distribution represents an extraordinary sociopolitical phenomenon in itself.

Santo Daime's key beliefs include reincarnation, protection of the forest, and protection of its natural species. The word *daime* does not refer to any particular spiritual entity but derives from the Portuguese imperative form, *dame* (give me!), used by Serra when he created the liturgy, a term that finally became synonymous with the sacred drink. The *daimistas,* that is, the followers of this movement, have reported many visionary experiences in which the Virgin Mary or Jesus Christ guides them in the path toward personal illumination and healing. These experiences share a common pattern, starting with vomiting and the perception of darkness, and afterwards, bright and multi-shaped lights. According to Santo Daime cosmology, these first sensations are understood as proper for a physical and spiritual "purgatory," from which the members have to elevate themselves in their journey seeking numinous potency and moral rectitude. The next step, once the purgatory has been left, appears as a flight, elevation, or flotation through space, from an absolute darkness to the perception of a potent and distant Light. In that moment of mystical contact, the followers exclaim out loud, "Daime," begging the Light to irradiate them with its power. In these cosmic journeys, encounters take place with different spiritual beings, such as angels, saints, animals, and even extraterrestrial aliens, located in intermediate layers. The journey ends in the Light of the Virgin Mary, the Forest Queen.

The Santo Daime cult relies heavily upon hymnals received in vision by Mestre Irineu and his heirs, Mestre Sebastiao and his son Mestre Alfredo. These hymns are conceived of as powerful words, means of spiritual elevation and religious pedagogy. They are sources of sacred and political prestige, which generate dispute among the main leaders of the movement. Moreover, the ritual itself is called Hymnal; separated by gender, participants gather together around a table, decorated with a cross and an eastern star composed of a Solomon's seal with an eagle over a crescent moon. The ritual includes music and hymns, and the doctrine is mainly transmitted through them. The ingestion of Daime, the sacred drink, in many stages produces an expansion of consciousness that allows the participants to clean their bodies and souls from conflicts, sins, sadness, and illnesses. This atmosphere of collective sharing and social utopia is sought to refresh the members after the suffering of human life.

César Ceriani Cernadas
Pablo G. Wright

See also: Ayahuasca Ritual Use; Central and South American Shamanism; Christianity and Shamanism; Colonialism and Shamanism; Curanderismo; Huichol Shamanism; Mapuche Shamanism; Mayan Shamanism; Peruvian Shamans; Toba Shamanism

References and further reading:

Chaumeil, Jean-Pierre. 1992. "Varieties of Amazonian Shamanism. (Shamans and Shamanisms: On the Threshold of the Next Millennium)." *Diogenes* 58: 101–114.

Ireland, Rowan. 1991. *Kingdoms Come: Religion and Politics in Brazil.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Lagarriga, Isabel, Jacques Galinier, and Michel Perrin, coord. 1995. *Chamanismo en Latinoamérica*: *Una revisión conceptual.* México City: Plaza y Valdés.

Langdon, Jean. 1974. "The Siona Medical System: Beliefs and Behavior." Ph.D. diss., Tulane University.

Macrae, Edward John Baptista das Neves. 1992. *Guiado Pela Lua: xamanismo e uso ritual da ayahuasca no culto do Santo Daime.* Sao Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.

Matteson Langdon, E. Jean, and Gerhard Baer, eds. 1992. *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Miller, Elmer S. 1980. *Harmony and Dissonance in Argentine Toba Society.* New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files.

Taussig, Michael. 1981. "El curanderismo popular y la estructura de la conquista en el suroeste de Colombia." *America Indígena* 47, no. 4: 559–614.
Villoldo, Alberto. 1990. *The Four Winds: A Shaman's Odyssey into the Amazon.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.
Vuoto, Patricia. 1986. "Los movimientos de Pedro Martínez y Luciano: Dos cultos de transición entre los toba takshek." *Scripta Ethnologica* 10: 13–46.

LATIN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND SHAMANISM

Shamanism plays a major role in the creation of Latin American literature, evidence of shamanism's cross-cultural presence, even in modern society. Many Latin American literary works, frequently imbued with varying degrees of esoteric features and supernatural elements, are often described by such terms as *magic realism, marvelous real,* or *fantastic realism.* These extremely controversial designations spark heated debate among literary critics not only in terms of which works are representative of which genre but also over what constitutes the essential characteristics of each category. The application of a shamanic perspective (Overton 1994, 1999) in the analysis of Latin American literature serves to eliminate the controversy. Awareness of the influence of shamanism on storytelling allows a recognition that the often cryptic and enigmatic nature of these narratives recurrently stems from the presence of shamanistic characters, elements, and symbolism. These esoteric elements belong to a worldview whose origins can be traced to the shamanic belief systems of the three foundational cultures of the Latin American continent: the Native American, the African, and the Iberian. These underlying shamanistic traits constitute the cultural foundation of much of what is called magical realism, or the marvelous real. Hence, a more appropriate term for the genre, one that circumvents controversies and debates, is *shamanic realism* (Overton 1999). Representative works of shamanic realism include those by such celebrated authors as Gabriel García Marquez, Alejo Carpentier, Isabel Allende, and Julio Cortázar.

The Esoteric in Latin American Literature

Authors and critics of Latin American literature alike have long recognized the degree to which the esoteric, stemming from widespread cultural beliefs, abounds in Latin American literature. Indeed, the belief that an alternate reality fraught with magic, spirits, and ghosts coexists with ordinary reality is manifest throughout almost all of Spanish and Portuguese America. This cultural and even cognitive perspective has given rise to those characteristically Latin American productions seen as examples of magic realism. However, it is not only the presence of a magical worldview that characterizes Latin American literature but also the manner in which this worldview is presented to the reader. Amaryll Chanady (1985) distinguished the use of "resolved antinomy" in the context of magical realism, referring to the way "magical" reality and "ordinary" reality are juxtaposed in such a manner that the reader is led to a sufficient suspension of disbelief to consider the magical worldview as plausible. Such a resolved antinomy contrasts with the unresolved antinomy found in the fairy tale or the fantasy novel, in which magical and ordinary realities remain in opposition to each other.

Shamanistic Elements

Central to a characterization of the shamanistic origins of these literary devices is the recognition of the roots of this supernatural worldview in the three constituent cultures as well as the identification of key elements in representative literary works. The use of shamanistic symbolism in these texts is at times a most perplexing and challenging feature to identify and comprehend. Certain elements only acquire meaning as symbols, semiophores (i.e., objects that permit communication between ordinary and nonordinary realities [Ginzburg 1992]), or metaphors within a shamanistic framework, appearing otherwise inexplicable or bizarre. Bones, blood, fruits, trees, animals, numbers, names, rattles, drums, drumming, and even death, in and of themselves, reveal little of their esoteric significance when considered literally, outside the scope of their shamanistic context. In order to facilitate the recognition, comprehension, and analysis of the shamanic in these literary works, the author has developed a co-

herent framework called “la perspectiva chamánica” (Overton 1994), or “the shamanic perspective” (Overton 1999). As a tool for analysis, the shamanic perspective supplies the reader with an overview of the shamanic paradigm and a viewpoint from which to apply this knowledge to the literary narrative.

Key shamanistic elements in Latin American literature (Overton 1994, 1999) are characters with shamanistic “powers” to perform magic, who undergo initiation rites, shapeshift, contact or resurrect the dead, interpret dreams, heal, narrate from or transit into other realities (death, dreams, and the like), or who exhibit psychic abilities. In support of these shamanistic characters are others whose worldview and system of beliefs allows for divination, ghosts, reincarnation, possession, levels of nonordinary reality, a view of the interconnectedness of all things (web of life), and the relativity of time and space.

Shamanic Realist Literature

The term *shamanic realism* (Overton 1999) refers to the realistic presentation of an esoteric worldview that is not the result of the imagination of the author, but principally of a system of beliefs of cultural origin. When the shamanistic content of a fictional narrative is sufficient to support a cogent worldview, is set within a realistic context (historically, geographically, socially, politically, and so on), and is presented in the form of resolved antinomy, it can be considered to be a work of shamanic realism. The use of the term *shamanic realism* not only dissolves much of the controversy surrounding magical realism and the marvelous real in Latin American literature but also provides new insights and a more profound understanding of the stories themselves.

Shamanic realism is central to Isabel Allende’s *The House of the Spirits,* a novel set during a factual and historical period of intense political turmoil and transition in Chile. One of the novel’s principal characters is Clara, the family matriarch, endowed from childhood with quite extraordinary, and clearly shamanistic, capabilities. These shamanistic abilities include the capacity to move objects with her mind (psychokinesis), to predict the future (clairvoyance), experience events at a distance (precognition), read minds, channel and invoke spirits and ghosts, interpret dreams, and express irrefutably accurate premonitions, all displayed within the context of ordinary, realistic daily events. Another shamanistic figure in *The House of the Spirits* is old Pedro García who, in an episode reminiscent of the Pied Piper, performs the shamanic role of Master of the Animals, clearing an entire ranch of a devastating ant invasion.

Both the episode with the ants, as well as Clara’s shamanistic activities, illustrate well the presence of key elements of shamanic realism: a resolved antinomy that characterizes the whole narrative and the presence and activities of characters affirming a shamanic worldview. Not only is the background to the shamanistic feats of Clara, old Pedro García, and other shamanistic characters one of historically accurate everyday reality, but the reader is presented with other personages whose responses are congruous with the reader’s own likely responses: a certain degree of surprise, fear, or skepticism. Moreover, despite these feelings, these characters, when confronted with the “reality” of the events they experience, must undergo more than just a suspension of disbelief; they must accept these shamanistic phenomena, having had their authenticity confirmed by their own perceptions and experience. Similarly, the implied reader’s perspective, though confirmed as “normal” by these same characters, must also undergo a change and accept these occurrences as within the realm of the conceivable.

Similarly, Julio Cortázar’s short story “Axolotl” centers on two distinctly shamanic motifs: that of the existence of a spirit or consciousness that can leave the physical body, and that of the potential transmigration of this spirit or consciousness to another physical form. Narrated in first person, “Axolotl” recounts the story of an individual who becomes gradually more and more enthralled with the axolotl salamander, only to finally lose his human form and become one. The narrator’s consciousness, in quite shamanic terms, leaves his own physical body and is now “trapped” inside that of an axolotl, retaining, however, the same mental qualities it possessed while occupying its former human body. Consequently, despite the fact that the narrator is overcome by the sudden horror of being ensnared in a foreign physical form, he soon reaches the understanding that axolotl consciousness is equal to hu-

man consciousness. The resulting implication is that of equivalence between the consciousness of the axolotl and that of a human, a concept perfectly congruous with shamanic ideas of consciousness, spirit, or essence. Consciousness is viewed not as a uniquely human phenomenon but rather as one that characterizes other species, entities, and even objects.

Other shamanic elements can be found in García Marquez's short story "Blacamán the Good, Vendor of Miracles," in which the narrator recounts how, after undergoing a torturous initiation ordeal, he himself develops the shamanic powers to heal and resurrect the dead. The combination of shamanic motifs with the requisite realistic setting categorizes "Blacamán the Good, Vendor of Miracles" as a prime representative of shamanic realist literature.

Heralded as the prime example of the marvelous real, Alejo Carpentier's *The Kingdom of This World,* a novel set during a particular period of Haiti's history, is also a most notable illustration of shamanic realism. The novel details the role that the shamanistic voodoo religion played throughout the historical period beginning prior to the expulsion of French colonialists and extending through the demise of a despotic and corrupt black regime. The lives of two shamanic characters are central to its development.

The first of these shamanic characters, the black slave Macandal, is described as being renowned for his story-telling abilities, reminiscent of the narrative abilities of shamans around the world. Not only are his narratives considered entertaining to the slave population, but they are also informative, as they serve as a means for them to familiarize themselves with the shamanistic knowledge (history, religion, legends, and mythology) of their African homeland.

As a shamanic figure representative of the voodoo culture, Macandal undergoes the typical ordeal of a crisis of initiation in the form of a brutal accident resulting in the loss of an arm. Relegated to shepherd duties, the now one-armed Macandal sets out upon a path that brings him under the tutelage of the witch Mama Loi. Mama Loi is a reclusive shamanistic character who demonstrates the power to speak to animals, commune with the dead, and suffer boiling oil without sustaining burns. Utterly astonished by these feats is the character Ti Noël who, in concealing his own amazement, contributes to the resolved antinomy for the reader, who must both empathize with Ti Noël's perplexity as well as Macandal's acceptance of the event.

Shortly after his apprenticeship with Mama Loi, Macandal becomes a runaway slave, employing his new shapeshifting powers and knowledge of poisons to mount his insurrection against the French colonists. With the drums of voodoo pounding in the background, the beliefs of the slave population are reinforced by the alleged powers of this shamanic figure. To the slaves, reptile, insect, bird, or mammal are all manifest disguises of the powerful Macandal, a belief that continues even after his capture and brutal public execution.

Many years later, long after the French colonists are ousted by an insurrection inspired by voodoo, and after the subsequent black regime is in its turn overthrown by the mulattos, Ti Noël discovers his own shamanic shapeshifting powers during a voodoo drumming ritual. At first, Ti Noël attempts to escape the ordeals of the human condition through successive metamorphoses. In the end, however, he comes to realize that Macandal had employed these powers not as an escape from the world of men, but as a means to effect change in the kingdom of this world, thus recognizing the primarily social, rather than personal, purpose of the shaman. Compelled by this new insight, the now old Ti Noël commits his full shamanic powers to fight against the new oppressive regime of the mulatto rulers.

The term shamanic realism and the accompanying methods of literary analysis have as yet only been applied to the study of Latin American literature. Given the universal influence of shamanism, it would prove equally fruitful to apply the shamanic perspective to the works of any literary tradition, particularly one originating in the mingling of modern and traditional cultures that evinces similar shamanic elements and stylistic qualities.

James Alexander G. Overton

See also: Central and South American Shamanism; Huichol Shamanism; Latin American Christianity and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Allende, Isabel. 1993. *The House of the Spirits.* New York: Bantam Books.

Carpentier, Alejo. 1993. *The Kingdom of This World.* New York: Noonday Press.

Chanady, Amaryll Beatrice. 1985. *Magical Realism and the Fantastic: Resolved Versus Unresolved Antinomy.* New York and London: Garland.

Cortázar, Julio. 1967. *Blow-Up and Other Stories.* Translated by Paul Blackburn. New York: Pantheon Books.

García Marquez, Gabriel. 1984. *Collected Stories.* New York: Harper and Row.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 1992. *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath.* New York: Penguin.

Ortiz Aponte, Sally. 1977. *La esoteria en la narrativa hispanoamericana* [The Esoteric in Spanish American Narrative]. Barcelona: Manuel Pareja.

Overton, James Alexander Guerra. 1994. *El chamanismo y la perspectiva chamánica en el análisis de la obra mágicorrealista.* M.A. thesis, Queen's University.

———. 1999. "Shamanic Realism: Latin American Literature and the Shamanic Perspective." *Shaman* 6, no. 1: 21–55.

MAPUCHE SHAMANISM

Mapuche shamanism is a vibrant practice. Wearing heavy silver jewelry, Mapuche shamans (*machi*) mount their altars and pound painted drums to propitiate ancestral spirits and the Mapuche deity. They perform a variety of rituals to heal Mapuche and non-Mapuche patients, renew their spiritual powers, and bring well-being to Mapuche in southern Chile, communities that struggle for economic survival, cultural rights, and sovereignty. Once a warrior nation that resisted Spanish colonial rule, the Mapuche became sedentary agriculturalists and, with the growing importance of land fertility, the shamans became mostly women.

The Mapuche number 1.2 million people, one of the largest indigenous populations in South America. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," from *mapu* (land) and *che* (people). The Mapuche language, Mapudungu, "language of the earth," is spoken by the older generations. The young either speak Spanish, the official language of Chile, or are bilingual. According to a 1992 census, 80 percent of Mapuche inhabit urban areas. Nevertheless, territory, land, and landscape remain central to their cosmology and identity. The Mapuche see their territories as sacred. Ancestral and nature spirits propitiated by their shamans are thought to live in stones, forests, rivers, volcanoes, and mountains.

In the early days, the Mapuche were accomplished guerrilla warriors who defended their territory against Inca and Spanish expansion. The Spaniards were unable to conquer them, and in 1643 they signed a treaty recognizing the sovereignty of the Mapuche nation south of the Bio-Bio River. After Chile won independence from Spain in the nineteenth century, Chilean armies defeated the Mapuche, seized their territories, and massacred their people. The Mapuche were placed on reservations, and their land was sold to settlers. The landless Mapuche had to work as wage laborers for farmers and forestry companies or migrate to the cities to become impoverished second-class citizens. The Mapuche suffered further assimilation under military dictatorship, but the return to democracy in Chile in 1989 saw the passage of indigenous laws recognizing Mapuche culture and language. Their rural communities are still threatened by the building of highways and hydroelectric dams, as well as by rapid exploitation of forests by the logging industry. Several Mapuche movements are struggling to gain recognition as a Mapuche nation (Bacigalupo 2004d).

Mapuche shamans, or *machi,* were traditionally the sons and daughters of prominent caciques, or chiefs, who were initiated into shamanhood through dreams and altered states of consciousness; they negotiated between the human world and that of spirits for the purpose of healing and collective well-being. Male machi performed spiritual warfare against the Spaniards by propitiating the spirits of Mapuche warriors and machi spirits (spiritual warriors), who continued warring against Spanish souls in the sky, using thunderbolts and volcanic eruptions as weapons. Machi accompanied Mapuche warriors to the battlefield and performed spiritual warfare from the sidelines. With curses, they blew tobacco toward enemy land. They invoked the moon, the sun, and the planets during military divinations. They pierced their tongues and penises with wooden

spindles and offered their blood to the spirits, requesting spiritual protection for Mapuche warriors (Bacigalupo 2004a).

The Mapuche believed that illness and death were produced through witchcraft, poisoning, and invisible darts, and they feared those who performed such acts, but they distinguished between shamans (machi) and witches *(kalku).* By the mid-eighteenth century the Mapuche had incorporated the Spanish association between women and witches, and the Mapuche stabbed and burned Mapuche women they thought were witches.

Male machi became less important after the Mapuche's military defeat and the splitting of lineages onto different reservations, which made the invocation of the ancestral spirits of particular lineages, military divinations, and the performance of spiritual warfare unnecessary (Faron 1964, 154; Bacigalupo n.d.). Agricultural production became crucial for survival under the reservations system, under which the Mapuche were relegated to small plots of eroded territory, and collective *ngillatun* (fertility) rituals were performed, primarily to ask deities for bountiful crops and fertile animals. The machi were considered *ngenküyen* (owners of the moon), who controlled the powers of generation and fertility and were gifted in dealing with problems between the sexes, infertility, and menstruation (Latcham 1922, 433). The idea that female machi, who can give birth from their bodies, are more effective in ensuring land fertility became widespread throughout the twentieth century, and female machi began to replace traditional male orators, *ngenpin,* in the performance of collective fertility rituals. Machi practice has become increasingly associated with domesticity, land fertility, and women's work (Bacigalupo 1996c, 2001a).

Cosmology

The Mapuche view the world as constituted by different forces that are in tension with each other. Illness, unhappiness, and bad crops result when these forces become unbalanced. All deities and spirits are said to have a good and bad side. They punish humans with illness, scarcity, and unhappiness if they do not perform rituals with offerings and animal sacrifice or if they transgress traditional religious or social norms called *admapu.* But if humans perform these functions, spirits and deities will reciprocate by granting them good harvests, abundance, and well-being.

The most common Mapuche perception is that the world is divided into three vertical planes. The Wenu Mapu, the spiritual dimension located in the sky, is where deities and ancestral spirits are believed to live. The Wenu Mapu is usually given a positive dimension associated with the colors white, yellow, and blue. The sun, the moon, and the stars are associated with the powers of life and generation and are also located in the Wenu Mapu. The Munche Mapu, the dimension of evil where the *wekufe* (ambivalent) spirits are believed to reside, is the reverse of the Wenu Mapu and is located under the earth. This dimension is associated with the colors bright red and opaque black, and with volcanic eruptions and whirlwinds. The Mapu, the earth, is the everyday dimension where the Mapuche live and work. This is where conflicting powers encounter each other and where the struggle between good and evil, life and death, health and illness takes place (Grebe, Pacheco, and Segura 1972; Dillehay 1990, 89; Marileo 1995; Bacigalupo 1996b). Nature spirits are also believed to live here. The Mapu is associated with the colors of nature, blood red and green.

The Mapuche organizing principle is a quadropartition, in which masculine and feminine and youth and old age are complementary and needed to obtain wholeness (Bacigalupo 1998a, 2005).

Myths, Deities, and Spirits

The Mapuche creation myth tells of a powerful spirit who controlled everything and possessed all possibilities and meanings within it. This spirit has appeared under different names: Füta Newen (big spirit) (Bacigalupo 1997), Elmapun (creator of the earth) (Marileo 1995), and Ngenmapu (sustainer of the world) (Carrasco 1986). The big spirit lived with a number of little spirits (children), who wanted power and rebelled, so the big spirit spat on them, and their bodies turned to stone. They fell to the earth and became mountains. Some spirits stayed trapped inside the earth in the Munche Mapu and turned the mountains into smoking and erupting volcanoes. They were the big spirit's sons, who became the first male warrior

spirits in the form of thunder, lightning, volcanoes, and stones. Some Mapuche believe their ancestors came from these spirits, called *püllüam* or *pillanes.* Other spirits were loyal to the big spirit and cried copiously over the mountains and ashes. These were the big spirit's daughters, who were transformed into stars who mourned their brothers. Their tears formed lakes and rivers. The earth was created from the mixture of water (daughter's tears) and ash from the volcanoes (brother's anger) and was therefore both male and female. The big spirit then became Elchen or Chau Elchefe, the creator of humankind, and divided itself into male sun and husband/father *(antü)* and female moon and wife/mother *(küyen).* Woman was created first from a daughter star and placed on earth as the giver of life. All plants, animals, and other forms of life arose from her footsteps. Man was created from a son lightning to protect and feed her. The moon (female/mother/wife) and the sun (male/father/husband) took turns looking over their children, thereby creating the balanced relationship between day and night (Marileo 1995; Bacigalupo 1997, 2005). The sun taught its children how to sow seeds, how to harvest, and about fire. The moon taught them the seasons in which they should sow.

The Mapuche believe there was a second creation of the world after its destruction in a deluge, which required the sacrifice of a human victim for the constitution of a new life and cosmos. The Mapuche deluge myth tells of two forces in constant struggle. The first force, Kai-Kai, is symbolized by water and ordinary lives frozen in the bowels of the earth, but when released produces floods and rains bringing death to humans and animals. The other force, Tren-Tren, is symbolized by dry and solid earth that lives on hills and mountains, and it counteracts Kai-Kai's actions by trying to save humans and animals with sunshine. Most of humanity drown in the flood or are transformed by Kai-Kai into sea lions, whales, fish, and mermaids. Some humans survive on the mountain and resort to cannibalism, producing further cosmic disorder. When only one couple is left, a machi reveals that they must pray and sacrifice their only child by throwing him into the waters to appease the divine anger. The couple performs the sacrifice and order is restored in the world. This myth explains the need for the Mapuche to periodically offer animal sacrifice and prayer in collective ngillatun rituals in order to maintain cosmic balance between different forces and avoid catastrophes (Mege 1997; Carrasco 1986). This myth was enacted literally by a machi from Isla Huapi in 1960 during a massive earthquake and a series of colossal tidal waves, which she thought would bring an end to the world. The machi had a young boy thrown to the waters to save the world.

The most powerful god of the Mapuche is Ngünechen, a deity with positive and negative aspects, who protects the Mapuche against the Chileans. The principles of age, gender, knowledge, and fertility present in Ngünechen are thought to be present in every aspect of nature and life, as well as in herbal remedies, crops, animals, and plants, and in cultural manifestations such as textile designs, songs, music, and movements (Bacigalupo 1998a). Ngünechen is perceived as the donor of life, traditional knowledge (*admapu),* and spiritual knowledge through dreams *(peuma)* and visions *(perimontun),* salvation, wealth, health, and well-being (Foerster 1993, 78–80). However, if the Mapuche don't reciprocate with offerings, animal sacrifices, and propitiations, Ngünechen will punish the community with drought, scarcity, and poverty. Machi must possess the four qualities of Ngünechen in order to be whole, see the world from different perspectives, heal, and intercede between ancestors, gods, spirits, and the community. Machi mimic the four aspects of Ngünechen to dispense knowledge and fertility to humans, animals, and crops in the ngillatun rituals (Bacigalupo 1997, 2005).

Wekufe are forces that can be benevolent or malevolent depending on who enters into contact with them (Schindler 1989; Kuramochi 1990, 45). In their negative dimensions, wekufe suck out body humors and cause deformations, illnesses and death. They have to be exorcised in healing rituals.

Altered States of Consciousness

Some machi ingest the hallucinogenic seeds of the *Miyaya* or *Chamico* (*Datura stramonium*) to produce altered states of consciousness, *küymi,* divine the future and exorcise evil spirits, and to treat pain, mental illness, asthma, and rheumatism. However, the most common form of contact between machi and the spirit

world is through dreams and rhythmic drumming. Through drumming machi contact the *filew,* the head of all machi, who lives in the Wenu Mapu and who grants living machi power and knowledge to diagnose and treat illnesses. Some authors argue that during altered states of consciousness the filew possesses the machi and the machi's soul is displaced (Alonqueo 1979; Kuramochi 1990; Métraux 1973). Others hold that the filew travels with the machi to other worlds (San Martín 1976, 192). In fact, machi engage in both possession and ecstatic flight and their experiences of ecstatic flight involve multiple, multilayered possessions (Bacigalupo 2004c). Machi also obtain the powers to heal, divine, and help others from a variety of different nature and astral spirits such as the moon, the stars, lightning, and rocks.

Machi are accompanied by a *dungumachife,* a person who speaks to the machi when she is in an altered state of consciousness and translates the machi's metaphoric language into lay Mapudungu. The machi also has a female helper *(llefu* or *yegülfe)* who plays the drum while the machi is in küymi, beats the drum for her, and brings her herbal remedies in healing rituals. The machi needs four male helpers *(afafanfe)* to crash sticks over the head of her patient, help her enter or exit küymi, and help her exorcise evil spirits. They must also have at least one *ñankan* (dance companion) to dance with when she is in altered states of consciousness.

Initiation and Ritual Tools

Mapuche individuals are often called to machi practice through dreams that reveal the medicinal and spiritual qualities of herbs. In their dreams, spiritual beings give them a shamanic drum *(kultrun),* a step-notched altar *(rewe),* and spiritual animals such as snakes, a horse, a bull, a sheep, or a chicken. The initiates often experience shamanic illnesses, which include fevers, boils, foaming at the mouth, insomnia, partial paralysis, and partial blindness. These symptoms are interpreted as being the actions of a machi who is pressuring the individual to become initiated, and the most severe symptoms disappear at initiation. Machi need to heal themselves before they can heal others (Bacigalupo 2001b). Some machi inherit their machi spirit from a deceased machi on the mother's side of the family and are thought to possess the qualities of the dead machi. Others are initiated directly by natural phenomena such as earthquakes and lightning. Other machi are initiated through a particular type of vision where a spirit reveals itself *(perimontun)* (Bacigalupo 1994). Machi often experience visions of snakes, horses, or bulls playing shamanic instruments such as the drum, trumpet, or flute, wearing machi ribbons or headdress, or dancing on the rewe. Machi may also see visions of wild nature spirits, Ngen, who offer them their powers (Bacigalupo 1996a).

The three most important Mapuche sacred plants are the *maqui* or *klon (Aristotelia maqui),* the cinnamon tree *Canelo* or *foye (Drymis winteri),* and the laurel or *triwe (Laurelia sempevirens).* The main machi ritual tools, the rewe, which symbolizes the tree of life, and the kultrun, the ritual drum, are made from these plants. The rewe, a step-notched tree trunk that represents the vertical cosmos, serves as a personal altar for the machi. Rewes usually face the east and have offerings placed at them. The rewe is made from laurel or oak wood, and branches of klon, triwe, and foye are tied to its side. Foye has a bitter taste and may produce vomiting, which also helps expel evil. Because the bark, root, and leaves of the foye are believed to have exorcising qualities, they can defeat evil spirits as well as bacteria and viruses. Knives, volcanic rocks, and sticks used to play games of *palin* (similar to hockey) are left on or beside the rewe to arm the fileu against the attack of evil spirits. Flowers, food, drink, and herbal remedies are left on the steps and at the foot of the rewe to feed, heal, and seduce the filew. The face and arms of either Ngünechen or the machi's filew are often carved on the rewe. The kultrun is a shallow drum made from a bowl of laurel or oak wood, covered by a goatskin and often conceived of as a womb. The laurel tree *(Laurelia aromatica)* is considered to have healing, soothing, integrating properties. It is used against fever, boils, rashes, indigestion, headaches, bad temper, tachycardia, and antisocial behavior (Bacigalupo 1998a, 2001b).

When the machi holds the kultrun she is symbolically holding the world in her hand. The machi screams four times into the kultrun before it is covered with the skin so that the drum holds her spirit and strength. Most machi

place pairs and fours of both male and female elements in the kultrun, representing the four principles contained in Ngünechen. Pairs and fours of seeds, wool, animal hides, laurel leaves, *llancato* (precious stones), and old coins placed inside the kultrun are all considered female because of their association with life, growth, and fertility. Pairs and fours of darts, bullets, cinnamon leaves, pieces of charcoal, and volcanic rock placed inside the kultrun are considered male because of their association with exorcism, war, or fire (Bacigalupo 1998b). The kultrun is sometimes referred to as *kawin-kura,* "the celebrating stones" (Ñanculef 1991). Machi often paint their kultrun with a cross that divides its face into quarters and represents the four corners of the Mapuche earth, or Mapu, the four seasons, the four winds, the four celestial bodies (Grebe 1973), and the four principles of Ngünechen. The center of the cross represents the middle of the earth, the place where the Mapuche locate themselves and their *ngillatuwe* (collective altar, *axis mundi,* or tree of life) (Marileo 1995, 93–102). Machi often paint suns, moons, and stars on their kultrun to call on these powers.

A Chilean Mapuche Indian witch doctor plays the "Kultrun" drum, a traditional musical instrument, during an indigenous New Year ceremony in Santiago, 24 June 2003. While Chilean Catholics commemorate the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, indigenous cultures celebrate their New Year. (Carlos Barria/Reuters/New Media/Corbis)

Other symbols associated with fertility are the *kaskawilla,* four sleigh bells that contain the sound of sacred waterfalls and rain; the *guada,* "calabash," which represents a womb with seeds in it; and the *metawe,* a clay vessel the machi fill with a drink made from maize or wheat called *muday,* which is perceived as the liquid of life and sometimes associated with semen or milk.

Healing Rituals

The Mapuche see illness as having bodily, mental, and spiritual components and treat them holistically. Machi distinguish between illnesses with natural or spiritual causes and classify them according to their origin, intensity, duration, and localization. Machi perform many types of healing rituals to cure these ailments. They diagnose illness by looking at urine samples *(willentun),* looking through the patient's used clothes *(pewuntun),* or by looking into the patient's eyes. Machi treat with herbal remedies *(lawen)* a number of "natural illnesses" produced by the excess of work, sadness, negligence, digestive and nutritional problems, and the malfunction of organs. Evil is the main cause of spiritually induced illnesses. Evil is viewed as a force that is external to the body of the patient and the family; it is activated when the Mapuche break social or ritual norms, such as the ideal of reciprocity and solidarity. Spiritual illness can also be produced by a number of evil spirits, *wekufetun,* by a kalku or witch (*kalkutun*), or by an ordinary person who places cursed objects in the victim's house *(infitun).* In their healing rituals machi exorcise evil and illness from the body of their patients, as well as giving them herbal remedies and advice on how to solve family or social conflicts (Bacigalupo 2001b).

The Datun is the most complicated and expensive healing ritual performed to treat people with serious spiritual illnesses. The machi visits

the patient's house at dusk to begin an all-night ritual to expel the evil spirits from the patient's body and house. The patient lies face up on the floor with head pointing east, and the family place foye and triwe branches by the head and feet. The machi dons her silver breastplate and headdress to protect her against evil spirits, places two crossed knives on the chest or under the head of the patient, and sits on a low bench looking through the doorway that faces east and sometimes smoking a cigarette to concentrate. The machi enters and exits altered states of consciousness throughout the ritual, alternating between possession and ecstatic flight (Bacigalupo 2004c). The machi begins with slow drumming and a narration of the history of her calling and initiation, and she names deities and spirits *(metrumtun).* Before entering into trance she takes a swig of a drink made of foye leaves and metal dust scraped from a knife. The machi plays a faster beat, the *trekan kawellu kultruntun,* the drumbeat of the traveling horse that gallops to other worlds to gain strength to enter and exit altered states of consciousness. While in an altered state of consciousness, the machi divines the patient's illness (pewuntun) and gives messages and cures *(wültruntun)* defined by filew or Ngünechen and communicates with several nature spirits and twelve warring spirits (Ñanculef 1991). The machi rubs the patient with herbal remedies, sucks the body to extirpate the illness, and gives herbal remedies to drink.

Rites of Passage

The most important moments in a machi's spiritual life are her initiation ritual *(machiluwün),* her renewal ritual *(ngeykurewen),* and her death ritual *(amulpüllün).* After a year or more of studying with a professor machi, initiates legitimize themselves as machi by publicly demonstrating their ability to drum, sing, and enter and exit altered states of consciousness in an initiation ritual (Métraux 1942, Robles Rodriguez 1911, 1912). Initiations are complex healing rituals performed by the initiate's professor machi and one or two other machi from the same machi school of practice. The initiate is healed from her spiritual illnesses *(machi kutran),* which was caused by a machi spirit to press the neophyte to become a machi. Initiation rituals last two days, beginning at dawn and ending at dusk, and often take place in April or May, when the red *kopiwe* flowers bloom.

The initiate's rewe is planted into the ground, and the neophyte is adorned with red kopiwe flowers, a blue headscarf and other scarves around her neck. The initiate first lies on a bed of herbal remedies, with a cinnamon branch standing at each corner. Each machi professor in turn performs a healing ritual for the initiate, during which she is rubbed with herbal remedies. Each machi enters into an altered state of consciousness separately and ascends the rewe of the initiate and shakes the branches.

During her initiation ritual, a machi is given one or more auxiliary animals, such as a horse, a sheep, or a chicken, that she has seen in dreams or visions. These animals are often painted blue around the eyes, mouth, and nose, and adorned with kopiwe flowers. These animals possess some of the initiate's spirit and cannot be eaten or sold. The initiate exchanges bodily humors such as saliva, breath, and sometimes blood with these animals and "dances" with them to the sound of her kultrun (Bacigalupo 2001b).

Funerary rituals for machi, called *amulpüllün* ("making the soul leave"), are important in order to help the machi's soul find its way to the Wenu Mapu. Funerary rituals usually last four days and three nights. Traditionally machi were buried lying within a carved wooden canoe *(wampo)* with another canoe upside down on top, which helped the dead cross the river of death into the other world. Today most deceased machi are buried in pine wooden caskets. At the end of the ritual the machi's rewe (altar) is pulled out of the ground and placed to rot in a nearby river. The machi's favorite objects and food are placed in the casket for the voyage to the other world. The casket is taken to the cemetery accompanied by machi and musicians for burial. A cross is placed by the grave, along with flowers and clay vessels containing *chicha* (a drink made from maize) and the drink called *mudai.*

The Ngillatun Ritual

At the beginning of the twentieth century machi began to officiate in collective ngillatun rituals to petition well-being and give thanks on behalf of the ritual congregation (usually

four or more communities). Louis Faron (1964) and Tom Dillehay (1985) saw nguillatun rituals as creating ethnic solidarity and integration in the ritual congregation. Mapuche today view the collective enactment of the gender and generational dimensions of the deity Ngünechen in its broader religious, economic, and political dimension. Through Ngünechen, machi obtain the good harvests, fertile animals, and well-being that allow the community to survive while at the same time creating the basis for a pan-Mapuche identity and combating adverse forces (Bacigalupo 2005). The ngillatun is a sacrificial rite where the community makes offerings of grains, mudai, water, herbal remedies, and the blood or meat of animals by the nguillatuwe (collective altar) and a secondary altar *(llangi llangi).*

The machi, the *longko* (chiefs), and the most important people of the community pray at the ngillatuwe. The ritual lasts between two and four days and involves a series of dances and prayers repeated symmetrically in series of four. Most ngillatun rituals begin and end with the *awün,* or *trilla,* in which horsemen gallop around the ritual field counterclockwise sixteen times, starting from the east. In a dance called *longkomeu,* groups of dancers move around the rewe in circles and then back and forth beside the altar. The *choykepurrun,* or *tregülpurrun,* is a dance performed by a group of young men who imitate the mating dance of the American ostrich. Tomás Guevara (1908) and Luis Manquilef (1914) associated this dance with a totemic cult.

Relation to Other Religions

Machi interpret the *admapu,* the customary law, resignify tradition, and hold spiritual and moral and judiciary authority over the community (Dillehay 1985). To the extent that machi represent the forces of healing and good and control the forces of evil on behalf of the community, they also perform political functions. Machi legitimize community events, actions, and political processes as well as the authority of Mapuche lonkos.

The Chilean majority view machi as symbols of ethnic minorities. These Chileans still perceive machi as exotic traditional folk practitioners, earth mothers, witches, and sexual deviants (Bacigalupo 2004b). Their politicians often invite machi to appear with them in public to justify their discourses about pluralism. The Mapuche also use machi as symbols of the traditional in their movements for political autonomy. Machi often combine ritual and politics. Some call on ancestral warriors and on Ngünechen to perform spiritual warfare to combat forestry companies who have taken their land and to rally for cultural rights and political autonomy (Bacigalupo 2004d).

The number of practicing machi has increased substantially in recent years and has expanded to urban areas. Machi practices are dynamic, flexible, and hybrid. Most machi are baptized Catholic and have incorporated and resignified elements from folk medicine, biomedicine, and Catholicism, as well as national symbols, into their healing epistemologies. Catholic priests have the reputation of being tolerant with machi and are often invited to participate in ngillatun and funerary rituals and sometimes to pray in them. Male machi who officiate in collective ngillatun rituals present themselves as "Mapuche priests," "spiritual doctors," and "biblical machi." By legitimizing themselves as doctors and priests, machi are more protected from labels of homosexuality and witchcraft. Female machi who officiate in ngillatun rituals often label themselves as "machi moon priestesses" "nuns," and "angels," and they have contact with Catholic nuns who give them images of the Virgin, Saint Francis, or Jesus (Bacigalupo n.d.).

The Bahai have gained followers among the Mapuche by recording and playing Mapuche music, including prayers performed by machi, on the radio. Evangelical pastors often depict machi practice as the art of the devil. Pentecostalism, however, has become popular in some Mapuche communities; it reproduces the central elements of Mapuche ritual and the role of machi, such as ancestor propitiation and healing with the help of spirits (Foerster 1993, 156–157).

Ana Mariella Bacigalupo

See also: Central and South American Shamanism; Dreams and Visions; Gender in Shamanism; Latin American Christianity and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Alonqueo, Martín. 1979. *Instituciones Religiosas del Pueblo Mapuche* [Religious Institutions of

the Mapuche People]. Santiago: Ediciones Nueva Universidad.

Bacigalupo, Ana Mariella. 1994. "Variación de Rol de *Machi* en la Cultura Mapuche: Tipología Geográfica, Adaptiva e Iniciática" [Variation in Mapuche Shamans' Roles: Geography, Adaptive and Initiatory Typologies]. *Revista de Antropología Universidad de Chile* 12: 19–43.

———. 1996a. "Identidad, Espacio y Dualidad en los *Perimontun* (Visiones) de *Machi* Mapuche" [Identity, Space and Duality in Mapuche Shamanic Visions]. *Scripta Ethnologica* 18: 37–63.

———. 1996b. "Imágenes de Diversidad y Consenso: La Cosmovisión Mapuche a Través de Trés *Machi*" [Images of Diversity and Consensus: Mapuche Cosmology through the Perspectives of Three Shamans]. *Aisthesis* 28: 120–141. Reprinted in *Mitológicas* 11 (Buenos Aires, Argentina).

———. 1996c. "Mapuche Women's Empowerment as Shaman/Healers." *Annual Review of Women in World Religions* 4: 57–129.

———. 1997. "Las Múltiples Máscaras de *Ngünechen:* Las Batallas Ontológicas y Semánticas del Ser Supremo Mapuche en Chile" [The Multiple Masks of the Ngünechen: Ontological and Semantic Battles of the Mapuche Deity in Chile]. *Journal of Latin American Lore* 20, no. 1: 173–204.

———. 1998a. "Les Chamanes Mapuche et le Expérience Religieuse Masculine et Féminine" [Mapuche Shamans and Their Masculine and Feminine Religious Experiences]. *Anthropologie et Sociétes* 22, no. 2: 123–143.

———. 1998b. "The Exorcising Sounds of Warfare: Shamanic Healing and the Struggle to Remain Mapuche." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 9, no. 5: 1–16.

———. 2001a. "The Rise of the Mapuche Moon Priestess in Southern Chile." *Annual Review of Women in World Religions* 6: 208–259.

———. 2001b. *La Voz del Kultrun en la Modernidad: Tradición y Cambio en La Terapéutica de Siete Machi* Mapuche [The Voice of the Drum in Modernity: Tradition and Change in the Therapeutic Practices of Seven Machi]. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universidad Católica de Chile.

———. 2003. "Mapuche Shamanic Bodies and the Chilean State: Polemic Gendered Representations and Indigenous Responses." Pp. 322–343 in *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender and the State.* Edited by Arturo Aldama. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

———. 2004a. "The Struggle for *Machi* Masculinities: Colonial Politics of Gender, Sexuality and Power in Chile." *Ethnohistory* 51, no. 3: 489–533.

———. 2004b. "The Mapuche Man Who Became a Woman Shaman: Selfhood, Gender Transgression, and Competing Cultural Norms." *American Ethnologist* 31, no. 3.

———. 2004c. "Ritual Gendered Relationships: Kinship, Homage, Mastery and Machi Modes of Personhood." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 60, no. 2: 203–224.

———. 2004d. "Shamans' Pragmatic Gendered Negotiations with Mapuche Resistance Movements and Chilean Political Authorities." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 11, no. 4.

———. 2005. "Gendered Rituals for Cosmic Order: Mapuche Shamanic Struggles for Healing and Fertility." Under review for *Journal of Ritual Studies* 17, no. 2.

———. N.d. *Shamans of the Winter's Bark Tree: Gender, Power, and Healing among the Chilean Mapuche.* University of Texas Press.

Carrasco, Hugo. 1986. "Trentren y Kaikai: Segundo Nacimiento de la Cultura Mapuche." *Estudios Filológicos* 21: 23–24.

Dillehay, Tom. 1985. "La Influencia Política de los Chamanes Mapuches" [The Political Influence of Mapuche Shamans]. *CUHSO* 2, no. 2: 141–157.

———. 1990. *Araucanía Presente y Pasado* [The Araucanian Region: Past and Present]. Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello.

Faron, Louis. 1964. *Hawks of the Sun: Mapuche Morality and Its Ritual Attributes.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Foerster, Rolf. 1993. *Introduccion a la Religiosidad Mapuche.* Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria.

Grebe, María Ester. 1973. "El Kultrun: Un Microcosmos Simbólico" [The Kultrun: A Symbolic Microcosmos]. *Revista Musical Chilena* 123–124: 3–42.

Grebe, María Ester, Sergio Pacheco, and Jorge Segura. 1972. "Cosmovisión Mapuche." *Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional* 14: 46–73.

Guevara, Tomás. 1908. *Psicología del Pueblo Araucano* [Psychology of the Araucanian People]. Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Cervantes.

Kuramochi, Yosuke. 1990. "Contribuciones Etnográficas al Estudio del *Machitun*" [Ethnographic Studies on the Machitun Ritual]. Paper presented at the *Cuartas Jornadas de Lengua y Literatura Mapuche.*

Latcham, Ricardo. 1922. *La Organización Social y las Creencias Religiosas de Los Antiguos Araucanos* [The Social Organization and Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Araucanians]. Santiago, Chile: Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile.

Manquilef, Luis. 1914. *Las Misiones Franciscanas y el Importantísimo Rol que Han Desempeñado en la Civilización y Pacificación de la Araucanía* [The Fransican Missions and the Role They Played in the Civilization of the Araucanian Province]. Ancud: Imprenta Asilo de Huérfanas.

Marileo, Armando. 1995. "Mundo Mapuche" [The Mapuche World]. In *Medicinas y Culturas en la Araucanía* [Medicine and Cultures in the Araucanian Region]. Edited by Luca Citarella. Editorial Sudamericana.

Mege, Pedro. 1997. *La Imaginación Araucana* [The Mapuche Imagination]. Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Pre-colombino.

Métraux, Alfred. 1942. "El Chamanismo Araucano" [Araucanian Shamanism]. *Revista del Instituto de Antropología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán* 2, no. 10: 309–362.

———. 1973. *Religión y Magias Indígenas de América del Sur* [Indigenous Religion and Magic in South America]. Madrid: Ediciones Aguilar.

Ñanculef, Juan. 1991. "La Labor de la *Machi* en Cuanto Contenido y Forma de Expresión" [The Work of Mapuche Shamans: Content and Forms of Expression]. Documento de Trabajo 4.

Robles Rodriguez, Eulogio. 1911. "Costumbres y Creencias Araucanas: *Neigurehuen* Baile de *Machi*s" [Araucanian Customs and Beliefs: Neigurehuen—Dance of the Shamans]. *Revista de Folklore Chileno.* Entrega 3ra. Santiago de Chile. Imprenta Cervantes.

———. 1912. "Costumbres y Creencias Araucanas: *Machiluhun* Iniciación de *Machi* [Araucanian Customs and Beliefs: Machiluhun Shamanic Initiation]. *Revista de Folklore Chileno.* Entrega 4ta. Santiago de Chile. Imprenta Cervantes.

San Martín, René. 1976. "*Machitun:* Una Ceremonia Mapuche" [Machitun: A Mapuche Ceremony]. In *Estudios Antropológicos Sobre los Mapuches de Chile sur-central* [Anthropological Studies about the Mapuches of South-Central Chile]. Edited by Tom Dillehay. Universidad Católica: Temuco.

Schindler, Helmut. 1989. "Con Reverencia Nombreys al Pillan y Huecuvoe" [With Reverence You Shall Name the Pillar and the Huecuvoe]. (Sermón IV, Luis de Valdivia, 1621). *Revindi* 1: 15–27.

———. 1996. "*Amulpüllün:* Un Rito Funerario de los Mapuche Chilenos." *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 7: 165–180.

MAYA BONE DIVINATION

Maya bone divination is a divination technique employed by Tz'utujiil Maya bonesetters to ascertain and treat bodily injury, and one of several divination methods found in Guatemala. Bilingual Spanish and Tz'utujiil Maya-speaking bonesetters of the towns of San Pedro la Laguna and San Juan la Laguna, known as *curanderos de hueso* (Spanish; "bone curers") or *wikol baq* (Tz'utujiil Maya; "bone arrangers"), utilize a small object to diagnose and treat clients. Called a *hueso* or *baq* (bone), this object is used to locate and identify injury in the body, particularly skeletal injury, and to then reduce the injury.

Tz'utujiil Maya bonesetters keep their bone sacra wrapped in a red cloth and either carry it on their person or store it in a home altar. The object may, to Western eyes, appear as a small animal vertebra or a smooth round pebble. When an injured person seeks a bonesetter's help, the bonesetter first talks with the client about the injury, visually inspecting it and estimating its severity. Then he or she produces the wrapped bone and holds it against the client's body. Some bonesetters report that the bone then moves of its own accord across the injured body, or that the bone, held in a moving hand, guides the hand's movement until the locus and type of injury is divined. The injury may be due to a simple blow, with temporary tissue bruising, or it may involve a strained or

sprained joint. In more serious cases, a fracture may be present. According to some bonesetters, the bone glides across the surface of the body, passing over areas of lesser injury but stopping abruptly where a bone is fractured. The bone thus identifies a fracture and locates it. Guided by the bone, the bonesetter will then manipulate the injured area, pushing and rubbing the bone against it. Later treatments can be applied as needed. The bone's ability to detect and treat is linked to its divine source and manner of its revelation.

Most bonesetters who use a divinatory bone learned about it through a dream or dreams. They have reported how, at one point in their lives, they had dreams in which they were told to enter the nearby hills where they would find an object, usually on a footpath. Some bonesetters have described how the objects they found, either actual bones or stones, would move, jump, or otherwise become very noticeable. Other bonesetters who had not dreamed about the objects yet who also encountered them have remarked that these objects really caught their eye because of their shape, sparkle, or their unusual location. Those who found such objects typically collected them and took them home. The discovery of the bones has signaled to many bonesetters that their healing vocations have been divinely ordained. Some bonesetters, however, have received an additional endorsement of their work in their dreams.

Numerous Tz'utujiil Maya bonesetters have reported dreaming of a male personage, usually described as an old man or an old sovereign, with dominion over many animals that accompany him. He either appears in a cave or out in the woods, that is, either inside or amidst the sacred hills and volcanoes flanking the Maya's lakeside communities. At some point in the dream sequence, the personage may draw attention to a disassembled human skeleton, which he reconstructs bone by bone, beginning with the feet and progressing toward the skull. The personage then instructs the dreamer to reconstruct the skeleton, sometimes telling the dreamer to use the sacred bone that he or she has found. Such dreams close with the admonition that the bonesetter must work to help others, and with the sense in the bonesetter that a "spirit-owner" of the hills has spoken to him or her.

The bonesetter is further confirmed in the vocation if midwives and parents reveal that the bonesetter was born with a *don* (gift), something referring to both a divinely sanctioned talent and a physical marking at birth. Children born with different types of cauls are considered predestined for curing and divining roles. Bonesetters generally find out about their birth marking, if any, after they have begun treating others, at which time their revelatory dreams, divining bone discoveries, and, sometimes, persistent health problems take on new meanings. Townspeople learn of how individual bonesetters were born with a don and subsequently found divinatory bones, and confer greater legitimacy upon those bonesetters.

The divining bone contains a magical potentiality that transforms it into a healing instrument in the bonesetter's hands. Other revealed objects from the hills possess a potentiality and can serve as ritual instruments, but the divining bone is the most respected of these sacra. In recent decades, Tz'utujiil Maya bonesetters have expressed how the divining bone seems to work like a magnet, detecting and cleaving to broken human bones, repairing these bones via unseen forces.

Servando Z. Hinojosa

See also: Divination; Healing and Shamanism; Mayan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Hinojosa, Servando Z. 2002. "'The Hands Know': Bodily Engagement and Medical Impasse in Highland Maya Bonesetting." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 16: 22–40.

Paul, Benjamin D. 1976. "The Maya Bonesetter as Sacred Specialist." *Ethnology* 15: 77–81.

Paul, Benjamin D., and Clancy E. McMahon. 2001. "Mesoamerican Bonesetters." Pp. 243–269 in *Mesoamerican Healers.* Edited by Brad E. Huber and Alan R. Sandstrom. Austin: University of Texas Press.

MAYA COSMOLOGY

Shamanic Cosmologies

The analysis of Maya cosmology within the context of Mesoamerican religions that is the focus of this article needs as a foundation a consideration of shamanic cosmologies in general. The cosmology of shamans is by definition

a description of worlds visited in a shamanic state, during voluntary and directed travel into nonordinary realms. Since these cosmologies are not accessible to investigators in ordinary states of consciousness, there are but two sources of information: (1) reports of personal experiences from those who have made these flights, and (2) the ritual symbolism of cultures that maintain shamanic traditions.

Both these sources include stories of overcoming death, whether by rebirth after periods of trial in the Underworld, or by conquering death-dealing demons on this earth. The celestial travels are generally reported as peaceful and joyful, giving information about the future and a sense of unity with nature, the souls of the deceased, and future generations. Such mystic experiences of unity through time and space, and unity with the Divine, are celebrated in the origin stories of many religious traditions.

Scholars of comparative religion such as Mircea Eliade (1989) maintain that the rituals and their underlying cosmologies are not illusions but rather guides to, or indicators of, the underlying framework of an invisible reality that structures our lives. Typically, shamanic cosmologies begin with a tripartite universe based on conceptions that predate both Galileo and the telescope, involving three levels: the sky world, this earth where humans live, and the Underworld of death and decay. These are connected by the daily travels of the sun, moon, and stars, who descend into their nightly tomb in the west, travel underground, and are reborn again in the east (with the planets traveling in more interesting patterns). Typically, these three worlds are connected by a central world tree, or a pillar, the cosmic axis of the world. Sometimes there are also connections in each corner of an earth conceived of as square, or rectangle, with the corners being the points of sunrise and sunset during the summer and winter solstices. The life cycle of human beings is likened to that of the sky beings, and also to the yearly cycle of plants that seasonally die, leaving seeds that sprout again when the rains come.

From the perspective of ritual participants, a traditional cosmology is a map to a numinous realm of forces that affect human life on the everyday level. Shamanic ritual is the technology of the sacred, the means for communication with this other realm, a process for knowing and communicating with spiritual beings. These beings are generally understood to inhabit the upper and lower levels, and to be accessible at specific times and places, through rituals conducted by experts, and sometimes even by non-experts following manuals, such as Michael Harner's *The Way of the Shaman* (1980), or traditional prescriptions for special circumstances.

Places where the creation of the present world occurred are sacred sites in traditional cosmologies. Spectacular natural formations and those with impressive views are often believed to have been created in those times and to facilitate access to spirit beings. Among these places are mountaintops, volcanoes, islands, geothermal springs, sinkholes in karstic terrain, stands of extremely old trees, mountain springs that are the headwaters of rivers, rock formations in valleys and mountains, waterfalls, whirlpools, inlets of the sea where waves create impressive patterns, and similar natural settings. Celestial events such as appearances of Venus, eclipses, full moons, and conjunctions of planets are also understood to be repetitions of the events that established contemporary cycles of time.

Numerology is associated with the cardinal directions and the three levels traversed by the sun in its daily circuit. The number three is more frequently emphasized in Old World cosmologies, in association with mother, father, and child, as well as the three levels, or worlds. In the Americas, although threes continue to have significance, fours and fives are also frequently found, associated with the quincunx, a four-sided structure oriented to the sun's path, but having a central point, connecting the three layers. Sometimes the sides are indicated by medial points and sometimes by points at their intersection, sometimes both; the center point is an indication of the vertical direction (up-down).

Maya Cosmology within Mesoamerican Religion

Mesoamerica refers to a cultural area: It includes Nahuatl traditions with roots in Teotihuacán, Tenochtitlán, and other pre-Columbian civilizations in the Valley of Mexico, the Mixtec traditions of Monte Alban, the Olmec of the Gulf Coast, and the Mayan traditions of Chiapas,

Guatemala, the Yucatan Peninsula, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador. Throughout this area the same Three Sisters are traditionally planted together: corn, beans, and squash. Ancient cities show strong similarities in architecture and alignment to certain positions of the sun, moon, and a few planets. Their calendars generally include a ritual one of 260 days, which interacted with a yearly one of eighteen twenty-day months, with a dangerous five-day period in between years. In some areas the ritual calendar is still in use to some degree, in others it has been forgotten (Tedlock 1982).

Throughout the Mesoamerican area, ritual symbolism includes the three stones of the hearth, corn (as the staff of life), and the holy rain. The earth is also an important and sacred being. Thus, the practical aspects of physical life are seen as sacred, not relegated to the profane. Through agricultural rituals and mythology, corn is linked to the creation of humans and the path of the Sun-Christ that makes time and space each day and year (Gossen 1974). Corn, in turn is the primary ritual gift, the major ingredient in all the ritual foods and beverages given to the spirit beings who aid in curing the ill and calling the rain necessary for the growth of the corn. Corn thus functions as a symbolic Möbius strip, a gift from the Creator Spirit(s) to humans, and a gift from humans to the Creator Spirits, reminding them that farmers cannot grow corn without rain at the right time and in the right amount.

Of the many ethnographically documented Maya traditions, those of the Yucatan Peninsula are the focus of this article. This area was the heartland of Classic Maya civilization, and there the Maya have combined that heritage with the Spanish Catholicism brought by Franciscan missionaries in the sixteenth century. Today's Mayan practices do not fit the criteria of Eliade for shamanic traditions. Yucatec Maya ritual experts (referred to in their language as *h'men* in the singular and *h'meno'ob* in the plural) are not generally reported as using hallucinogenic substances nor do they report "flying" to other worlds in order to visit spirit beings. Their religious practices reflect a syncretism of ideas from both Spanish mission activity and pre-Columbian Maya history. Some scholars have reported a synthesis so complete that the original roots are no longer known, but the whole cosmology is one integrated system (Sosa 1986); in the Chiapas highlands Evon Vogt (1976) described the Christian elements as a gloss over surviving Mayan beliefs. Betty Faust (1988, 1998a, 1998b) has found indications that Mayan cosmological referents are clearer in household, healing, and agricultural rituals, while public Catholic holiday rituals have incorporated many Mayan symbolic elements within an integrated system that appears conventionally Catholic on the surface. Manuel Gutiérrez-Estevez (2002) has reported a belief that Maya spirit beings still have local power over rains and illnesses in Yucatan, but that after death the Christian God rules.

Archaeological and Historic Evidence of Mayan Cosmology

What is generally referred to as Mayan shamanism has a very long history, according to interpretations of iconography from Maya archaeological sites (e.g., Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993). The kings performed self-sacrifice, letting their own blood in rituals that gave birth to their gods through visions associated with blood loss (Schele and Miller 1986). Other mind-altering practices included the smoking of a psychotropic variety of local tobacco and the use of hallucinogenic plants in ritual enemas portrayed on Classic Period (400–850 C.E.) ceramics (Furst and Coe 1977).

The ancient Maya called their gods (or spiritual emanations of the Divine) into the world of the living; they addressed them in ritual prayers and offered them ritual foods, beverages, and tobacco (and in extreme crisis, human sacrifices—like other ancient peoples), but there is no evidence of shamanic flight to celestial or infernal worlds. Only in the mythical stories of the events of Creation, is such flight found. The hero twins do travel to the Underworld, and after using their wits to vanquish the Lords of Death, they ascend into the heavens.

This story is found in the *Popol Vuh* (Tedlock 1985), a book discovered in the seventeenth century, written in the Mayan language in European letters and referring to a version originally written in another manner (possibly hieroglyphs). It includes the textual version of a sacred origin story whose major events were preserved in illustrations on Classic Period ceramics throughout the Maya area. A creator being of male and female aspects becomes a

multitude of beings who talk and decide to construct a four-sided universe with an Underworld, Xibalba, where the Lords of Death rule, and a world above where the sun (and secondarily other celestial spirit beings) establishes the structure of time and space for the earth world. They do so by measuring and marking it with a cord, just as traditional corn farmers lay out their fields before burning the forest to plant their crops.

Although this origin story is not part of the oral tradition of today's Maya speakers, Dennis Tedlock (1985) found that images and jokes in it were still recognizable to a ritual expert of the Maya K'iche' of Guatemala. Numerous ethnographic studies indicate that the Maya believe that the daily rising and setting of the sun indicates that it travels a circular path, moving under our world by night, to be reborn from the sea (or earth) in the morning (e.g., Gossen 1974). The moon and the stars also follow this path, while some celestial beings, called planets in English, do more interesting things. Mayan traditions guide interpretations of eclipses, comets, and the convergence of planets with reference to the hopes and fears of individuals on this earthly plane (Sosa 1986; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993; Milbrath 1999).

Early colonial documents provide information concerning a Postclassic cosmology, in which a four-sided plane is connected with a celestial pyramid of sky layers and an Underworld composed of layers in an inverted pyramid. The number of layers reported in each varies somewhat, according to the period and the region of the Mayan world. Generally the layers in the sky world are either thirteen or seven (sometimes with six levels and a seventh at the top, such that the sun climbs to the seventh and descends six more, totaling thirteen "steps" in all). In the Underworld there are generally five levels or nine steps, with four levels and a fifth at the bottom (so that walking down the inside of this inverted pyramid, the night sun would go down to the fifth and come up four more on the other side, making nine). The number of levels or steps in the Underworld does not appear as clear as the thirteen steps of the celestial world; sometimes it is even said that the Underworld also has thirteen steps. Both the celestial and the infernal pyramid worlds have a square base, connecting with the square earth, that floats on water, through which the dead (humans, sun, moon, stars) must swim to reach the underworld's inverted pyramid, whose eastern side they will climb up to escape the House of Death.

The traditional house yard, like the traditional corn field, is square and oriented to the same directions as the square earth, a square whose sides face the cardinal directions and whose intercardinal points may be established by the sunrise and sunset points at summer and winter solstice. There is disagreement among scholars concerning whether the directions of the Mayan universe are points indicating direction or more accurately sides of the so-called four-sided "Iguana House" of the Postclassic. There is general agreement concerning the central point of this square representing a channel of energy from the sun at noon. This central point was probably also associated with the times when the sun reaches its zenith, which occur at these tropical latitudes during the months of May and August and are among the foci of Mayan architecture in a number of ancient cities (Aveni 1980).

Ethnographic Descriptions of Yucatec Mayan Cosmology

Today's ceremonies still use basic symbols from the pre-Columbian past, as well as Christian referents, melding elements from both previous traditions into a new system (or, as some have claimed, using Christian symbols to disguise continuities from a pre-Christian past). Many ethnographers in the Mayan highlands and lowlands have reported the symbolic numbers and representations of the four-sided universe with a central axis through which energy can flow from the heavens. In some, the central axis is an invisible conduit available at noon that has replaced the sacred ceiba *(Ceiba pentandra)* of the ancient Maya (Sosa 1986; Hanks 1990; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993). The ubiquitous "green crosses" of churches and chapels throughout the peninsula also indicate a reference to this conduit, as well as having symbolic connections to the War of the Little Holy Cross *(Chan Santa Cruz).* This war began in 1847 under the instruction of a Talking Cross; it secured relative autonomy for a large population of traditional Maya in the territory of Quintana Roo until the first decades of the twentieth century.

Postclassic and early colonial references to color symbolism are associated with the cardinal directions (red with east, white with north, black with west, yellow with south, and blue-green with the vertical direction and the center). These associations have become attenuated over time, although the association of red with the east is still very strong, reflected in the red foods offered to the lords who come from the east.

The movement of the sun establishes east and west, and from the point of view of the journeying sun, north is on the right hand and south on the left. This association has been part of an explanation for counterclockwise ritual movement, such that the sun rises in the east and moves to his right hand (north), eventually setting in the west into the sea, where the night journey through the south will bring him back again to the east (Vogt 1976). This explanation is complemented by the observation that in Mayan latitudes, during the agricultural season, the sun is *between* its May and August zenith points and actually, observably, does travel north of zenith at noon (Faust 1998a).

Sunrise and sunset positions move from summer solstice to winter and back again, marking both a spatial and temporal framework. This quadrilateral framework has one side that faces east, with the sunrise points of summer and winter solstices forming its farthest northern and southern limits, respectively, and its center corresponding to sunrise at the equinoxes; the western side is similarly delimited by the positions of sunset at the solstices. Shadows and the position of the sun mark divisions of the day, while movements of the stars mark divisions of time at night. Thus the celestial world creates order on this flat earth where we live, an order that is visible by day and night in the ordered movement of celestial beings.

The two-dimensional square (sometimes presented as a rectangle) of Mayan cosmology contains a central point that refers to three dimensions, plus energy and time. Energy flows down a vertical channel from the sun at noon, and has as a reference the motion of the sun through time, formed by its passage through the sky. This channel also indicates the world above and that below, simply by its vertical direction. These Mayan concepts concerning a sacred geography of three worlds are based on naked eye astronomy (Aveni 1980) and inferences from human experience and emotions, understood as keys to spiritual realities. Mayan shamans locate their patients, their communities, and unusual events (hurricanes, comets, droughts, epidemics) within this space-time continuum, delimited by the charter myth of the ancestors and keyed to the locally observable landscape. Once the shaman has placed events and illnesses in relationship to the cosmos, he can interpret them, give counsel, apply medicines, and enact rituals. (Women do not traditionally conduct ceremonies for the Sacred Spirits, although the author has been told by a Mayan healer that it is possible for them to do so.)

The responsibility of the shaman can be understood to consist in a Janus-faced duality. He seeks to change the behavior and intentions of unseen beings affecting individual patients, local communities, and the human world in general. The other side of the shaman's responsibility is to orient human beings to their situation in the universe, teaching them their place and how they should behave. Patients must come to understand that they have obligations to the land, to the sea, to plants and animals, obligations to reproduce themselves and to care for the young, the old, and the sick. Illness is seen as a punishment for disobeying the rules of proper behavior. Patients will live more fully and happily if they understand clearly that the individual human being is like the sun and must therefore grow, reproduce, lose strength, and die, in an orderly sequence.

In this process, masculine and feminine functions are interdependent, and the forming of pairs is fundamental to life. Husband and wife have tasks that are culturally understood to be natural and complementary in the nurturing of the next generation. These responsibilities must be taught to daughter and son, forming another set of four—as the basic pattern of generational time. There is also a flexible acceptance of those born to be "different"; they are commonly understood to have special access to the sacred, combining both masculinity and femininity to an unusual degree. Understanding variation and complexity, long-term cycles, mediations, interdependencies, and processes of change are all part of the shaman's work; his job requires him to interpret his culture's cosmological system.

Mayan cosmologies are taught in ceremony, where symbolic actions and items give dramatic

form to knowledge that otherwise is (or was) also absorbed through traditional practices in daily life. In ritual actions and talk there are various levels of reference to cosmology: (1) As a static framework it is depicted with ritual objects; (2) its causal processes and natural cycles are presented through ritual actions; (3) relationships between the various parts of the cosmology, its structural integration and functioning, are explained in prayers, songs, and other recitations; and (4) more detailed explanations are given to the young and to potential converts. Interviews outside of the ceremony and observations of daily life provide other clues to the cosmology, the majority of which is normally not consciously thought about by the participants—except when crisis threatens. A traditional cosmology is the locally accepted framework for negotiation and decision making, a grammar of common sense.

Today's Mayan h'meno'ob communicate with spirit beings that can assist in healing, getting rich, making friends, finding a lover, locating a lost object, avoiding accidents, making appropriate decisions, guiding one's children, and influencing the behavior of the powerful. On another level, beyond this use of power for specific ends, is a quest for wisdom in one's own life and in guiding the path of others, with enlightenment concerning one's spirit self and its place in the universe.

Betty Bernice Faust

See also: Ecology and Shamanism; Entoptic Images; Maya Bone Divination; Mayan Shamanism; Trees

References and further reading:

Aveni, Anthony F. 1980. *Skywatchers of Ancient Mexico.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Faust, Betty B. 1988. "Cosmology and Changing Technologies of the Campeche-Maya." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University.

———. 1998a. *Mexican Rural Development and the Plumed Serpent: Technology and Maya Cosmology in the Tropical Forest of Campeche Mexico.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

———. 1998b. "Cacao Beans and Chili Peppers: Gender Socialization in the Cosmology of a Yucatec Maya Curing Ceremony." *Sex Roles:* 39: 7–8.

Freidel, David, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker. 1993. *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path.* New York: William Morrow.

Furst, Peter T., and Michael D. Coe. 1977. "Ritual Enemas." *Natural History* 86, no. 3: 88–91.

Gossen. Gary H. 1974. *Chamulas in the World of the Sun; Time and Space in a Maya Oral Tradition.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gutiérrez-Estevez, Manuel. 2002. "Cosmovisión dualista de los mayas yucatecos actuales" [Dual Cosmicvision of the present-day Yucatan Mayas]. Pp. 283–321 in *Religión Maya.* Edited by Mercedes de la Garza Camino and Martha Ilia Nájera Coronado. Madrid: Editorial Trotta.

Hanks, William F. 1990. *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya.* University of Chicago Press.

Harner, Michael. 1980. *The Way of the Shaman.* San Francisco, CA: Harper.

Milbrath, Susan. 1999. *Star Gods of the Maya: Astronomy in Art, Folklore, and Calendars.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Schele, Linda, and Mary Ellen Miller. 1986. *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art.* Fort Worth, TX: Kimbell Art Museum.

Sosa, John. 1986. "The Maya Sky, the Maya World: A Symbolic Analysis of Yucatec Maya Cosmology." Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Albany.

Tedlock, Barbara. 1982. *Time and the Highland Maya.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Tedlock, Dennis, ed. and trans. 1985. *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings.* 1985. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Vogt, Evon Zartman. 1976. *Tortillas for the Gods: A Symbolic Analysis of Zinacantecan Rituals.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

MAYAN SHAMANISM

Certain Mayan traditional practices are referred to as *shamanism,* and in many ways they represent a form of classical shamanism. Certainly

the tradition is an ancient one, and it is still very much alive in the early twenty-first century.

Geographical, Linguistic, and Historical Background

The Maya have existed as a people for more than two millennia. The region in which they live includes all of the Yucatan Peninsula, Guatemala, Belize, parts of the Mexican states of Tabasco and Chiapas, as well as western portions of Honduras and El Salvador. This is a geographically diverse area that covers three life zones: the southern highlands with its adjacent Pacific coastline, a central lowland area of tropical forest, and a drier northern area covered with scrub forest. Today there are more than seven million Maya who speak thirty-two languages that are closely related but mutually unintelligible: Thus, a Maya from Yucatan would have difficulty understanding a Maya from Guatemala. The family structure is, and was in the past, a patrilocal extended family occupying two or more adjacent rooms in a dwelling or compound. Mayan history can be divided into the Preclassic (2000 B.C.E.–250 C.E.), Classic (250–909), Postclassic (909–1697), and Modern (1697–current) periods (Martin and Grube 2000, 8–9).

Cosmovision

The Mayan description of the basic composition of the cosmos, or cosmovision, is an intellectual product of Mayan daily life. Everything in the cosmos consists of two types of substance: One is masculine, hot, dry, and luminous, and the other is feminine, cold, wet, and dark. Though every being manifests a predominance of one of these pairs, it also contains a segment of the other. Chac, the rain divinity, for example, is primarily cold and wet, but holds a hot lightning bolt in one hand—thus combining masculine with feminine characteristics (Miller and Taube 1993, 59).

Among the most potent natural phenomena for the Maya are thunderstorms. Lightning is considered a masculine manifestation of fertilizing energy. In the myth of the origin of corn, a lightning bolt split open the rock containing seed corn. Lightning also comes in a more feminine form known as sheet or heat lightning. Shamans connect their bodies to this lightning in order to know the past and divine the future and the hidden present (Tedlock 1992, 53).

Directional symbolism centers on the daily path of the sun across the sky and through the Underworld: Key positions are east, zenith, west, and nadir. The terrestrial world is also divided horizontally into four quadrants with a fifth central place. These divisions express the four-fold nature of the ceiba tree, an *axis mundi* (axis of the world) located at the very center of the earthly world, with its roots in the Underworld and its branches in the sky. As the central tree of the universe, it is given the color of green, and the four trees surrounding it are associated with their directional colors: red (east), white (west), black (south), and yellow (north). These trees function as highways of the gods, each of whom is associated with one of the four "yearbearers," the days by which the 365-day years were named.

The year is divided into two seasons dominated by opposing cosmic forces. This duality is not polar but dynamic. Death, for example, engenders life. It is present in a pregnant woman's dark, water-filled womb. Life engenders death and is incarnated in the warrior figure of the sun that caused death in order to ensure the continuity of the world. The triumph of one of these opposing forces over the other would extinguish all existence; thus, to preserve the world, ongoing struggle is necessary (Saunders 2001).

Shamanism

The oldest religious healing tradition still in general use today is known as *shamanism.* Over the past thirty years it has become common practice to use the word *shaman,* from the Evenki language of Siberia, to refer to Mayan religious specialists whose skills include calendrical divination, dream interpretation, and spiritual healing (Gossen 1974; Vogt 1976; Carlsen and Prechtel 1994; Tarn and Prechtel 1997).

In the anthropological literature there has long been a distinction between the ceremonial and healing roles of shamans and priests. Whereas a shaman becomes a vehicle for divine healing through spirit possession and ecstatic trance, a priest heals by communicating with deities and ancestors, primarily through offerings and prayers. Among the Maya the role of shaman and priest overlap in such a way that

many individuals simultaneously serve a community in a priestly role as well as serving individuals in a shamanic role (Miller and Taube 1993, 152). As a result there was in the past and still is today rarely an individual who might be labeled either a shaman or a priest. Rather the same people practice a blend of priestly and shamanic roles in such a way that they might be described as priest-shamans, if most of their work is for a community, or as shaman-priests, if most of their work is for individuals (Tedlock 1992, 47–87).

Pre-Hispanic Shamanism

Among the priestly roles of shamans before the Spanish came was the ability to shape-shift into atmospheric phenomena, as well as into animal companions, in order to relay messages from the gods and ancestors to the people. To shape-shift, shamans used prayer, together with mantic processes including divining by lots and crystal gazing. Archaeological remains of divining crystals and sacred bundles containing seeds and beans for the casting of lots have been found. Priestly individuals known as *nawal winak,* "nawal persons," were portrayed in early manuscripts as possessing superhuman powers of transforming themselves into atmospheric phenomena as well as into animals, especially jaguars. Although these texts do not mention the use of psychoactive drugs to achieve a trance state, they do describe various practices such as fasting, sleep deprivation, and bloodletting, which permit communication with the gods.

The priest-shamans of the Quiche, the Mayan people of Guatemala, included rulers such as Gucumatz, Cotuha, Quicabe, and Cawizimah, who were referred to as both *kaman katik,* "our grandfathers, our grandmothers," and *kachuch kakaja,* "our mother, our father" (Mercedes de la Garza 1990, 127). The writers of the *Popol Vuh* identified Gucumatz, or the "plumed Serpent," as one of their earliest rulers. They called him "a true lord of genius" and described him as manifesting his spirit familiars, saying that "on one occasion he would climb up to the sky; on another he would go down the road to Xibalba [the Underworld]. On another occasion he would be serpentine, becoming an actual serpent. On yet another occasion he would make himself aquiline, and on another feline; he would become like an actual eagle or a jaguar in his appearance. On another occasion it would be a pool of blood; he would become nothing but a pool of blood" (Tedlock 1996, 186).

Although shamanism was once considered primarily a masculine vocation, in the Americas one of the earliest written records of an important shaman is that of a Maya noblewoman by the name of Lady K'ab'al Xook. She lived during the Classic Period in the ancient city of Yaxchilan, in what is now Chiapas, Mexico. She commissioned a series of carved stone lintels for her temple, in one of which she is portrayed as letting blood by running a long cord twisted with thorns through her tongue. In a second lintel she stands motionless before a huge rattlesnake standing on its tail with a human head emerging from its jaws. As a priest-shaman with knowledge of the heavens, her duties may well have included ritual sacrifices to the sun, moon, stars, and constellations.

The first clear representation of the sun as an important cosmological symbol appears in the form of a four-petaled element, commonly referred to as the kin sign. This is the Yucatec Mayan term for "sun" as well as for "day." In ancient Maya mythology the solar gods are youthful males, consistent with the strength and vigor of the rising sun. The sun was also identified with the most powerful creature of the forest, the jaguar. The moon, on the other hand, was represented as a young, beautiful woman. During the Classic period the moon goddess was portrayed as sitting on the crescent of the Maya hieroglyph for moon, holding a rabbit in her lap.

The Maya viewed the Milky Way as both a jaguar pelt thrown across the heavens, with each star a spot on its black fur, and as a crossroads. The Black Road, corresponding to the Great Rift in the Milky Way, traced the seasonal movements of constellations northward. It was this road that linked the zenith to the Underworld, Xibalba. The White Road, corresponding to the section of the Milky Way whose width is solid white, rather than being split lengthwise by the darkness of the Great Rift, linked the southern Underworld to the zenith. Battles and sacrifices were timed to coincide with the movements of the planets Jupiter and Venus (Tedlock 1999, 40–41).

The shamanic role of midwives is indicated in paintings that display them with jaguar char-

acteristics. Jaguars symbolically link the three cosmological domains—sky, earth, and Underworld—through their ability to climb tall trees, run long distances on land, and swim across lakes and rivers, as well as dwell in underground caves. In Maya hieroglyphic writing a sign consisting of a human face half-covered with a jaguar skin has been deciphered as "Jaguar Lord," indicating that the jaguar is the companion spirit of a priest-shaman.

On the four sides of a recently discovered Classic Maya polychrome vessel from the sixth century, known as the Birth Vase, there is a pictorial narrative and hieroglyphic text concerning the mythology and ritual of birth. It features midwives with jaguar, or shamanic, characteristics (Taube 1994). The significance of these women's actions can be understood by using information recorded during the colonial period.

A number of sources recorded that the Maya had religious leaders devoted to organizing and presiding over great community feasts. Among the Maya of Yucatan there was a hierarchy of religious leaders called *ah kinoob,* "those of the Sun," headed by a chief priest, or *ahau can,* "serpent lord." These shamans were closely associated with both snakes and jaguars. The serpent symbolized the generative energy of the world, representing water, blood, and fecundity. Because of its ability to give birth to itself (in the sense of shedding its skin) it was, and still is, also associated with shamanic initiations during which the novice dies and is reborn as a shaman. Several Mayan people had and still have myths and initiatory rites centering on the experience of being swallowed and then regurgitated by a great serpent (Mercedes de la Garza 1990, 136–137).

Modern Shamanism

Mayan religious life today is directed by a group of shamans and priests. Their recruitment reveals the presence of all of the classic ways of becoming a shaman: through sickness, dreams, ecstasies, and inheritance. At the heart of shamanic practice is the active pursuit of knowledge: the understanding of astronomical, animal, and human behavior, the recognition of healing plants and exploration of their uses, and an empathic approach to the human psyche. Individuals who are trained and initiated into the shaman role practice a combination of soul journeying and spirit possession. Hands-on healing practices encompass bone setting, massage, herbal healing, and midwifery. Shamans work out their own combinations of empirical and mystical ways of knowing, sustained by life-long experiences that lead to becoming respected elders. As oral performers they recite myths, charms, spells, songs, and genealogies of previous shamans. Herbalism is reserved for shamans, masters of the ecstatic trance, who are chosen by plant divinities and become experts in handling them (Tedlock 1992; Tarn and Prechtel 1997).

The effectiveness of shamanic healing depends upon a combination of empirical knowledge with the power of a patient's faith in the healing process. Like all healers worldwide, shamans use hope, suggestion, expectation, and a variety of rituals that elicit a powerful placebo effect. This effect, which has been called "the doctor who resides within," arises from a direct connection between positive emotions and the biochemistry of the body. Shamanic chants with their repetitive symbolism help to reorganize the chaos of illness through the emotional discharge of unconscious material. Confession and forgiveness elicit and restructure repressed memories in order to resolve conflicts. They reduce stress and reestablish harmonious relations by providing emotional catharsis, or the remembering and reexperiencing of painful memories.

In many Mayan communities today, shamans also practice divination with the help of the 260-day calendar, the *tzolkin,* "count of the days," and sacred bundles containing tree seeds, grains of corn, and rock crystals. The divinatory calendar is made up of two cycles, one consisting of an endlessly repeating sequence of thirteen day numbers and the other of an endlessly repeating sequence of twenty day names

The *ajk'ij,* "keeper of days," in Quiche, is a person who knows the 260-day calendar and uses it in divination. These daykeepers are recruited for this role in classical shamanic fashion, with divine election through birth, illness, and dreams, followed by marriage to a spirit spouse at initiation. The day a person is born helps to determine whether or not that person might be trained as a shaman. A person with a favorable birth date may have a series of dreams that indicate that he or she must come before the deities known as "mountain and plains."

Often a prospective shaman dreams of being chased by deer, horses, cows, or bulls, which indicates that he or she must arrive to give offerings at the local earth shrines, which manifest in dreams as large animals. An illness such as *cumatz,* "snake," in which one experiences sudden and extremely painful cramping in the arms, legs, torso, wrist, elbows, and ankles, is considered a shamanic call. Since daykeepers primarily practice divination and healing with individuals, they are shaman-priests.

There is also a small group of daykeepers who practice as priest-shamans, known as *chuchkajawib,* "mother-fathers." They are selected by patrilineages to serve in priestly roles for the community. They bless corn seeds and harvests, baptize newborns, marry adults, and commemorate ancestors at lineage shrines. They also undertake a series of pilgrimages to the sacred mountains and lakes of the four directions. There they address the deities, asking them for health, adequate rainfall, and protection from lightning, flood, hail, earthquakes, landslides, and fires. Although these individuals fulfill priestly roles for their communities, they also have the shamanic gift of "the speaking the blood," which enables them to connect to the electrical forces of the natural world and divine the future, know the past, and understand the hidden present in such a way as to be able to serve both the community and individuals (Tedlock 1992, 74–85).

Barbara Tedlock

See also: Archaeology of Shamanism; Gender in Shamanism; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Maya Bone Divination; Mayan Cosmology; Quiche and Zuni Divination

References and further reading:

Carlsen, Robert S., and Martin Prechtel. 1994. "Walking on Two Legs: Shamanism in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala." Pp. 77–111 in *Ancient Traditions: Shamanism in Central Asia and the Americas.* Edited by Gary Seaman and Jane Day. Niwot: University Press of Colorado.

Gossen, Gary. 1974. *Chamulas in the World of the Sun: Time and Space in a Maya Oral Tradition.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

León-Portilla, Miguel. 1973. *Time and Reality in the Thought of the Maya.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Martin, Simon, and Nikolai Grube. 2000. *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering the Dynasties of the Ancient Maya.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Mercedes de la Garza, Maria. 1990. *Sueño y alucinación en el mundo náhuatl y maya.* Mexico: Instituto de Estudios Mayas, UNAM.

Miller, Mary, and Karl Taube. 1993. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya: An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Saunders, Nicholas. 2001. "Shamanism in Pre-Hispanic cultures." Pp. 141–142 in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures.* Vol. 3. Edited by David Carrasco. New York: Oxford University Press.

Schele, Linda, David Freidel, and Joy Parker. 1993. *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path.* New York: William Morrow.

Tarn, Nathaniel, and Martin Prechtel. 1997. *Scandals in the House of Birds: Shamans and Priests on Lake Atitlán.* New York: Marsilio.

Taube, Karl. 1994. "The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya Myth and Ritual." Pp. 650–685 in *The Maya Vase Book.* Vol. 4. Edited by Justin Kerr. New York: Kerr Associates.

Tedlock, Barbara. 1992. *Time and the Highland Maya.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1999. "Maya astronomy: What We Know and How We Know It." *Archaeoastronomy* 14: 39–58.

Tedlock, Dennis. 1996. *Popol Vuh.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Vogt, Evon Z. 1976. *Tortillas for the Gods: A Symbolic Analysis of Zinacanteco Rituals.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

OTOMÍ (ÑÄHÑU) INDIAN SHAMANISM (MEXICO)

Otomí Indian shamans live and work in the eastern mountains of Hidalgo and in surrounding states in the country of Mexico. The Otomí Indians of the highlands in Hidalgo, the State of Mexico, and Querétaro know of shamanic practices, but they seem to have few, if any, practicing shamans in their communities.

Many Otomí now prefer to be called by their native name "Ñähñu," a name that is used in this article. The sierra Ñähñu, the Ñähñu who live in the eastern mountains, base their shamanism on native religious beliefs that have pre-Columbian origins.

Sierra Ñähñu shamans are traditional Mesoamerican Indian shamans. Traditional Mesoamerican Indian shamans are regarded as authorities on unseen spirit worlds known to almost everybody in their societies through traditional myths. A traditional shaman is also a pastor who leads a flock of devoted followers and may be called on by the community to officiate at religious gatherings or to perform other public services. Traditional shamans may be contrasted with *curandero* shamans, who practice magical healing without the authority and prestige of being religious leaders in their communities. Curandero shamans draw on a wide range of folk beliefs including colonial Spanish and modern religious beliefs. The mythical basis of their rituals is more diffuse. Curandero shamans are often subdivided into specialties according to their mode of ritual curing.

Sierra Ñähñu shamans serve as diviners, curers, psychotherapists, and priests. The divinatory activities of the shamans are supported by the belief that they can see hidden aspects of the world of living beings. The curing activities of these shamans are supported by the ideas that all beings have an animating soul force and that each human is aided by one or more companion spirit animals. The psychotherapeutic activities are supported by the shamans' sensitivity to individual and familial problems. The priestly functions are supported by believers, or entire communities, who hire the shamans to officiate at traditional religious rituals. Both men and women can be shamans. Some seem to be more spiritual than others. They are highly respected for their knowledge. The native term for shaman means "a person with knowledge." People believe that shamans can see and understand things that ordinary people cannot.

These shamans perform divination with the aid of a censer, candles, wands, or a crystal. The censer is held before the images of tutelary beings on the shaman's altar and then taken to the patient. The nature of the illness is read in the way the smoke travels upward from the censer. The way in which a candle burns on the altar can also indicate the type of illness from which a patient suffers. The censer and the candle are means of communication with the tutelary beings represented by images on the altar. All shamans are in contact with tutelary beings that help them to cure. The shaman's visions of the beings guide the divination. Divination is often used to diagnose supernatural elements in an illness, but it also can be used to find thieves, locate missing persons, discover envious neighbors, and do other things.

Much of the work of sierra Ñähñu shamans is performed at altars. Religious people, shamans and others, often build oratories, small one-room buildings, to house an altar with religious images. Other altars are erected outside at sacred places such as mountaintops, caves, or springs.

The wands permit contact with tutelary beings. The wands, silver-tipped and black, are covered with sheaves of paper cuttings that attract the soul forces of the beings. Holding one wand in each hand, the shaman sits before the altar and enters a visionary trance. Petitioners come forward to receive advice about their lives. They believe that the shaman can see what is happening in their lives. Advice is given, and the shaman may end the trance by falling into a stupor. Devoted worshipers also enter such trances. Cannabis, a sacred plant called Santa Rosa, is often used to enhance the trance. The spirit of Santa Rosa calls them and gives them the power to see into the lives of others.

Crystals are used in the shaman's oratorio or while visiting patients. The crystals are made of natural quartz or cut glass. The dancing reflections of candlelight inside a crystal send messages to the shaman. The crystal may be brought near the patient to search inside the body for the source of an illness.

The concept of soul force, called *zaki,* is an essential part of the worldview that supports sierra Ñähñu shamanism. Not everyone believes in this worldview, but it is widespread enough in the sierra region to maintain traditional shamanism as a form of healing. Traditional sierra Ñähñu believe that everything that moves is animated by zaki. Everything with zaki is a being of some sort. A world without this force would be gray and dead, lit only by a feeble sun stationary in the heavens. All animals and plants would die and freeze. Nothing

would change. The most powerful zaki belong to the principal gods, Sun, Water, and Earth, who bring life to lesser beings. Lesser "lords" with qualities that Europeans would call supernatural control other events with their lesser zaki. Near the bottom of this hierarchy of power are humans, animals, and plants. The beings with the greater zaki dominate and are responsible for those with lesser zaki. As the divine Sun dominates all beings on earth, humans dominate animals and plants.

Sierra Ñähñu shamans use paper figures to represent the zaki of beings. The figures have a doll-like form with heads, arms, and legs. They are cut from letter paper, colored tissue paper, tinsel paper, or a special bark paper that the people make for this purpose. Although it is highly prized by tourists, the bark paper is used by shamans only for the most evil beings. People believe that the paper figures are able to attract the zaki and to put the beings under the control of the shaman. Therefore, through rituals incorporating the paper figures, a shaman is able to strengthen, motivate, and attract the beings. Zaki is a force for life, so strengthening a person's zaki restores their health. Zaki gives humans the desire to live and reproduce, so putting two human figures together causes a mutual feeling of attraction. To tie one figure to the hand of another results in feelings of submission and domination. Zaki is closely related to what Europeans would call feelings and motivations, conscious and unconscious.

The companion spirit animals *(rogi)* are beings in their own right. The sierra Ñähñu believe that when a human is born one or more rogi belonging to him or her are also born. They live in the mountains nearby. (All mountains are sacred, but some are more sacred than others.) The rogi protect the person, but they are also vulnerable themselves. If all of them die, the person will die. Paper figures in animal form representing the patient's rogi are cut during curing ceremonies. They aid the person in distress. Because the rogi are vulnerable too, a shaman may call upon his powerful rogi to defend the rogi of his client. The client's rogi are most often attacked by the rogi of a sorcerer. These battles take place in the mountains. Eagles and pumas are the most powerful rogi of a curing shaman. However, sorcerers may have powerful rogi too. Their rogi include owls and foxes, the nocturnal counterparts of the eagles and the pumas. The puma *(zate)* is the most revered and respected feline for the sierra Ñähñu, not the jaguar. This suggests that Ñähñu beliefs originated in the Mexican highlands where pumas roamed, rather than along the coast where the jaguars live. The Ñähñu participated in the Aztec empire in the highlands and derive much of their culture from that area.

Sierra Ñähñu shamanic curing utilizes both rituals and herbal medicines. Curing is seen as a process in which zaki is strengthened. It can be strengthened both by ritual and by medicine. The system is neither wholly magical nor wholly naturalistic. Ritual is critical when a patient feels that he or she has been threatened supernaturally. Then a shaman must act to neutralize the threat; otherwise, the patient may be doomed. Sorcery is a supernatural attack launched by an enemy. Sorcery-caused illnesses tend to be wasting illnesses that do not respond to medicines. People believe that some sorcery illnesses are caused by object intrusion. The object can be seen with the aid of a crystal and removed by magical sucking. If an illness lacks a suspicious origin, then it can be cured by medicines, which they say have been placed on earth by God to heal these illnesses. No distinction is made between herbal medicines and medicines purchased in a pharmacy, except that the former are cheaper and more available. Sometimes an ordinary disease cannot be cured by medicines, so God has willed that the person's time on earth is over. Shamans charge their patients for their healing work only if the cure is successful.

Sorcery is the use of magic to harm. Acts of sorcery do exist among the sierra Ñähñu: People have reported witnessing them, and sorcery implantations have been discovered. In practical terms, however, sorcery exists primarily in the minds of nervous ill persons. Sorcerers naturally conceal their activities, and none have been interviewed so far. Shamans do not advertise their ability to do sorcery, but everyone believes they have the ability. The ethics of a curing shaman demand that he or she abjure sorcery and only revert to it when ethically necessary. Some sierra Ñähñu shamans are a bit wild in their claims to supernatural power and teeter on this dangerous brink, but never seem to lose their balance. A shaman can ethically use sorcery to reflect a supernatural attack back on the attacker if a

greatly suffering client will accept nothing else. However, the shaman should exhaust all other possible means of neutralizing the sorcery and calming the client. Sorcery is regarded as a violent act that disrupts the peace of the community. It may result in revenge killing. Sorcery is a dangerous business both for a client and a shaman. The worst thing a shaman can do is to accept money for performing sorcery. After that, he or she can never return to honest membership in the community and will loose all power to heal, so it is said.

Sierra Ñähñu shamans serve priestly functions during traditional religious rituals. These rituals celebrate traditional gods and lords. Their general purpose is to create a reciprocal relationship between humans and the other more powerful beings. Since shamans know most about these beings, they give advice on how to perform the rituals. They act as the principal celebrants during the parts of a ritual where great care is necessary. However, they are seldom the sponsors of the ceremonies, which require the sponsor to contribute food and other offerings. The prestige and the supernatural benefits of a ceremony accrue to the sponsors. Often one sees sponsors working side by side with shamans in democratic cooperation. Shamans are always ready to step aside to allow clients to perform rituals that will benefit them. Offerings consist of candles, incense, liquor, cigarettes, money, soft drinks, food, cookies, and a variety of traditional flower decorations. Before a ritual, the male participants make the traditional flower decorations while the female participants cook the food. The most common type of ritual, the *costumbre,* starts in the evening and lasts all night. During a costumbre a shaman may give advice to participants, go into a trance to perform divination, and heal sick people. The healing is usually done at a time when it will not interfere with the ritual celebration that is taking place.

Noncuring rituals on which sierra Ñähñu shamans advise include pilgrimages to a mythical place where Goddess Lady Water lives, pilgrimages to mountain tops and caves to ask the gods for help, rituals to restore the fertility of fields, and rituals to imbue seeds with zaki.

Paper figures are used in most rituals. Only shamans and their assistants cut them. The ritual could be simply one to worship a god. To do this one must attract the zaki of the god with the paper figures. For example, the idol representing Goddess Lady Water is created by collecting water from a sacred spring in a bottle, attaching paper figures that represent her zaki to the bottle, and dressing the combination in miniature clothes. Images and paper figures are often dressed in miniature clothes for a ceremony. The paper figures may also represent the zaki of evil beings. A cleansing ceremony is performed by sierra Ñähñu shamans using a bundle of paper figures that represents evil winds. People believe that these wind beings can attack a person and cause an illness. It is also considered prudent to periodically cleanse a house in case such winds are lurking about. The paper figures of the evil winds are usually cut from tissue paper. They are offered foul-smelling incense and tallow candles. Tallow candles are made from animal fat and symbolize the carnivorous nature of the winds. The offerings and figures are wrapped in a bundle and passed around the bodies of the clients and around the inside of the house. The bundle is carefully taken to a remote location or thrown into a canyon so that the winds will not return.

James W. Dow

See also: Central and South American Shamanism; Curanderismo; Mayan Shamanism; Quiche and Zuni Divination; Tarahumara Shamanism

References and further reading:

Christensen, Bodil. 1971. “Bark Paper and Witchcraft.” Pp. 7–45 in *Witchcraft and Pre-Columbian Paper.* Edited by Bodil Christensen and Samuel Marti. Mexico City: Ediciones Euroamericanas.

Dow, James W. 1986. *The Shaman's Touch: Otomí Indian Symbolic Healing.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

———. 1994. “Sierra Otomí: People of the Mexican Mountains.” Pp. 155–184 in *Portraits of Culture: Ethnographic Originals.* Edited by M. Ember, C. Ember, and D. Levinson. New York: Prentice Hall.

———. 2001. “Central and North Mexican Shamans.” Pp. 66–94 in *Mesoamerican Healers.* Edited by Brad Huber and Alan Sandstrom. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Lopez, Miguel Antonio, and Alan R. Sandstrom. 1981. *Historia de la Curación Antiguo de San Pablito, Pahuatlán, Puebla* [Traditional Curing and Crop Fertility

Rituals among Otomí Indians of the Sierra de Puebla]. Lopez Manuscripts. Bloomington: Indiana University Museum.
Sandstrom, Alan R., and Pamela E. Sandstrom. 1986. *Traditional Papermaking and Paper Cult Figures of Mexico.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

PERUVIAN SHAMANS

Peruvian healers are known by various names, according to the therapeutic strategy utilized by the healer. Examples include *hueseros* (bonesetters), *comadronas* or *parteras* (midwives), *yervateras* or *herbolarios* (herbalists), and even *santiguadores* (those who pray over children to recover lost souls). In addition to varying by specialty, names also vary according to region and language community. For example, the specialist in herbal lore would be known as *hampicamayoc* in the Quechua-speaking highlands near Cuzco (Valdivia), *kallawaya* in the Aymará-speaking Southern highlands near the Bolivian border (Bastien), *vegetalista* in the Amazonian lowlands near Pucallpa (Luna), and so on. Some, though not all of these healers, might be described as shamans as Mircea Eliade (1989) defined the term. Those who fit this definition have been accepted by their communities as medical and religious specialists who cure by entering into an ecstatic trance to commune with and mediate between seen and unseen worlds on behalf of their patients. It is these shamanic healers and their rituals that are the focus of this essay.

Regional variations notwithstanding, there are many similarities in the form and function of shamanic ritual on Peru's desert plains, in the high Andes, and in the tropical forest. In the course of ritual ceremonies (most often held at night and in the company of assistants, patients, and family and community members), these shamanic healers send their shadow souls on mystical voyages to divine the cause of illness and to propitiate spirits and *encantos* (animated forces of nature). The offerings they give in order to strike deals with spirit familiars who assist in removing the magical darts or restoring the lost souls that are believed to be proximate causes of harm may be region-specific (llama fat and fetuses in the high Andes) or pan-regional. Among the latter are guinea pig flesh and blood, tobacco, powders derived from seashells and brightly colored stones, wine and cane alcohol, fragrant perfumes, white corn meal, sweets, money, and sacred plants. Objects embodying spirit power, such as rocks and minerals, crystals, seashells, plants, wooden staffs, and even Christian icons, give these shamans and their patients strength and protection from spirit attacks as well as revealing and "cleansing" magically caused illness. Their soul voyages may be accompanied by the beat of a rattle (whether the seed-filled gourd called *macana* or the dry-leaf bundle called *chacapa*) or by the sound of bamboo flutes, guitars, or drums. Often, though not always, the shaman chants or whistles magical songs called *tarjos* (on the coast) or *icaros* (in the tropical forest) during the journey.

Entheogens and Peruvian Shamanism

Throughout Peru, in the prehistoric, historic, and modern eras, the trance state so important to shamanic ritual has been facilitated by ingestion of alkaloid-rich plants that may be collectively termed *entheogens* (from the Greek; "something that causes the divine to reside within one") because of local beliefs about the sacred character of these plants and because of the ritual context of their usage. Sometimes called "hallucinogens" because of their mind-altering characteristics, these plants have included many species, including *willka* or *vilca (Anadenanthera peregrina* and *Anadenanthera colubrina), San Pedro* or *huachuma (Trichocereus pachanoi* and *Trichocereus peruvianus), ayahuasca (Banisteriopsis caapi), coca (Erythroxylum coca), floripondio, toé,* or *misha* (a collection of plants of the *Solanacea* family, including various species of *Datura* and *Brugmansia*) and *tabacco (Nicotiana rustica).* Contemporary shamans called *maestros curanderos* from Peru's northern coast and highlands brew a kind of tea made of the San Pedro cactus, which both they and their patients ingest during the all-night ceremonies to "see" the sources of illness that lie beyond empirical knowledge.

In the central and southern highlands, coca is both ingested and offered to the *apus* (sacred places) by the *paqo* or *altomisayoq* shaman as a part of the rituals of propitiation that are central to reestablishing harmony between individ-

uals and the natural world, their communities, and the cosmos. In the tropical forest to the east of the high Andes, *vegetalista* or *ayahuasquero* shamans painstakingly boil ayahuasca (together with *chacruna [Psychotria viridis]*) in a lengthy process that yields a thick brown, and very potent, concentrate. This bitter syrup is ingested by the shaman, who must dominate the spirit "mother" of the plant (which manifests as both a monstrous anaconda and a beautiful young woman) in order to receive instruction and aid about the sources of illness and the steps needed to restore health.

Prehistoric and Historic Evidence for Peruvian Shamanism

As outlined below, historic documents from as early as the sixteenth century also point to sustained use of entheogens by Peruvian shamanic healers. But use of sacred plants by Peruvian shamans has a time depth that goes far beyond the dawn of written history, a use that can be surmised from ancient depictions of psychotropic substances on pottery, in textiles, and in rock art that was created long before the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors. These visual representations predate the arrival of written language in Peru by at least 2,500 years and include depictions of healers, their patients, and their healing paraphernalia (including rattles; boxes of rocks, seeds, and plants; and ceramic jars and jugs). These visual representations also portray shamans utilizing coca, willka, and, most frequently, the hallucinogenic San Pedro cactus.

Many of the earliest (ca. 1500–500 B.C.E.) *Cupisnique* pots (from Peru's north central coast) that depict this cactus also contain imagery associated with animals such as jaguars or deer, mythological beings such as fanged serpents or jaguars with eye-spots, three-step stairways, and volutes. These symbols are associated with the shaman's ability to magically see beyond spatial and temporal barriers. They also indicate the ability to ascend and descend (in spirit) into the heavens and the Underworld in order to propitiate the gods, guide the dead to the afterlife, or retrieve lost souls and restore human health. Similar representations on *Nazca* pottery (from Peru's south coast, ca. 100 B.C.E.–600 C.E.) pair the San Pedro cactus with birds and mythological anthropomorphic figures that reflect similar symbolic elements. Later *Moche* and *Lambayeque* pottery (100–1350 C.E.) shows clearly human figures and mythological human-bird figures holding the San Pedro cactus while apparently in a trance-like state. These figures have been called female because they are most often wearing the cowls or shawl-like head coverings associated with female dress in the archaeological record. (See Sharon 2000 for detailed descriptions of the pottery representations discussed here.)

While these portrait-like depictions provide visual evidence for shamanic healing in pre-Colombian Peruvian coastal societies, the line drawings on many pieces of Moche pottery make it difficult to specify healer functions and roles in pre-Colombian coastal Peru. It is unclear, for example, when and whether shamanic healers evolved into a state-supported priest class responsible for propitiating Moche deities with human sacrifice. The difficulty interpreting fine-line pots stems from the problem that participants in Moche religious life are most often depicted as mythological beings rather than as humans. Debate rages among scholars about the correspondences between these mythological creatures and their human counterparts (see Hocquenghem 1987; Makowski et al. 2000; and Alva et al. 2000).

Colonial Depictions and Shamanic Transformations

With the sixteenth-century arrival of the Spaniards and the rendering of oral tradition into written accounts, much of the pre-Columbian cosmology associated with healing traditions has become known. As the author has summarized elsewhere, "From these reports, we know the sun and moon were worshiped as key and complementary deities, each presiding over a world "half" characterized by such contrasting qualities as right/left, sky/earth-sea, man/woman, fertility/fecundity, conquering/autochthonous" (Glass-Coffin 1999, 208). In addition to these, lesser deities associated with the stars, wind, mountains, caves, oddly shaped rocks, and the mummified remains of human ancestors were also believed to contain the divine power called *huaca* that was invoked and propitiated by shamanic healers—men as well as women.

With Spanish colonization of Peru, indigenous cosmologies that emphasized duality and

complementarity were transformed and demonized in accordance with European traditions. Colonial references to entheogens (especially to huachuma/San Pedro, vilca/willka, and coca) are frequent and generally deprecatory, associating the use of these psychotropics with devil worship and sorcery. One famous passage, written by Father Oliva in 1631 as part of a report about the church-sponsored campaigns to "extirpate idolatries," may serve as an example:

> The principal *caciques* and *curacas* [leaders] of this nation . . . in order to know the good or bad will of some to others drink a beverage they call Achuma which is a water they make from the sap of some thick and smooth cacti that they raise in the hot valleys. They drink it with great ceremonies and songs, and as it is very strong, after they drink it they remain without judgment and deprived of their senses, and they see visions that the Devil represents to them and consistent with them they judge their suspicions and the intentions of others. (cited in Sharon 1978, 43)

All those matters that were foreign to orthodox Catholicism were relabeled as either heresy or idolatry in ways that particularly impacted female healers, since women, according to the beliefs that accompanied Catholic priests on their New World voyages, had weaker constitutions than men and were prey to insatiable carnal desires. Devil worship was especially equated with the feminine, the autochthonous, and the underworld. The feminine side of Andean dualities became associated with expectations of *maleficio* (the act of causing harm through use of supernatural means), demonic pacts that were sealed through illicit and unnatural sexual intercourse, and participation in orgiastic rituals meant to overturn Christian values. Women were therefore persecuted by the ecclesiastic campaigns to extirpate idolatries in ways that demanded them to confess to the crimes of witchcraft and demonolatry.

These overlays of Catholic dichotomies of good and evil, holy and demonic, or even right and left onto indigenous dualities of sun and moon, Upper and Lower Worlds, and male and female can be seen in the curing altars of contemporary coastal healers. But an even more important legacy of these colonial transformations is the emphasis on sorcery or witchcraft (intentionally caused harm) as the raison d'être of contemporary healing practices. This is especially so in urban areas, where community economics that emphasize reciprocity and maintenance of social harmony have given way to the atomizing forces of the market (see Glass-Coffin 1991 and Dobkin de Rios 1973). But even in the Andean or tropical forest hinterlands, where *encantos,* or nature spirits, are seen as the main causes of misfortune, sorcery-caused illness is of grave concern.

The Role of the Shaman in Sorcery and Healing

Sorcery and shamanic healing are two sides of a single coin in contemporary healing practices throughout Peru. *Envidia* (envy), jealousy, retribution, and vengeance are reasons most often given by disgruntled neighbors, business associates, or family members (especially in-laws) who seek out the services of a *brujo malero* (sorcerer, evil witch) to maim, harm, or kill the offending party. If the brujo accepts the job, s/he will perform a ceremony in order to cause the victim harm. On the coast and in the highlands, the purpose of this ritual is most often described as engaging the help of spirit familiars to steal the victim's soul. In the lowlands, the objective is more likely to send magical darts called *virote* into the victim in order to cause the harm. These types of harm should not be seen as mutually exclusive, however, since ritual "cleansing" and "sucking" are key parts of the healing ceremony, even for victims who are believed to suffer from sorcery-caused soul capture. In all cases, sorcery is a manifestation of life out-of-balance because it presumes and thrives on social discord. The cure involves restoring harmony on several levels.

Sympathetic magic plays a key role in the delivery of the sorcery in both soul capture and spirit intrusion. In both cases, the sorcery may be facilitated by ingestion of a magical potion called a *brebaje* that is secretly slipped into the victim's food or drink. This type of sorcery is known as *daño por boca* (damage through the mouth) because it enters the victim through the mouth. The potion is said to contain powdered human remains, excrement, blood, or other foul and magically "charged" items. Or the sorcery may be facilitated by *aire,* which involves the victim coming into contact with a

A Mochica ceramic depicting a priest or shaman praying over, or attempting to cure, a person lying at his feet. The seated figure wears a feline hat and large ear disks; either his eyes are closed, he is blind, or he is communing with the world of the spirits. (Werner Forman/Corbis)

charm that the sorcerer has prepared or a doll or other image of the victim being stuck with pins, stamped on, burned, buried, or otherwise harmed.

Symptoms of sorcery tend to reflect the characteristics of the spirit-familiar that has captured and imprisoned the victim's shadow soul or of the magical dart that has been thrown at the victim. For example, victims whose souls have been bound to those of cemetery-dwelling cadavers tend to *chuparse* (to become thinner and thinner as the life is "sucked" from their bodies) until they begin to resemble the cadaver itself. Victims whose souls have been bound to the Devil are said to engage in demonic behavior and "unnatural" sexual activities. Examples might include child molestation, incest, or nymphomania. A victim whose soul has been bound to a bog or seep that is *encantado* (a force of nature that has innate spirit power) may also seep or sweat profusely, unable to retain vital fluids. Although these symptoms may mimic those that are biological in origin, their magical origins make them resistant to treatment by biomedical professionals.

In all cases, it is the role of the shamanic healer to undo the sorcery that has been caused by brujos. While many shamanic healers insist that they do only good, much of the literature suggests that the brujo or sorcerer and the healer are the same person, simply performing differing shamanic roles in accordance with the client's needs.

Shamanic Selection, Apprenticeship, Initiation, and Renewal

Throughout Peru, shamanic selection may be conferred by a number of indicators. A shamanic vocation and talent for seeing beyond the limits of empirical reality is believed to run in families. Practitioners often claim to be descended from a long line of shamans as a way of demonstrating both their power and their authenticity to potential clients. The vocation can also be indicated by being singled out at birth in some way. Being born a twin, having visible birthmarks, or having obvious birth defects are examples of this shamanic marking. Other indicators of shamanic vocation include the visions or dreams (whether or not inspired by the ingestion of entheogens) that signal a divine calling to serve one's community. These visions or dreams might reveal a proclivity for seeing into the spirit world, for divining the future, for healing the sick, or for commanding spirit familiars. Finally, shamanic vocation is most often revealed to the future practitioner through near-death experiences. Survival of a life-threatening illness that is either cured by another shaman or self-cured provides one example of this. Survival of an unusual environmental accident (especially that of being struck by lightning) provides another.

Means for receiving shamanic wisdom vary widely throughout the country. In the Amazonian lowlands, most ayahuasqueros insist that they learn directly from plant spirits and that they must prepare to receive this knowledge by means of a kind of vision quest. This quest includes a period of fasting and abstinence as well as removing oneself to the forest for a period of time. It also includes ingesting the plant in

question and enduring the toxic or psychoactive effects that result. The plant spirits may be very frightening, appearing to the supplicant as giant anacondas, jaguars, venomous snakes, or deformed creatures. But this fear must be overcome in order to receive the wisdom of these plants as well as the magical songs called *icaros* that carry and control this wisdom. In the central and southern highlands, visions and dreams are frequently cited as primary sources of apprenticeship. These are often received as the result of a vision quest that involves solitary journeys to high mountain peaks and endurance of the immense cold and fatigue that results from these vigils. During this quest, the seeker lights candles to the mountain gods while continually "feeding" the spirit of the place with coca, cigarettes, and alcohol. Northern curanderos are not considered truly powerful until they have undergone the long and dangerous pilgrimage to the sacred Las Huaringas lagoons in the high mountains that border on Ecuador. As part of this pilgrimage, initiates must bathe in the frigid waters of these highland lagoons to be cleansed of all impurities and to "sow" their shadow souls in the primordial waters of these lagoons. Called *ojos del mar* (eyes of the sea), these lagoons are considered portals for tapping into the cosmic energy of the universe that circulates between sky, earth, and Underworld, as well as the life force that animates all living beings.

As suggested above, shamanic work is tiring, difficult, and dangerous. It is tiring because rituals mainly occur at night and most shamans have other work and family obligations during normal waking hours. Therefore, a practitioner can expect to be chronically sleep-deprived. It is difficult because the ritual process requires continuous physical, mental, and spiritual preparation and sacrifice. The shaman's diet is especially strict in the Peruvian Amazon, where plant spirits require weeks or even months of fasting, purging, and abstinence from petitioners who seek their wisdom. Throughout Peru, ingestion of entheogens (and participation in the ritual process) frequently brings nausea, pain, anguish, and other discomfort as shamans relive the suffering of their patients. The shamanic vocation is also dangerous because practitioners become subject to spirit attack as a result of their work. These attacks derive both from the spirit forces that afflict their patients as well as from those sent by sorcerers who envy their success as healers and who wish them personal harm.

Shamanic Ceremonies and Ritual Paraphernalia

Shamanic ceremonies vary by region, but all include the key task of maintaining or restoring cosmic and social order. The northern curandero has the most elaborate healing altar, *mesa,* containing dozens of objects, *artes,* that are imbued with the spirit power of their places of origin. The mesa includes wooden staffs hewn from magical plants such as *chonta* (*Guilielma* sp.) and *hualtaco* (*Loxopterygium huasango*), whose spirits appear as a plant with sharpened spines and as an eagle respectively (Glass-Coffin, field notes 1988). They are used to defend against evil and guard the mesa from harm. In addition to the San Pedro brew, the mesa contains seashells, rocks (especially those taken from the highland lagoons in which the shaman's shadow has been sown), pre-Columbian pottery, and (sometimes) human skulls, as well as Christian saints and images. It also includes tabacco and a variety of liquids for feeding the spirits. The mesa of the highland paqo, or *yatiri,* usually contains a smaller number of these items, as well as *kintus,* offering bundles of coca, and carved *illas,* talismans depicting produce, livestock, and other representations of the good fortune desired by the petitioners. The mesa of the ayahuasquero is the least elaborate. It is usually limited to a few bottles (including the ayahuasca and sacred water used for cleansing and capturing evil) as well as the black tobacco cigarettes called *mapachos* that are the primary offering and food of the plant spirits. Additionally, it usually contains the chacapa leaf-bundle used to manage the plant spirits that facilitate curing.

The ritual process also varies by region. A typical coastal or northern highland San Pedro ritual lasts all night, from eight or nine o'clock until almost dawn the next morning. It involves the patient in several ritual activities that are associated with distinct phases of the ritual process. These tasks include ritual rubbing or cleansing of the patient with mesa objects (especially staffs) to both reveal and absorb the sorcery. They include diagnosing the patient while s/he stands before the mesa, as well as "raising" the patient and the mesa objects with

tabaco. This process involves macerating black tobacco in perfumes and cane alcohol and placing it in bivalve seashells or bull's horns, where it is nasally imbibed to allow the shaman to better see and combat the evil. Tasks also involve sucking the evil from various parts of the patient's body and capturing it into the ritual artifacts of the mesa, and blowing various liquids over the patient and the ritual field to purify and propitiate the spirit powers at work.

In the central and southern highlands, the *misas* (mesas) differ according to the function they are intended to serve. The *alta misa* is enacted to ensure an easy birth. It is considered quite different from the *kuti misa,* which is used to return sorcery to its origin. These are both different from the *chullpa misa,* which incorporates animal fat to make offerings to the spirits associated with ancient burials that have sent disease (Hurtado 2000, 140–141, for discussion). Depending on their function, these mesa rituals may occur at night or in the daylight, but their duration is much more limited than that of the all-night San Pedro ceremonies.

The ayahuasca ritual usually occurs at night and typically lasts a few hours only. In this ritual, the patients are less visibly involved than in the San Pedro ceremonies, and there are fewer discernable ritual activities that always occur. Among these are the ingestion of the ayahuasca, the whistling or singing of the magical icaro, the offering of tobacco smoke, and the sucking out of illness from key points on the patient's body.

However these rituals vary in terms of process, they all share some common objectives. The first of these is to call upon the spirit world (whether to divine the cause of illness, to remove illness or return illness, to prevent illness and misfortune, or to guide those present into the presence of the sacred). The second of these is to propitiate spirit familiars (whether of saints, of sacred places, of ancestors, or of plants) in order to accomplish these ends. And the underlying objective of all these healing rituals (as opposed to those that are intended to harm) is to restore balance and harmony between all participants and the natural, social, and cosmic worlds of which they are a part.

Gender and Healing

As suggested above, female shamans played an important role in religion and healing in Peru's pre-Columbian and colonial past. Until very recently, however, there was little evidence to support the assertion that Peruvian shamanism is a vocation open to women today. This absence of evidence may be attributed to issues of access (until recently, most investigators of Peruvian shamanism were themselves male). It may also reflect the reluctance of female healers to admit their participation in this vocation to all but the most intimate of friends.

In part, this reticence comes as a result of the social stigma attached to women who work as shamans. This stigma is the result of at least three factors. First, there is social dissonance between shamanic rituals, which tend to be outward facing and community-oriented, and social expectations that a woman's sphere of activity and influence should be in the home. Second, the colonial legacy of recasting female shamans as Devil-worshipping brujas has been internalized throughout northern Peru. Finally, commonly held beliefs about menstruation that restrict women from ingesting entheogens (especially ayahuasca) during menses may make it logistically difficult for women to do shamanic work during portions of every lunar cycle.

In spite of these obstacles, recent research on the coast and in the northern highlands has effectively challenged assumptions that shamanism is exclusively a male vocation (Camino 1992; Chávez 2000; Glass-Coffin 1998). Because of this work, their stories have begun to emerge, and the voices of female shamans have been added to the ethnographic record. Additionally, this ethnographic research has been framed in terms of wider theoretical debates about the impact of gender and structured social inequalities on the nature of spiritual and religious experience (Glass-Coffin 1999). In the last few years, this focus on gender, shamanism, and spiritual transformation seems to have been gaining popularity. It will most likely yield very interesting results throughout Peru as more traditional female healer roles, such as that of herbalist, midwife, and specialist in childhood illnesses of all types, are reinterpreted in terms of these and other themes.

New Age Transformations and Cautions

In Peru, after hundreds of years of persecution by both Church and State, shamanic healing has gained rapid acceptance over the last

decade. Sudden governmental endorsement of shamanic practice as a cultural heritage to be protected can be seen in the actions of Peru's two most recent presidents. In 1996, President Alberto Fujimori made a pilgrimage to the sacred lagoons of Las Huaringas, where he was ritually cleansed by a maestro curandero. In the year 2000, President Alejandro Toledo emphasized his indigenous genetic heritage as he paid homage to the mountain apus and to his high-Andes ancestors. This change in attitude about Peruvian shamanism accompanies the increasing popularity of shamanic healing in Peru and in the world at large. It also reflects the fact that cultural heritage has the potential for capital gain when it comes to shamanic tradition.

The plethora of books, videos, short-term tours, workshops, and training courses designed to introduce seekers to the "ancient wisdom" of shamanic healers, as well as the (often high) price tags associated with these offerings, attest to this potential. (See Glass-Coffin 1994 for further discussion). Recognizing this commercial potential, in the early to mid 1990s, Peruvian government agencies began promoting shamanic tourism as part of this nation's ancestral cultural legacy in hopes of enticing more foreign visitors to Peru (Flores 1996). But, even as the commodification of shamanism has brought more wealth to tour organizers and to government organizations, it has had more than a few unfortunate consequences. One is the tendency of commercialization to reduce Andean spirituality into mere merchandise for quick sale (Flores 1996, 25–26). The backlash has been significant, as groups of healers have begun organizing in protest. As outlined in the recent Tarapoto Declaration (November 2001), a group of more than fifty shamans from Peru and adjacent South American countries declared: "We categorically reject the improper use and manipulation of sacred plants and medicines employed in traditional medicines. We are especially concerned about charlatanism, new modalities of shamanic tourism, and the trafficking of plants and cultural symbols [by those seeking to patent ayahuasca and other plants used in shamanic rituals]" (author's translation).

In Peru, now more than ever before, shamanic practices have become politicized and co-opted. On the one hand, they are viewed as part of an indigenous heritage and contribute to a renewed sense of identity that is decidedly postcolonial and anti-European. On the other, they are viewed as a means to fuller participation in a global (and capitalistic) economic system. Whatever the motivation, it carries the threat, recently expressed by Alice Beck Kehoe, that the transformations involved will homogenize and obscure cultural and regional differences among shamanic healers, while reifying "Western construction[s] of a stereotyped, mythical Other" (Kehoe 2000, 102).

Accordingly, it is imperative to understand the various forms and functions of Peruvian shamanic traditions. With this background, one begins to understand the dynamic nature of cultural tradition. Additionally, with this background, one can better listen to and understand the Peruvian shamanic practitioners who increasingly demand to speak for themselves as they chart their various futures.

Bonnie Glass-Coffin

See also: Archaeology of Shamanism; Ayahuasca Ritual Use; Central and South American Shamanism; Curanderismo; Dreams and Visions; Pilgrimage and Shamanism; Rock Art and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Allen, Catherine J. 1988. *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Alva, Walter, Mario Polía, Fabiola Chávez, and Luis Hurtado, eds. 2000. *Shamán: La búsqueda . . .* [Shaman: The Search]. Córdoba, Spain: Imprenta San Pablo.

Bastien, Joseph W. 1992. *Drum and Stethoscope: Integrating Ethnomedicine and Biomedicine in Bolivia.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Camino, Lupe. 1992. *Cerros, Plantas, y Lagunas Poderosas: La Medicina al Norte del Perú* [Powerful Hills, Plants and Lagoons: The Medicine of Northern Peru]. Piura, Peru: CIPCA.

Chávez, Fabiola. 2000. "Soñadoras, Terpeutas y Carismáticas de los Andes del Norte: Un Perfil Antropológico" [Dreams, Therapists and Charismatics in the Andes of the North: An Anthropological Profile]. Pp. 163–223 in *Shamán: La Búsqueda . . .* [Shaman: The Search]. Edited by Walter Alva, Mario Polía,

Fabiola Chávez, and Luis Hurtado. Córdoba, Spain: Imprenta San Pablo.
"Declaración de Tarapoto: Medicina Tradicional y Plantas Sagradas" [Declaration of Tarapoto: Traditional Medicine and Sacred Plants]. November 17, 2001. Tarapoto, Peru: Centro TAKIWASI.
Dobkin de Rios, Marlene. 1973. "Curing with Ayahuasca in an Urban Slum." Pp. 67–85 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael James Harner.
———. 1993. "Twenty-five Years of Hallucinogenic Studies in Cross-Cultural Perspective." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 4, no. 1: 1–8.
Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.
Flores, Jorge. 1996. "Buscando los Espíritus del Ande: Turismo Místico en el Qosqo" [Searching the Spirit of the Andes: Mystic Tourism in El Qosqo]. Pp. 9–29 in *La Tradición Andina en Tiempos Modernos* [Andean Tradition in the Modern Period]. Edited by Hiroyasu Tomoeda and Luis Millones. Senri Ethnological Reports, no. 5. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
Glass-Coffin, Bonnie. 1991. "Discourse, Daño and Healing in North Coastal Peru." *Medical Anthropology* 13: 33–55.
———. 1994. "Anthropology, Shamanism, and the 'New Age.'" *Chronicle of Higher Education,* June 15, A48.
———. 1998. *The Gift of Life: Female Spirituality and Healing in Northern Peru.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
———. 1999. "Engendering Peruvian Shamanism through Time: Insights from Ethnohistory and Ethnography." *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 2: 205–238.
Hocquenghem, Anne Marie. 1987. *Iconografía Mochica* [Mochica Iconography]. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
Hurtado, Luis. 2000. "Perfil Cultural del Shamanismo de la Amazonía Peruana" [Cultural Profile of Shamanism in Amazonian Peru]. Pp. 225–269 in *Shamán: La Búsqueda . . .* [Shaman: The Search]. Edited by Walter Alva, Mario Polía, Fabiola Chávez, and Luis Hurtado. Córdoba, Spain: Imprenta San Pablo.
Joralemon, Donald, and Douglas Sharon. 1993. *Sorcery and Shamanism: Curanderos and Clients in Northern Peru.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
Kehoe, Alice Beck. 2000. *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
Luna, Luis Eduardo. 1986. *Vegetalismo: Shamanism among the Mestizo Population of the Peruvian Amazon.* Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion. Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis.
Makowski, Krzysztof, et al., eds. 2000. *Los Dioses del Antiguo Perú* [The Gods of Ancient Peru]. Lima: Banco de Crédito.
Sharon, Douglas. 1978. *Wizard of the Four Winds: A Shaman's Story.* New York: Free Press.
———. 2000. *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus.* San Diego Museum Papers, no. 37. San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum.
Valdivia, Oscar. 1986. *Hampicamayoc: Medicina Folklórica y su Substrato Aborígen en el Perú* [Folkloric Medicine and Its Native Substratum in Peru]. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

QUICHE AND ZUNI DIVINATION (GUATEMALA AND NEW MEXICO)

All forms of divination aid decision making by reviewing a current, past, or future situation or problem in light of different forms and types of knowledge in order to answer questions. The way such questions have been put and how the answers, called oracles, have been transmitted and interpreted has varied greatly between cultures. Although the practice of divination can be an individual act, as for example when it involves the interpretation of dreams or the observation of omens, it more often involves a dialogue between a diviner and an audience member or private client.

Diviners are specialists who use the idea of moving from a boundless to a bounded realm of existence in their practice. To do so they link diverse domains of representational information with emotional, or presentational, experience. In representational symbolism, intentional reference and inductive reality are

paramount, whereas in presentational symbolism meaning emerges as a result of an experiential immersion in the expressive patterns of the symbolic medium, which is grasped intuitively (Hunt 1995, 41–42).

Wherever a theory of divination has been elicited from practitioners of the art, there is recognition of overlapping inductive, intuitive, and interpretative narrative techniques and ways of knowing. Accordingly, divination involves complementary modes of cognition associated with representational and presentational symbolism. By combining these two types of symbolism into a single narrative structure, a diviner provides an overabundance of understanding. During the act of divination, individual poetic creativity operates: Jumbled ideas, metaphors, and symbols suggest various possible interpretations that slowly give way to an ordered sequencing and to more limited interpretations. Finally, through dialogue between diviner and client, these interpretations are superseded by an unambiguous classification of the causes of the situation and the material needed to respond to and change it (Tedlock 2001, 189).

Among the Quiche Maya of Guatemala and the Zuni of New Mexico, divination takes a number of forms, including water and crystal gazing, the casting of lots, or sortilege, the reading of natural omens, the use of hallucinogenic drugs, and the practice of remembering and interpreting dreams. In both of these societies divination is often separated from other discourse through the use of mechanical procedures, which are combined with visualization in order to ensure the necessary shift in cognitive processes.

There are a number of similarities between these two Native American societies and the divination systems they use. Both communities practice maize horticulture, and both have religious specialists who visit sacred springs and mountains that have directional orientations in order to divine. There are also important differences between them. The Zuni, with approximately ten thousand people, live in a single nucleated village, while the Quiche Maya, with over one million people, live spread out in seventy-two separate communities. There are also key religious differences between them: The ancestors are central beings for both groups, but the Zunis greatly fear them, whereas the Quiche have no fear of the dead. Zunis describe visitations of their ancestral deities in dreams as horrifying experiences that call for an immediate cure or else the dreamer will die. For the Quiche, ancestors are important beings whose dream visits are extremely positive experiences, even though such visits may also require a religious ritual to address the content of the divinatory message.

These differences can partly be understood in terms of the conceptual differences between these cultures with respect to being and essence, as well as differences in affective-cognitive categories and systems of divination. According to Zuni ontology people are of two kinds, raw (or soft) beings *(ky'apin aaho"i)* and cooked (or ripe) beings *(akna aaho"i);* the latter are also known as daylight beings *(tek'ohannan aaho"i).* Cooked, or daylight, beings depend on cooked food and are protected by the Sun Father. Raw beings, including deer, ants, rainstorms, corn plants, and the dead, eat food that is either raw or else has been sacrificed to them by cooked or daylight people. Quiches lack a single term analogous to the Zuni concept of "being" or "person," with its reach beyond humans into animals, plants, and natural phenomena. Instead, humans, whether living or dead, are classified as *winak* and are totally distinct from all nonhumans. Articulate speech is the most important single feature separating humans (winak) from animals *(chicop).*

Among the Zuni, the diviners are members of the rain priesthoods *(uwanam aashiwani)* who go into seclusion with their sacred bundles from the summer solstice into early fall each year. The first set of retreats are those of the *tek?ohannan ?aashiwani,* "daylight priests," representing the sacred directions. These are followed by the retreats of the *tehkwinan ?aashiwani,* the "night priests," representing the constellations. During the retreats they open their bundles, remove the sacred objects, and set them out on a cornmeal-and-gemstone altar. They then sit down and wait, sometimes for hours or even days, until a bird or animal leaves tracks on the surface of the altar. The size, shape, and directionality of the tracks are then carefully examined for the oracle they give.

At the time of the creation of the world the mythic progenitors of the rain priests divined in a similar way the hiding place of Corn Mothers during a famine. Today human priests

accept private clients who wish to know the location of lost or stolen objects (Tedlock 1976).

> Whenever a private client consults them they divine by sprinkling ground *Datura inoxia* (*D. meteloides*), or jimsonweed leaves, roots, and blossoms, along the inside of their arms from wrist to elbow. When the hallucinogen sinks into their skin and takes effect the Ahayuuta, or twin war gods, appear before them. These tiny beings, without uttering a word, take them by the hand around the village showing them where the missing objects now reside. (Tedlock 1979, 506–507)

Two of these priests, the sun priest and the daylight bow priest, do not have sacred bundles. Instead, they wander among the fields and make pilgrimages to distant mountaintops in order to "try themselves." At this time they put powdered jimsonweed root in their eyes, ears, and mouths and communicate with birds in order to divine the past, present, and future (Stevenson 1904, 386). This possession of the priests by sacred animals is widespread in Native America. It reflects a level of human awareness and a mode of perceiving the natural world that is more universal and far older than the perspectives of the great religions that have shaped human beliefs over the last two to three thousand years (Loewe and Blacker 1981, 25).

For the Quiche, those who conduct religious rituals, including divinations, are *ajk'ij,* "keepers of the days" (i.e., the calendar) and *chuchkajawib,* "mother-fathers." These terms designate two organized groups of diviners and shaman-priests consisting of more than twenty thousand women and men. They are recruited in classical shamanic fashion, including divine election through birth, sickness, and dreams, and their initiation involves a marriage to a spirit spouse. Compared with their peers, these diviners excel in insight, imagination, fluency in language, and knowledge of cultural traditions. During a divination they construct usable knowledge from oracular messages. To do so, they link diverse domains of representational information and symbolism with emotional or presentational experience (Tedlock 1992).

The language in which these diviners address their gods and transmit their answers back is highly poetic and thick with figures of speech. By contrast, the language in which diviners speak to their client is mundane. They ask simple questions and later offer interpretations that fill gaps in the client's narrative understanding of past, hidden present, or future time. It is said that when both members of a married couple are trained as diviners and they each seek an answer to the client's question at the same time, their combined pronouncements will shed more light than will those of a diviner working alone.

The casting of lots is a commonly used divinatory technique among the Quiche. It combines the use of hallucinogenic seeds of the Palo Pito tree (*Erythrina corallodendrom*) and quartz crystals, with narratives centering on the interpretation of the days within the indigenous pre-Columbian calendar and the use of a shamanic gift called *coyopa,* "sheet lightning." Such lightning races through the diviner's body, resulting in *kacha' uqui'que'el,* "the speaking of the blood." Since the body of the diviner is a microcosm with its own cardinal points, including mountains, plains, lakes, and winds, the embodied movements are interpreted according to their location, direction, and speed. The mapping of the meanings onto a human body proceeds according to sets of paired terms, which are in a relationship of dialectical, interlocking complementarity rather than dualistic opposition. It takes a combination of these radically different divinatory methods, together with a discussion between a diviner and the client, to acquire proper understanding, *ch'obonik.* Each of these interlocking embodied iconic and narrative systems combines multidimensional inductive, intuitive, and interpretative ways of knowing with a dialogical narrative in order to reveal both the future and the past, as well as to diagnose illness, to comfort, and to heal.

The differences in divinatory systems between Zuni and Quiche are traceable to a combination of ontological and psychological differences. For the Zuni all forms of divination are a deathlike breach of the fragile boundary between daylight, or cooked, persons and raw persons. Only the most powerful Zuni, those who are members of the rain priesthoods, have knowledge of divination and psychopharmacology, which allows them to *pikwayina,* "pass

through to the other side," and enter the world of the sacred, dangerous, and miraculous.

For the Quiche, on the other hand, since it is merely the free soul that wanders, the practice of divination is a much less threatening experience. The dead, although they lose their corporeality, retain their personal names, thoughts, memories, emotions, and their membership in the human category of being. When a living Zuni recognizes the individuality of a dead person in a dream, it implies that the dreamer is as good as dead. The recognition of a dead person for the Quiche would merely be a meeting of free souls that might provide an opportunity to divine something of importance from the dead person.

Barbara Tedlock

See also: Divination; Mayan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Hunt, Harry. 1995. *On the Nature of Consciousness: Cognitive, Phenomenological, and Transpersonal Perspective.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Loewe, Michael, and Carmen Blacker. 1981. *Oracles and Divination.* Boulder, CO: Shambhala.

Stevenson, Matilda Cox. 1904. *The Zuni Indians.* Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 23. Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology.

Tedlock, Barbara. 1992. *Time and the Highland Maya.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 2001. "Divination as a Way of Knowing: Embodiment, Visualization, Narrative, and Interpretation." *Folklore* 112, no. 2: 189–197.

Tedlock, Dennis. 1976. "In Search of the Miraculous at Zuni." Pp. 273–283 in *The Realm of the Extra-Human: Ideas and Actions.* Edited by Agehananda Bharati. World Anthropology Series. The Hague: Mouton.

———. 1979. "Zuni Religion and World View." Pp. 499–513 in *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest.* Edited by Alfonso Ortiz. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.

RARÁMURI

See Tarahumara Shamanism

SANTERÍA (AFRO-CUBAN TRADITION)

The term *Santería* refers to a network of Cuban-based traditions in which African religious forms, including rituals of spirit possession with strong shamanic elements, subsume elements of European Catholicism. The term, often translated from Spanish as "the Way of the Saints," refers specifically to practitioners' devotion to Catholic *santos* (saints) aligned with particular *orishas* (elsewhere spelled *orixás*) the deities of western Africa who came to the Americas through the African slave trade. While the appellation *Santería* in fact derives from a dismissive characterization (implying "that crazy stuff about saints") used by critics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it has become an accepted name since the 1940s, as the public visibility of Afro-Cuban traditions has increased throughout the Americas.

In Cuba, the term *Santería* (accented in Spanish) designates only one of the wide family of traditions descended from practices brought to the island by slaves from sub-Saharan western Africa. The term refers specifically to Regla de Ocha, the "system of Ocha [Orishas]," a practice connected to Yoruba speakers, who constituted the majority of slaves brought to Cuba during the nineteenth-century Atlantic trade. In Cuba, descendants of the Yoruba developed a distinct dialect called Lukumí (reputedly derived from the name of the Yoruba chieftainship, Ulkami). The language continues to operate as the sacred idiom of Regla de Ocha, and adherents to the Santería tradition are thus often identified as Lukumí. Other traditions in Cuba linked to west Africa include the following: Palo Monte and Palo Mayambe, associated with Bantu speakers and popularly called Congo; Arará, connected to the Fon, a people from Benin and Nigeria; and the secretive brotherhood of Abakuá, or Carabalí, frequently called *ñáñigüismo,* in reference to the use of ritual objects called *nganga.* Nevertheless, all of these so-called Afro-Cuban traditions have intertwined over the course of the century as adherents have converged, not only in the cities and towns of Cuba but also in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, the United States, and elsewhere. In the meantime, the

A Santería priest, babalao, with a female devotee known as the Iyalochas, May 1988, Cuba. Santería is an African religion influenced by Catholicism. (Francoise de Mulder/Corbis)

term *Santería* has gained greater currency outside of Cuba as the umbrella term for the entire range of practices.

With their strong links to west African *orisha* devotion, the Santería traditions belong to an even broader family of "Afro-Atlantic" systems including (but not limited to) Brazilian Candomblé, Haitian Vodoun, West Indian Obeah, and North American Voodoo. Each of these systems stands as a distinctly American formation, in which west African theological and liturgical traditions, within the crucible of a European colonial context, take on non-African elements, especially of European Christianity and rationalist fraternal orders like the Masons. Thus, Santería, like its kindred Afro-American traditions, took shape under—and undoubtedly as a response to—the extreme sociohistoric pressures of Cuba's centuries-old export economy, which depended upon forced labor by people of color. Although circumstances have changed radically for many of Santería's contemporary adherents, it is within the rubric of perceived social crisis that many of them actively seek the curative possibilities of shamanic communication with powerful spirits.

Santería and Shamanism

Shaman and *shamanism* are terms infrequently used in either practitioners' or scholars' descriptions of Santería. Accordingly, the concepts should be employed conditionally with respect to these Afro-Cuban traditions. Classic characterizations of shamanism, such as Mircea Eliade's, have emphasized the independence and subjectivity of the shaman: The shaman communicates with the spirits, usually through a journey of the soul to other realms, without being "possessed," or taken over, by them (Eliade 1989, 5). Although Afro-Cuban lore includes accounts of distinguished figures with abilities to assume animal form, those same legends acknowledge the extreme rarity of such cases. Raul Canizares, a Santería scholar and priest, notes that these exceptional personalities all belong to one of two categories: (1) special members of the secret Abakuá society, or (2) Santería practitioners who trained with indigenous American *curanderos* (healers) (Canizares 1999, 92).

Much more typically, the Afro-Cuban "shaman" is not a seeker distinguished by uniquely intense ecstatic experience. He or she does not enter the world of the spirits. Rather, the deities irrupt in the human world: The spirits possess, or "mount," people who are not necessarily community leaders; in turn, the independent personality of the mounted person is displaced as a *santo-orisha* (a combination deity of a saint aligned with a west African orisha) takes over the body in order to be seen and heard.

Balance of Power: Ashé, Ancestors, and Orishas

Santería practice pivots around the organizing principle of *ashé.* The term, the Lukumí derivation of the Yoruba *asé* (grace), refers to the world's fundamental life source, its vital energy. Although the concept points to some ultimate power, an essential aspect of ashé is a sense of

balance. In other words, the possession of vitality hinges upon proper equilibrium of forces. Accordingly, Santería practitioners often identify the aim of their ritual obligations as the attainment and maintenance of balance in their own lives, in their community, and in the world at large.

Because Santería cosmology outlines a variety of spiritual and material spheres that include departed ancestors, transcendent gods, and imminently active deities, as well as human, animal, and natural communities, the maintenance of balance and the propagation of ashé requires open and productive relations with a wide range of co-inhabitants. Practitioners seek to curry the favor of the orishas in particular. The orishas—according to legend, African ancestors who have attained especially powerful and venerated status in the spirit realm—control much of what goes on in the world and thus stand as elemental powers. In Cuba, as in other parts of the Americas, the orishas have been correlated with different Catholic saints and, accordingly, also earn the name of *santos* (saints), or *santo-orishas.*

Community: Seeking Family Balance

The underlying search for ashé in Santería practice illuminates the shamanic aspects of the Afro-Cuban traditions. But if proper equilibrium depends upon stable and productive relations with the entire spectrum of living entities, the pursuit of ashé, including any shamanic techniques deployed, unfolds most immediately within the context of a particular community and its specific history. Accordingly, Santería involves independent communities of practitioners. In theory as well as practice, the Afro-Cuban traditions maintain no overarching institutional framework. Rather, Santería exists as a network of autonomous *ilés* ("communities," or "families," from the Yoruba word for house) determined by particular rites of initiation that commit members to a specific santo-orisha. A family member's length of time in the ilé determines that member's communal responsibilities: More recent initiates, regardless of actual age, depend upon "older" family members for guidance in nurturing the ilé's strength of spirit, which pivots around the group's relation to its patron santo-orisha.

The center of the community is an elder priestess or priest—the *madrina* (godmother) or *padrino* (godfather)—who safeguards house traditions and presides over initiations into the ilé. The godparents are distinguished members of the priesthood known in Spanish as *santeras* and *santeros* (females and males, respectively, who "work the saint'") and in Lukumí as *iyalorisha* (or *iyalocha*) and *babalorisha* (or *babalocha*) ("mother for the orisha" and "father for the orisha").

Santería also includes a special class of exclusively male priests, viewed by many practitioners as the traditions' highest leaders, called *babalaos* (Yoruba for "father of mystery"). The babalaos serve as masters of a particular path of esoteric knowledge known as *el camino de Orula* (the path of Orula). As devotees of Orula, the powerful deity of wisdom thought to have been present at the inception of the world, the babalaos practice a special art of divination called *Ifá.* This process involves the reading of the *tablero de Ifá,* a series of images onto which a special chain (the *opele,* or *okuele*) is cast.

While Ifá remains the exclusive domain of the babalaos, many other santeros and santeras practice the popular form of divination called *dilogun.* This method of prognostication involves expertise with a series of verses, each of which correlates to a specific pattern formed when sixteen cowry shells are thrown. Santería practitioners frequently consult both a babalao and an *italero,* the dilogun expert, for guidance with the usual life issues (health, wealth, and love) as well as for the protocol of major ritual events. With their understanding of the structure of the world, including the workings of the spirits, the babalaos or italeros situate a past or impending event and prescribe an *ebo,* a course of action. The ebo might involve an offering of fruit, the sacrifice of an animal (often a chicken), or the use of particular plants and herbs (as, for example, in a cleansing ceremony called a *despojo*).

While almost all babalaos and italeros possess some advanced training in the administration of different ebos, nonspecialized priests remain indispensable to the execution of ritual obligations. First, theological conventions emphasize the necessary interdependence of esoteric divination practices and other, more visceral, forms of knowledge. Accordingly, much of the

priesthood specializes in *el camino de santo* (the path of the saint). Whereas Orula's path leads toward structures of spiritual truth set in place at the beginning of creation, the second *camino* seeks the intimate recognition of wisdom as it plays out, or irrupts, in the changing material world in which humans reside. This more corporeal mode of knowledge acquisition is associated with the everyday workings of spirits in the world, especially the santo-orishas. These spirits are demanding and unpredictable, even if the divination arts of the babalaos and italeros suggest that these powerful entities operate within an enduring and patterned cosmic structure.

Ceremony: A Community in Motion

The responsibilities and hierarchies of power in the Santería traditions determine frames of action, yet all members of the community carry a measure of influence and importance that ultimately limits leaders' power. If the division of labor within the priesthood, figured in the independent but intertwining pathways of esoterica and corporeality, suggests a certain balance of power within Santería practice, the execution of key ceremonies only reinforces that sense of mutual dependence within an ilé.

The shaman emerges within that necessarily collective framework. The essential relations within and between ilés that frame shamanic activity are highly visible in a common, yet absolutely fundamental, Santería ritual known alternatively as a *tambor* (from the Spanish for "drum"), *bembé* (Lukumí for "drum feast"), *güiro* (rasped gourds), or *toque de santo* (literally, "saint's rhythm" in Spanish). The ilé's hierarchy, centered most immediately around the santeros who organize and nurture the ritual, determines the general structure of the ceremony. However, the success of the tambor ultimately depends upon other members of the community, who are not necessarily prominent figures: The celebration aims to "bring down" at least one santo-orisha, and it is to the more marginal members of the community that the spirits often come. In this way, the tambor can develop in a seemingly paradoxical direction, with initially unassuming participants taking on the ceremony's central role as personifications of the deities. Yet, significantly, this shamanic inversion of power holds together the community, as all members become integral players in potentially life-saving, or ashé-inducing, conference with the spirits.

Tambores, which almost always occur in the house of a santera or santero, mark a variety of events, including an initiate's anniversary or the annual feast of a particular santo-orisha (correlated with the Roman Catholic liturgical calendar), or they may be held to entreat or to honor a deity's help with a specific affair. The celebrations center on the performance of at least one *oru,* a ritual song-cycle used to communicate with a specific santo-orisha. While a specially trained percussion ensemble establishes the communicative foundation of the tambor on sacred drums called *bata,* every other attendee plays a specific role. All present are expected to join in the singing and dancing to the best of their knowledge and ability, with advanced initiates leading the assembly in the intricate prayer-songs and dances.

The unique combination of percussion tone and rhythm and of singing and dancing not only represents but also literally embodies a santo-orisha, with the effect that the deity arrives among the celebrants. The spirits actually live within the music—sound is divine body—and so a santo-orisha is made manifest by proper execution of its particular oru and then can inhabit other bodies, including those of the humans who are properly aligned (through song and dance) with the music.

Innumerable accounts of spirit possessions at celebratory feasts have been recorded (e.g., Canizares 1999, chapters 1 and 10; González-Wippler 1992, chapter 10; Hagedorn 2001, chapter 3). Katherine Hagedorn, a North American musicologist, gave a rich description of a 1997 tambor near Havana in honor of one of the most important santo-orishas, Eleguá, the lord of passageways, who opens the gates to prosperity. Hagedorn recounts how the spirit mounts a nondescript participant:

> A lanky, sad-looking, middle-aged man occasionally danced in front of the drums, moving listlessly, lethargically. His dance steps belonged to Eleguá, but he executed them without enthusiasm, without continuity. . . . At one point he crouched in the corner of the room, near the drummers, and began to cry, looking around furtively at the other guests. He seemed weak and depleted, out of

place. . . . An electric current passed through the man. He became live, in the same way that a wire becomes live when electricity passes through it—taut, uplifted, energized, his eyes big and bright, with no trace of sadness. He looked as though someone had possessed his body from the inside and was now using his eyes as windows, lighting them up like candles. [Someone] said, "Eleguá has come." (Hagedorn 2001, 77–78)

In this case, the santo-orisha offers guidance about ways of achieving material subsistence in the face of Cuba's crushing shortage of basic necessities.

This tambor illustrates the peculiar shamanic tendencies of Santería practice: A community in need of help seeks to establish direct contact with the spirits, but the entire community must work hard to bring down the deity and keep it active in and for the group's well-being, for its acquisition and management of ashé. Everyone, including the most unlikely community members, must work with and for each other. In response, the Africa-based santo-orishas will reciprocate and work hard for the community, no matter if it is based in the mountains of eastern Cuba, the ports of Havana, Miami, the Bronx, or anywhere else.

David Shefferman

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Curanderismo; Trance Dance; New Orleans Voudou

References and further reading:

Brandon, George. 1997. *Santeria from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Canizares, Raul. 1999. *Cuban Santeria: Walking with the Night.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies. 1995. *Sacred Rhythms of Cuban Santería.* Smithsonian/Folkways CD 40419. Compact disc.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fernández Olmos, Margarite, and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, eds. 1997. *Sacred Possessions: Vodou, Santería, Obeah, and the Caribbean.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

González-Wippler, Migene. 1992. *The Santería Experience: A Journey into the Miraculous.* Saint Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications.

Hagedorn, Katherine J. 2001. *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Murphy, Joseph M. 1993. *Santería: African Spirits in America.* Boston: Beacon Press.

———. 1994. *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora.* Boston: Beacon Press.

TARAHUMARA SHAMANISM (MEXICO)

Despite four centuries of contact with Europeans, the Tarahumara, also known as the Rarámuri, remain one of the most populous and culturally conservative indigenous peoples in Mexico. Numbering around seventy thousand, they are characterized by a spirit of independence, practicality, and resilience. In their own language, which belongs to the Pima-Cora branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family, they usually refer to themselves as "Rarámuri," meaning "human beings," although they also employ the term more specifically as an ethnonym to differentiate them from other indigenous peoples. Because virtually all Rarámuri ceremonies are concerned with healing individuals, communities, crops, or livestock, shamans *(owirúame),* who are usually men, occupy a central place in Rarámuri culture.

Geographic and Historical Background

Situated in the southwestern portion of Chihuahua in northern Mexico, the Rarámuri are dispersed over approximately 35,000 square kilometers of the Sierra Madre Occidental. This area, known as the Sierra Tarahumara, is about half the size of the territory they occupied prior to European contact. Despite a series of uprisings meant to dislodge the foreigners from their country, the lure of rich silver mines, prime grazing lands, and vast stands of timber continued to draw outsiders. Following further encroachments and military defeats in the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries, the Rarámuri developed more passive forms of resistance (Levi 2003). The Rarámuri also physically withdrew from their northern uplands and eastern plains to the rougher country located south and west. There they sought refuge in some of North America's most spectacularly corrugated landscape, an area of rugged pine-clad highlands, serpentine canyons, and mile-deep semitropical gorges. The inhospitality of this broken terrain, coupled with the fact that it was virtually inaccessible until the 1960s when the Chihuahua al Pacifico Railway finally penetrated the region, conspired to help the Rarámuri survive into the twenty-first century. Of equal or greater significance, however, has been the Rarámuri's own genius for adapting a culture to the exigencies of this environment and developing a socioreligious system that emphasizes reciprocity, healing, simplicity, and beauty.

Impact of Christian Missionaries

Jesuits entered Rarámuri territory in 1601. Before they were expelled from the New World in 1767, Jesuits established a series of missions among the Rarámuri. Franciscans subsequently assumed control of the ecclesiastical enterprise in the Sierra Tarahumara, and they in turn were replaced by nonmonastic clergy after the missions were secularized in 1859 (Merrill 1993). Neither of these latter groups had much impact on the Rarámuri, who were effectively left in charge of the crumbling adobe churches until the Jesuits resumed missionary activity around 1900. Historically, missionaries opposed the persistence of aboriginal religious beliefs and practices even though Rarámuri selectively combined their indigenous religion with elements of Christianity. Shamanism was particularly frowned upon, since it was regarded as superstitious trickery or devil-inspired sorcery. With the advent of liberation theology, however, Jesuits by the 1970s were increasingly accepting of the Rarámuri's syncretic religion (Velesco Rivero 1983; Robles 1991). Although shamanism is still discouraged, shamans today are at least tolerated by most Jesuits.

By contrast, Evangelical Protestant missionaries, who became active in the Sierra Tarahumara during the second half of the twentieth century, remain staunchly opposed to shamanism in all forms. Protestantism has, however, had little impact. A major impediment to conversion has been the Evangelical prohibition on the consumption of alcohol; thus, given that the ritual drinking of fermented maize beer *(tesguino)* is basic to Rarámuri social and religious life, the new religion has made few inroads. When conversions do occur, they often cause tensions and rifts in the families and communities affected.

Community Organization

Prior to the colonial period, leadership was vested in village headmen. No supra-local organization existed, except during periods of crisis when war captains and shamans became temporary leaders, a strategy for mobilization that continued into the twentieth century. Normally, Rarámuri socioreligious life oscillates between two levels of organization, corresponding to aboriginal and colonial institutions respectively (Bennett and Zingg 1935). During most of the year, Rarámuri live in widely scattered hamlets *(rancherías)* where they cultivate maize, beans, and squash, herd sheep and goats—using the manure to fertilize their fields—and augment their diet by hunting and gathering. In some areas, they move seasonally from the highlands to the warmer canyons during the winter, reversing this pattern in the summer.

In front of each house is a domestic dance patio, or *awírachi.* This household dance plaza is the primary site of ritual activity in the ranchería, becoming a focus of communal celebration whenever a family hosts a ceremony. On these occasions, crosses and pine saplings representing the deities are erected on the dance patio, as well as an altar upon which offerings of food, drink, and various "medicines" *(owáame)* are placed. Large earthenware pots of sacred fermented maize beer are also set before the patio crosses. Whenever possible, shamans officiate in these contexts. The primary rituals performed here are the Yúmari and Tútuburi dances. Both typically involve animal sacrifice and are meant to thank the deities for their bounty or avert their anger and prevent misfortune. Shamans also conduct rites of passage such as birth, death, and naming ceremonies (Slaney 1997). Generally, in the rancherías the ceremonies conducted are fundamentally aboriginal in origin, and religious leadership is vested in local shamans.

The other level of organization centers on the pueblos that were established by the Jesuits during colonial times and the civil and religious offices they instituted to oversee the community. Each pueblo minimally consists of a church, a Rarámuri governor *(siríame),* and his assistants. Rarámuri from the surrounding rancherías periodically congregate at the pueblos on Sundays and certain Catholic holidays, such as Easter Week, when they celebrate elaborate dances and ceremonials combining indigenous and Christian elements. The Catholic holidays celebrated by Rarámuri are associated with the agricultural calendar. Some pueblos also have mestizos, or non-Indians, called *Chabochi,* ("whiskered ones," in Rarámuri) who dominate the region economically, politically, and numerically. Most Rarámuri remain scattered in the rancherías, a fact that also has helped shamanism and its frequently clandestine ceremonies survive—away from the eyes of the clergy and mestizos based in the pueblos (Levi 1999a).

The Jesuits and their pueblos caused a political and religious split among the Rarámuri that endures to this day (Kennedy 1996). The vast majority of Rarámuri are baptized and nominally affiliated with pueblo churches. These people are known either as *pagótame,* meaning "washed ones," or *rewéame,* literally "named ones." About 5 percent of the Rarámuri are *gentiles,* "unbaptized." The latter live in the canyon country and the most remote reaches of the mission districts. Gentiles reject officials in the pueblos and instead have their own authorities. Nor do they attend the pagótame ceremonies and dances held at the churches on Catholic holidays. Nevertheless, even though they repudiate the sacrament of baptism, cemetery burial, and affiliation with the churches, in most other ways the religion and shamanic practices of gentiles and pagótame is virtually identical, especially in the rancherías, where both groups practice the same set of rituals.

Intoxicants and Altered States of Consciousness

Fermented maize beer, called either *batari* or *suwí* in the native language and *tesguino* in local Spanish, is fundamental to Rarámuri society, economy, and religion (Lumholtz 1902). Prodigious amounts of the sacred, mildly intoxicating beverage are consumed at *tesguinadas.* These ritual drinking parties—whether convened for agricultural purposes or curing ceremonies—were vigorously opposed by colonial Catholic missionaries, as they are today by Evangelical Protestants. Yet tesguino, together with the social networks it creates and the symbolism it invokes, is in many ways constitutive of Rarámuri culture (Applbaum and Levi 2003). Whenever the domestic economy requires more labor inputs than are available to single households, a family hosts a tesguinada. This event involves brewing a batch of tesguino and inviting a group of people for a day of drink, celebration, and cooperative labor. In fact, the network of people with which a person customarily drinks during tesguinadas—known as that individual's tesguino network—is the most important unit of social organization above the level of the household (Kennedy 1996, 132).

Tesguino is likewise critical to Rarámuri religion and shamanism. According to one myth, God stood in the middle of the earth and tossed a gourd full of tesguino up and to the four directions. Where the drops fell, Rarámuri sprouted up like corn plants, thereby explaining, say Rarámuri, why they live dispersed to this day. Similarly, no tesguinada can begin without a shaman, or in his absence the host, first offering tesguino to God by going to the dance patio, which represents the world, and tossing a dipperful up and to the cardinal points, thus mimetically reenacting the gestures by which Rarámuri society was originally created. The beverage is indispensable to the shaman and his work, tesguino being the most ubiquitous medicine used in cures. The sacramental beer is not only taken internally, but also is applied by the shaman externally to points on the patient's body where the souls reside.

Given their prestige in the community, which equals or exceeds the pueblo governor as well as the wealthiest man, shamans are almost always invited to tesguinadas. A shaman's eminence is related to the scope of his tesguino network. Thus, when Rarámuri say that a shaman "drinks very far," they are saying that he is a man of renown because he is invited to tesguinadas in distant rancherías. Shamans are honored by being given their own pot of tesguino to allocate to the individuals they wish. Although participants at tesguinadas are supposed to get "beautifully inebriated" *(bayóame*

rikú), shamans are distinguished by their ability to drink yet retain their faculties. In view of the amount shamans are required to drink in their line of work, this attribute is important in allowing them to remain in control of the social scenarios over which they are often presiding.

Some shamans also make use of peyote *(híkuri)* and other hallucinogens, such as *bakánowi*—a term identified with the roots from a variety of plants—to enhance their powers. These plants, which are both ingested and kept as talismans, are conceptualized as highly potent agents with souls in the form of humans. When all other cures fail, people turn to them. They are associated with costly and elaborate nightlong ceremonies and the most revered category of shamans, known as *si'páame,* meaning "rasper." This term derives from the distinctive musical instrument used in the híkuri and bakánowi ceremonies—a notched hardwood stick that is rasped back and forth with another stick, making an eerie sound when placed atop an inverted gourd that functions as a resonator. Bakánowi grows in the western canyons. It is often referred to euphemistically by the names of other plants, since it does not like to hear its name spoken aloud (Levi 1999a). Bakánowi like to sing, and they are very good at imparting healing chants to their owners. Híkuri lives in the high deserts to the northeast of Rarámuri country, and the most renowned peyote shamans likewise come from the eastern part of the Rarámuri's homeland, especially in the vicinity of Narárachi. Special expeditions are undertaken to procure the plant, and it is considered the most powerful, and potentially dangerous, substance in the Rarámuri system of shamanic healing (Bennett and Zingg 1935, 291–295; Lumholtz 1902, 356–379).

Worldview and Cosmology

Combining esoteric knowledge with healing arts, the shaman, termed *owirúame,* meaning "medicine-maker," is at once primary medical practitioner and religious functionary among the Rarámuri. In addition to the pueblo governors, who allude to Rarámuri cosmology in their stylized speeches, owirúame are the primary sources of expert knowledge concerning the belief system. Shamans expound the Rarámuri worldview in their curing chants, ritual actions, and consultations with patients. They also claim direct knowledge of these matters, having conversed with the deities and spirits, tracked lost souls, and traveled to distant parts of the universe in their dreams and visions.

Rarámuri worldview is predicated on maintaining relations of balanced reciprocity among cultural, natural, and supernatural orders of existence. Rarámuri shamans stand at the intersection of these dimensions of reality. The relations of reciprocity that the Rarámuri hold as the norm in their transactions with each other also serve as the model for their relations with supernatural entities. Chief among the forces that must be kept in balance are relations among souls, God, the devil, and other supernatural beings such as the Peyote People *(Híkuri),* Rainbow People *(Konemí),* Storm People *(Ukwí),* Whirlwind People *(Ripibíwiri),* Flying Demons *(Uríbe),* and River Snake Monsters *(Rikomí).* God, known as Onorúame, "One Who is Father" is associated with the sun, and his wife, Eyéruame, "One Who is Mother," is linked with the moon. Rather than conceptualizing these as separate deities, some shamans speak of them as if they were complementary aspects of a single divinity conceived of as both father and mother and referred to as *Omá Newarúame* (Creator of All) or *Omá Umerúame* (Almighty). This Rarámuri conception of the creator as a dual-gendered Father-Mother is reminiscent of Ometeotl, the ancient Aztec God of Duality, who similarly is both male and female and who, like Omá Newarúame, created the cosmos. God's older brother is the devil, who is also married. God is said to be the father of the Rarámuri, just as the devil is regarded as the father of the *Chabochi*, non-Indians.

The Rarámuri believe the cosmos is composed of multiple layers, described as disks called *namókame,* a word related to the verb *namoma,* which refers to placing things on top of each other. Some Rarámuri therefore say the cosmos looks "like a stack of tortillas." Most believe there are three levels below the surface of the earth *(wichimoba),* as well as three levels in the upper world, making seven planes in all. God lives on the highest level above. According to Rarámuri, this place looks much like the Sierra Tarahumara, while the devil lives on the lowest plane of the Underworld, a land of darkness lit only by fires and small lights. In the center of the sky there is a hole *(nasipa iwáame)*

that allows souls to move back and forth between the planes when people die, dream, or become inebriated. When Rarámuri die, their souls go above to be with God, just as the souls of dead Chabochi go below to be with their father in the Underworld. Located at the cardinal points around the periphery of the world are four pillars *(tona)* that support the planes of the universe. These columns are watched over by *gentile* shamans, whose souls guard the pillars in their dreams. Some Rarámuri add that the world is prevented from tilting and kept firmly in place by *pagótame* shamans.

Myth and Belief

According to Rarámuri cosmogony, the world was created and destroyed several times before the present. Earlier creations were characterized by social and physical upheavals. Earthquakes and floods beset earlier epochs. Evil giants roamed the earth. People lacked domesticated plants and animals, were ignorant of ritual knowledge, and practiced cannibalism and ceaseless warfare. God destroyed these creations in various ways, causing boiling rain to pour from the sky and making the sun pass very close to the earth.

Rarámuri myths detail how the world came to be the way it is, account for the differences between peoples, legitimize inequalities, and valorize shamanic practices. When God and his elder brother decided to make people, God fashioned his figures from clay, while the devil made his from ashes. The former became the Rarámuri; hence they have the color and qualities of the earth—generous, quiet, and enduring. By contrast, the latter became the Chabochi, who, like ashes, are not only light in color but are best kept away—denoting filth and fiery dispositions, danger and death, separation and boundary. These symbolic associations derive from quotidian affairs. As farmers, Rarámuri conceptualize the soil as a source of goodness and fertility, whereas ashes in daily life are viewed disparagingly as dirt, a waste product from evening fires that must be cleared away from morning hearths. Not surprisingly, ashes also figure prominently in funerary rituals designed to separate the living from the dead, and also as a medicine employed by shamans to keep away evil forces. Given these symbolic contexts, it is logical that ashes have apotropaic (warding off evil) functions in Rarámuri shamanism.

Other shamanic practices are reflected elsewhere in the myths. Continuing the myth mentioned above, God made his figures come alive by blowing *(iwítia)* on them. The devil, however, was unable to animate his figures, so God blew life into them. Salient here is the fact that an important technique used by contemporary shamans to cure their patients is to blow on them, thus replicating the means by which God imparted his strength and soul to the First People. The conceptual interconnection between life, breath, soul, and strength manifested in Rarámuri myth and ritual is even reflected linguistically. In the Rarámuri language the word *iwériga* not only means "soul" but also "breath" and—together with the word *iwérari,* meaning "strength," and *iwérasa,* a shout of encouragement to dancers and footracers meaning "have stamina"—forms parts of the same paradigmatic set (Merrill 1988, 95).

Training

Although shamans say that they learn their curing chants directly from God and other supernatural beings, they learn their actual craft by apprenticing themselves to master shamans. The latter usually teach members of their own family, although it is not uncommon for those who are not relatives to learn also. The apprentice, who feels himself called to the healer's art by God—having experienced the same dream on multiple occasions or watched his own soul move about—starts by being told to observe his dreams and control the wanderings of his soul. During this time he assists the master shaman with his curing ceremonies, and the two are often seen together. After several years the apprentice may begin curing on his own, but this trial period is also risky, for should he fail to effect cures the apprentice could be accused of misusing his nascent powers. The more senior the master shaman is, the more likely the apprentice also will enjoy a good reputation.

Treatment Protocol and Types of Practitioners

When Rarámuri become ill, they first try home remedies. If these fail, they will consult a shaman, who questions the patient about the nature of his illness. The shaman's first recom-

mendations are herbal remedies. Since Rarámuri country ranges from tropical gorges to pine-studded highlands, shamans have an extensive pharmacopoeia from which to draw; nearly 300 different botanical species have been identified as medicinal plants (Bye 1985). Purification techniques involving sweating as well as bathing in the fragrant smoke of cedar *(Cupressus arizonica)* are also employed. If these procedures do not work, a more serious illness, involving an affliction of the soul and requiring complex ritual, is suspected.

Conceptions of the soul are central to the worldview of the Rarámuri and to Rarámuri shamanism (Merrill 1988). All humans have multiple souls: men have three large souls and women have four. Rituals associated with men are performed three times and those for women four times. Large souls are located in the head and upper torso. Both sexes also have numerous small souls situated throughout their bodies in their extremities and joints. It is primarily through communication with souls that Rarámuri shamans affect their cures. Illnesses, especially grave ones, come about when a person has lost one or more of his or her souls. A soul can be knocked out of a person if the individual is frightened, falls, or fights. Souls also can be lost when people dream, since dreams are understood as authentic perambulations of the soul. Human souls can be endangered by contact with witches and other powerful spirits.

Shamans cure by restoring the lost or weakened soul. While dreaming or meditating, the shaman sends his own powerful soul to search the universe for the patient's missing soul. If the soul cannot be captured in this manner, additional healing is required in the form of a curing ceremony. These rituals entice the lost soul to return home through the use of medicines and symbols connoting beauty, strength, and goodness. They also propitiate greedy, powerful beings to release the soul by offering the supernatural food, tesguino, and the meat of sacrificed animals. These medicines and offerings are placed before the patio crosses on the domestic dance plaza (awírachi). If the curing ceremony is taking place inside the house, the shaman or his assistant circles the awírachi with food or drink before administering them, usually feeding the patient as if he or she were a baby.

Chanting, dancing, and ritual reciprocity are integral to curing ceremonies. They model basic axioms of Rarámuri worldview: the primacy of balanced exchange, the contiguity of moral and cosmological orders, and the unity of ethics and aesthetics, health and harmony (Levi 1999b). Because exposure to that which is *chati*—"bad" or "ugly" (both physically and morally)—can cause illness, conversely contact with things deemed *semati*—"beautiful," "clear," "good"—is the way to heal. Curing chants thus make frequent use of the word semati. The chants describe landscapes of height, beauty, and power. They depict beautiful ceremonies atop mountains, the rising sun cresting a ridge at dawn, and the third level of heaven, home of God, source of magnificence and health. Vigorous dancing by the shaman, patient, and others in the curing party demonstrates strength and the embodiment of power. The rituals conclude with the shaman giving thanks to God and those assembled formally drinking tesguino from the vessel that was a focus of the ceremony; those assembled drink in an order reflecting their social proximity to the patient. The shaman then converses privately with the patient, giving instructions on what to do in the coming days in order to recover.

Because there exists a dynamic equilibrium among different orders of reality, plants, animals, and humans all participate together in idioms of health and illness. Well-being is based on harmony, and shamans are charged with the responsibility of securing this encompassing wholeness through their curing ceremonies, which prevent as well as alleviate illness. Since "curing" something and "caring" for something are closely allied concepts in the Rarámuri worldview (Merrill 1988, 137), crops, livestock, and people all require periodic curing ceremonies and are healed in similar ways—curing ceremonies for humans often extending out into corrals and fields.

Witches *(sukurúame)* are the malevolent counterpoint to shamans. Rarámuri are very afraid of witches and frequently, albeit guardedly, make witchcraft a topic of conversation (Pastron 1977). People accused of witchcraft typically exhibit behavior that is aberrant according to Rarámuri mores, such as hoarding food or other goods, rather than sharing the items with other community members (Passin

1942). Witchcraft accusations are serious and serve as a means of social control. Witches are said to attack the souls of people and livestock, especially when they sleep. Often this is accomplished when they send the evil beings known as *orimá* and *risagíki* to assault their victims by eating their souls. These evil beings are described as birdlike creatures, invisible except to the witches who send them and the shamans who battle them, either in their dreams or by tossing ashes or crushed chili peppers in their direction. Witches also cause people to become ill by sending small objects, such as maggots or rocks, into their bodies. People afflicted in this manner must go to a special type of shaman, known as a *waníame,* who expels the disease object by sucking it out of the patient's body using a reed tube. The intrusive object is shown to the patient, thereby demonstrating that the victim is healed. Another type of specialist, mentioned above, is the si'páame, the peyote shaman or "rasper." The latter are the most highly regarded shamans among the Rarámuri and may be supported entirely by their profession. A third type of religious practitioner, who is not necessarily a shaman, is the *sawéame,* "chanter," who intones wordless chants with a handheld rattle *(sawára)* for hours on the dance patios (awírachi) during Yúmari and Tútuburi ceremonies.

The rasping instrument identifies the si'páame, the sucking tube the waníame, and the rattle the sawéame; other artifacts are associated with the owirúame, or general-practitioner shamans. Chief among these is the cross *(kurasi).* Just as tesguino is the most basic medicine, so crosses are the most basic curing devices used by shamans. Crosses are referred to metaphorically as sunflowers *(sewáchari)* in ritual language. This is significant because flowers symbolize spiritual power and divine fire in many Uto-Aztecan languages (Hill 1992). The shaman's curing crosses either may be small homemade wooden crosses constructed individually for each cure and left with the patient at the end of the ceremony to apply to the afflicted parts of the body as an aid to recovery, or they may be metal crucifixes *(sukristo)* attached to rosaries acquired in trade from Chabochi and reused in different ceremonies. Shamans frequently blow their breath over a cross onto the person they are healing. Crosses also are involved in the practice of *uchémera,* the anointing or pressing of medicinal liquids, chiefly tesguino, to the head, chest, back, arms, legs, and joints—the parts of the body where souls reside. Among other "medicines" used by shamans in ceremonial cures are ashes, crushed chili peppers (*Capsicum* spp.), red ochre, corn meal, a solution of water and cooked hearts of maguey (*Agave* spp.), native tobacco *(Nicotiana rustica),* and the powdered wood of *Buddleia cordata,* whose stench keeps away serpents and other malevolent spirits, just as the fragrance from *morewá*—a prized substance manufactured by wasps from the sap of various species of *Bursera,* which Rarámuri use as incense—attracts blessings and the favorable countenance of God.

Functions

Rarámuri shamans perform social, psychological, and spiritual functions. As medical practitioners who cure via religious modalities, they intercede on behalf of individuals and whole communities with supernatural beings, averting misfortune and restoring health. According to Rarámuri disease etiology, shamans cure by recovering lost souls, a practice that in psychological terms returns a sense of wholeness to fractured selves. When drought or other calamities plague Rarámuri farms, shamans perform ceremonies that seek blessings for the entire community. Emphasizing Rarámuri ideals of sharing, harmony, and mutuality, shamans encourage people to gather more often for rituals to make offerings to the deities, reminding them that every animal sacrificed for ceremonial purposes and eaten in a communal feast will be given back to the owner on his farm in the afterlife. The function of the shaman, therefore, is to bring about wholeness in the broadest sense, not only of individuals but also communities, and not only humans, plants, and animals but also the organic unity between all of them and the spiritual order. The idea that the shaman's work brings about wholeness is even expressed linguistically. The generic word for "ceremony," all of which are healing rituals in some sense, is omáwari. This term derives from the word *omá,* denoting "all," "complete," "unimpaired"—in a word, "whole."

Shamans make things whole during omáwari by symbolically realigning relations of reciproc-

ity that have become unbalanced. Whatever else may be going on in the spiritual dimension, in terms of social analysis, this means diagnosing and repairing damaged social relations between the patient and others in the community. Factions or strained relations in the community may be impinging on the patient, and these tensions can become manifested in the body as illness (Levi 1999b). The shaman cures by making the patient a subject of concern and sympathy, drawing together family and friends in cooperative ritual. Curing also requires that patients assume responsibility for their recovery by becoming active participants in their own healing. Patients are therefore enjoined to assist with the ceremony, correct any behaviors that violate Rarámuri mores, anticipate signs of returning strength in both dreams and waking life, and gradually demonstrate recovery by again becoming functioning members of society, participating fully in the give and take of social life. In this way, both individual and community are mutually healed and rendered whole.

Jerome M. Levi

See also: Huichol Shamanism; Mayan Shamanism; Navajo Shamanism; Otomí Indian Shamanism; Peyote Ritual Use; Piman Oral Literature and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Applbaum, Kalman, and Jerome M. Levi. 2003. "Fluid Signs of Commodity Fetishism: The Cosmologies of Coca-Cola and Tesguino." *Research in Economic Anthropology* 22 (Fall): 283–298.

Bennett, Wendell C., and Robert M. Zingg. 1935. *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bye, Robert A. 1985. "Medicinal Plants of the Tarahumara Indians of Chihuahua, Mexico." Pp. 77–104 in *Two Mummies from Chihuahua Mexico: A Multidisciplinary Study.* Edited by Rose Tyson and Daniel Elerick. San Diego Museum Papers, no. 19. San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum of Man.

Hill, Jane H. 1992. "The Flower World of Old Uto-Aztecan." *Journal of Anthropological Research.* 48: 117–144.

Kennedy, John G. 1996. *Tarahumara of the Sierra Madre: Survivors of the Canyon's Edge.* Pacific Grove, CA: Asilomar Press.

Levi, Jerome M. 1999a. "Hidden Transcripts among the Rarámuri: Culture, Resistance, and Interethnic Relations in Northern Mexico." *American Ethnologist* 26, no. 1: 90–113.

———. 1999b."The Embodiment of a Working Identity: Power and Process in Rarámuri Ritual Healing." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 23, no. 3: 13–46.

———. 2003. "Indigenous Rights and Representations in Northern Mexico: The Diverse Contexts of Rarámuri Voice and Silence." Pp. 255–292 in *At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States.* Edited by Bartholomew Dean and Jerome M. Levi. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lumholtz, Carl S. 1902. *Unknown Mexico: A Record of Five Years Exploration among the Tribes of the Western Sierra Madre, in the Tierra Caliente of Tepic and Jalisco, and among the Tarascos of Michoacan.* Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Merrill, William L. 1988. *Rarámuri Souls: Knowledge and Social Process in Northern Mexico.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

———. 1993. "Conversion and Colonialism in Northern Mexico: The Tarahumara Response to the Jesuit Mission Program, 1601–1767." Pp. 129–163 in *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation.* Edited by Robert Hefner. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Passin, Herbert. 1942. "Sorcery as a Phase of Tarahumara Economic Relations." *Man* 42: 11–15.

Pastron, Alan G. 1977. "Aspects of Witchcraft and Shamanism in a Tarahumara Indian of Northern Mexico." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Robles, J. Ricardo. 1991. "Los Rarámuri-Pagótuame." Pp. 43–132 in *El Rostro Indio de Dios.* Edited by Manuel Marzal. Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Slaney, Frances. 1997. "Double Baptism: Personhood and Ethnicity in the Sierra Tarahumara of Mexico." *American Ethnologist* 24, no. 2: 306–310.

Velasco Rivero, Pedro de, S.J. 1983. *Danzar o Morir: Religión y resistencia a dominación en la*

cultura Tarahumar. Mexico City: Centro de Reflexión Teológica.

TOBA SHAMANISM (ARGENTINA)

The Toba carried out a nomadic, hunter-gatherer way of life until the Argentine army conquered and colonized the Chaco region in the late nineteenth century. In this context, the Toba and other indigenous groups of the region were forced to settle down, becoming peasants. Traditionally they practiced a form of shamanism characterized by the quest of auxiliary spirits. After the introduction of Pentecostalism in the 1940s, Toba shamanism began to incorporate Christian elements. This entry is based on the author's own observations and the anthropological literature of the area.

Background

The Toba, or Qom, live in the Chaco region, a more or less woody subtropical plain located in northeastern Argentina, close to the Paraguayan border. Currently they live in the provinces of Formosa, Salta, and Chaco. There are also important migrations to the south, mainly to cities such as Rosario and Buenos Aires. Two major groups of Toba peoples can be identified—western and eastern—and there are historical, linguistic and cultural differences between these two groups. This article deals with the eastern Toba, who inhabit the eastern sectors of Formosa and Chaco provinces, and number about 20,000 individuals. Western Toba number about 1,500. Argentina's total indigenous population is estimated at 300,000, a bit less than 3 percent of the country's total population.

The Toba use the term *Doqshi* (whites, Christians), to refer to nonindigenous individuals. Interestingly, although the word *Qom* refers to themselves, sometimes its meaning may include other neighboring indigenous peoples, and from a more general perspective, all native groups of the world.

The Toba, as well as the Pilagá and Mocovi peoples, speak a language of the Guaykuruan linguistic branch. Until the late 1880s they lived as hunting-gathering nomadic bands migrating seasonally throughout a more or less enclosed territory. Bands comprised groups of extended families of bilateral descent. There was a sexual division of labor; women gathered, prepared food, and took care of the children; men hunted, built houses, and went to war against indigenous enemies. Leadership was based upon heritage and personal charisma, mainly shamanic and political skills. Political authority was maintained not by coercion but by consensus, and an orientation toward the group was the rule; the socioeconomic system was based upon reciprocity. War was launched against traditional rival groups like the Maka (Matako-Maka) from Paraguay or the Mocovi, competing basically for the control of natural resources, territory, and captives.

After the military conquest undertaken by the Argentine armed forces in the 1880s, the Chaco region was opened for colonization by national and foreign colonists, chiefly from western and central Europe. Colonizers occupied former native lands, establishing lumber mills, farms, and small shops. Indigenous peoples, among them the Toba, were forced to move away from their territories to live either scattered throughout the region or settled in state-sponsored reservations and Catholic missions. The federal government funded them to "help" the task of introducing "civilization" to the natives, perceived as "savage," "pagan," and "lazy" by white society. For that reason, the arrival of colonists radically changed the Toba way of life, introducing Western forms of labor, mainly agriculture and cattle raising, and time-scheduled activities. Migration to sugar mills located in eastern Chaco province (Las Palmas) or in Salta and Jujuy provinces (Tabacal, and La Esperanza) were also byproducts of this process. As a result, the Toba gradually became "workers" instead of hunters.

While the socioeconomic system went through important changes, religious beliefs and practices changed at a slower pace. Indeed, shamanism was a vital force in leadership, social control, and healing until the late 1950s, when European and North American missionaries appeared in the area. As an indirect consequence of foreign Protestant missions in the area, the Toba organized churches of their own, which embodied a native reading of Christianity, influenced by the indigenous worldview and shamanic ideology. Many former leaders

became pastors, and they started to oppose shamanism. Nevertheless, shamans *(pi'ioGonaq)* continued in their careers, though under heavy cultural criticism. In this conflicting context, today there are new young shamans who have been church leaders in the past.

Present-day Toba live in communities that emerged out of the settlements depicted above. They are mostly rural, but migration to towns and major cities of the region and elsewhere have produced a growing number of what are called *Barrios Toba* (Toba Neighborhoods). Rural settlements vary in size from 100 to 20,000 hectares, according to historical contingencies. Urban barrios are very small. In all cases, population runs from 120 to 5,000 individuals. Land is owned communally in the rural areas, recognized by recent national and provincial laws concerning indigenous issues. In urban sites, either communal or individual ownership can occur.

In rural communities such as La Primavera (Formosa province) or Colonia Aborigen Chaco (Chaco province), remnants of former bands live together, at times following old patterns of alliance. However, in terms of spatial disposition, houses and farm fields are grouped following the boundaries of extended families and allied groups. The economy of current Toba communities rests upon agriculture, cattle, and work for wages in white neighboring farms, towns, and in jobs paid by the government. More recently, the elaboration of crafts has become an important source of income.

Shamanic Worldview

The Toba have traditionally conceived of the universe as a series of superimposed layers traversed in the center by a pole or stick. They are inhabited by different kinds of nonhuman beings (generically called *jaqa'a*), regarded as "owners" of the natural and social world (plants, animals, climate, and also activities). The layers they recognize are earth *('alwa),* underneath *(ka'ageñi),* and several skies further above *(pigempi).* Within the earth plane, they identify different domains, such as forest *(hawiaq),* field *(ne'enaGa),* palm grove *(chaesat),* water *('etaGat),* and night *(pe).* To accomplish any activity, humans have to have contact with these beings, mainly through dreams *(lchoGon),* but also in specific daylight contexts, such as daydreams *(loGok)* and personal encounters *(nachaGana).* With the introduction of Protestantism the cosmological map underwent some conceptual changes; the "old" powerful beings came to be labeled as demoniac and located in the earth and in realms beneath the earth. The new nonhuman beings, such as God and Jesus, were (and are) seen as living in the realm of sky, the place of positive and benevolent beings.

In Toba mythology the work of the Cultural Hero *(Ta'anki')* is associated with shamanic skills, which imply knowledge and power to deal with the forces of nature. In earlier times, humans had animal shape, and the world was radically different from the present. Catastrophes caused by fire and water signaled the end of mythical time. Afterwards, human beings as we know them today appeared, and the world acquired its current properties and geographical features: among others, illness, suffering, and death. Ta'anki' provided accurate knowledge, through shamanic techniques, to treat the newly human, but somehow weak, condition.

Becoming a Shaman

Basically, shamans (who may be either male or female, although the former are more numerous) are initiated mostly through a series of dreams in which nonhuman beings approach and contact the dreamer. If the dreamer wishes to accept the offering of power, beings such as NwaGanaGanaq, the "Owner of Palm Grove," can grant them power (*haloik*) to have certain control and understanding of the living species of that area. Haloik also implies skills to heal and to harm people, because for the Toba the nature of haloik is ambiguous and cannot be reduced to a simple good-evil dualism.

Other contexts of initiation derive from daydreaming and personal encounters with nonhuman beings, which proceed, generally, the same way as in dreams. Finally, a shaman can introduce saliva containing shamanic power into some relative's mouth. Gradually, people experience changes, mostly in dreams, when they start receiving the proper teachings to become shamans. In all cases, shamanic power implies close links with nonhuman entities, mainly from two categories. The one, and hierarchically superior, is called *ltaGaiaGawa,* "(spiritual) helper" or "partner"; the other is called *lowanek,* "vigilante" or "collaborator." Lowanek

usually reside within the shaman's body, playing the role of "guards" protecting the shaman from any attack that originated in other shamans, maintaining the shaman's health, and also, when sent to another person, producing illness. LtaGaiaGawa, in turn, usually live outside the person's body, and play a major role in the knowledge the shaman will have about illness, therapy, sources of food in hunting and gathering, or the fate of crops and related activities.

Shamanic Healing

For the Toba illness is never a natural fact; it is always produced by some harmful shaman, or by non–human beings. In the past, illness was related to the violation of food and behavioral taboos during critical stages of life (i.e., pregnancy, birth, child rearing, menstruation, mourning). In this case, the Toba thought that animals could punish the violators or their families, producing diseases that shamans had to treat through hard negotiations with these animals' owners.

Social recognition of the shamanic condition is a gradual process involving a series of successful healings. Currently, news circulates about the success of shamans both among the Toba and the white people, and usually there are no interethnic tensions with regard to curing diseases, at least in the rural areas. Shamans usually combine praying, blowing, sucking, singing, and laying on of hands as their main therapeutic techniques. They also receive key information about a patient's illness from their ltaGaiaGawa, who communicate with them in dreams or during the therapy itself, as a concrete partner in the healing session. Therapy involves several sessions, held during or after sunset; however, in cases of need it can be carried out anytime. Currently, shamans do not use specific ritual artifacts. Back in the early 1960s they still used gourd rattles and sometimes small drums to perform their rituals. There exists the idea that shamans themselves are their own "instrument" of therapy through their techniques and bodily fluids (saliva, mucus). When a sick person shows up at a shaman's house, he makes the patient comfortable by asking what the problem is. With that information, he starts calling his ltaGaiaGawa through songs or prayer. Once the communication is established, he uses his hands to locate the disease, which sometimes smells "like a snake." Then he blows and sucks while singing to communicate with the harmful agent inside the patient's body. Once the agent is identified, the shaman has to persuade it to leave the body. After discovering the identity of the evil agent, which is usually a lowanek sent by another shaman, he proceeds to extract it by a series of deep suckings and blowings. The session ends when the harmful lowanek is shown to the occasional audience in the guise of a jelly–like, gray substance, a pebble, or a small wooden stick. Generally, shamans can extract from sick persons only those lowanek that live in their own bodies. Each successful healing strengthens the shamanic power and social prestige of the healer.

Shamanic Power

Toba shamans have very busy nocturnal lives because it is during the night that they compete with others for power, since shamanic power is not infinite. For that reason, shamanic power is always subject to gains and losses due to successful or failed healings; it also occurs during contests called *ñi'igena.* In them, shamans try to test their competitors' power, perceived during the night as a power field of light. If one shaman cannot approach the other's power field, it is a proof of weakness. In other contexts, shamans throw each other bright "rays" of light or stonelike objects named *pon,* which, if not stopped, will mean an important power drain. Although shamans are respected—and also feared—their life is difficult.

Shamans have the skill to take conscious control of dreams. For that reason, either during their contests, or when carrying out their nightly "walks" to find information about sick persons, they can project their consciousness into their ltaGaiaGawa, the auxiliary spirit. It is their ItaGaiaGawa who travel through the space of night, which the Toba regard as a true cosmological realm, with plenty of danger, uncertainty, and scary creatures.

Among the Toba the possession of haloik does not always involve the shamanic condition. Indeed, all humans, in order to perform their activities, must have a relationship with nonhuman beings, a relationship that provides them with a certain amount of power and

knowledge. Thus they gain the skills to be good hunters, harvesters, gamblers, lovers, soccer players, and so on. This association takes place in dreams, in which the owners usually teach people how to carry out specific tasks. Ordinary people, however, can neither heal nor harm, nor can they control their dreams as the shamans do.

Shamanism and Christianity

The Iglesia Evangélica Unida (IEU), the only Toba native church in Argentina, has incorporated ritual symbols from Protestant Christianity. One could describe the process as condensing ancestral shamanism within a Christian language and ritual. For example, IEU religious services, called *culto* (cult), have the same formal steps as any evangelical service. In healing, however, they use the shamanic techniques described above, although now in many cases believers understand illness as a divine punishment for a sinful life. Through a critical evangelically oriented reading of the past, sins are commonly linked to pre-Christian customs. Toba churches also gather together extended families and allies, under the leadership of a pastor. Often, a community has as many churches as extended families living there. A good church is one whose pastor is a successful healer, for every church must be a place where there is power. If not, people will quit and go somewhere else. In this sense, church membership is dynamic and temporary.

Pastors and shamans also have a political role in contemporary Toba communities, which they share with members of the younger generation whose status is based on their schooling experience and knowledge of Spanish laws. All have to deal, one way of the other, with white officials on behalf of their constituencies.

Pablo G. Wright

See also: Central and South American Shamanism; Latin American Christianity and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Braunstein, José A., and Elmer S. Miller. 1999. "Ethnohistorical Introduction." Pp.1–22 in *Peoples of The Gran Chaco.* Edited by Elmer S. Miller. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Citro, Silvia. 2000. "La materialidad de la conversión religiosa: Del cuerpo propio a la economía política" [The Materiality of Religious Conversion: Concerning the Proper Body in Political Economy]. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 10: 39–56.

Cordeu, Edgardo J., and Alejandra Siffredi. 1971. *De la algarroba al algodón. Movimientos Milenaristas del Chaco argentino* [Millenarian Movements of the Argentine Chaco]. Buenos Aires: Juarez Editor.

Miller, Elmer S. 1975. "Shamans, Power Symbols, and Change in Argentine Toba culture." *American Ethnologist* 2, no. 3: 477–496.

———. 1979. *Los Tobas Argentinos. Armonía y Disonancia en una sociedad* [The Argentine Tobas: Harmony and Dissonance in a Society]. Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores.

Reyburn, William D. 1954. *The Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco: An Interpretative Report.* Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities.

Ruiz Moras, Ezequiel. 1990. "Communitas, crisis y configuraciones de la identidad entre los Toba Taksek del Chaco Central" [Community, Crisis and Configurations of Identity between the Toba Taksek of Central Chaco]. Pp. 309–320 in *Propuestas para una antropología argentina.* Vol. 5. Edited by Carlos E. Berbeglia. Buenos Aires: Biblos.

Wright, Pablo G. 1992. "Dream, Shamanism and Power among the Toba of the Province of Formosa (Argentina)." Pp. 149–172 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. J. Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1997. "Being-in-the-Dream. Postcolonial Explorations in Toba Ontology." Ph.D. diss., Temple University.

Overview

EUROPE

Europe is defined as the large landmass west of the somewhat artificial division from Asia marked by the high Himalayan plateau and separated from the African continent to its south by the Mediterranean Sea and, to a lesser extent, in the eastern regions by the Black Sea and the narrow Bosporus and Sea of Marmara. At both the Bosporus and the Straits of Gibraltar the separation from Africa becomes negligible. The original inhabitants of Europe were foraging peoples, probably as early as one million years B.C.E., composed of migrants from northeastern Africa. The earliest evidence of human life is Homo erectus, dated to 850,000–700,000, followed by Neanderthals around 50,000. Evidence of their culture is found in cave paintings, such as those at Lascaux in France and Altamira in Spain, which have been seen as suggesting that shamanism was involved in the hunt; moreover, carvings and figurines of corpulent females from this period, such as the Venus of Willendorf in Austria, indicate a role for a goddess of fertility as the mistress of beasts.

The art of agriculture spread from Mesopotamia first into the Balkan region and the Aegean islands, bringing with it a different mode of settled living, which led to the establishment of urban centers and a new version of the goddess as presiding over vegetative renewal, adapted from the Mesopotamian cycles of annual drought to the recurrent cycle of seasonal winters. Around 1800 B.C.E., a new people, conveniently termed the Indo-Europeans, began migrating from the central Asian highlands, perhaps bringing with them Siberian techniques of shamanism, and assimilated the indigenous populaces, imposing their own language and tradition of male dominance, as seen in sites such as Knossos on Crete and Mycenae on the Greek mainland. From these beginnings came Greek civilization, which, after it evolved into the classical culture of the fifth century, was spread through the conquests of Alexander the Great to the rest of eastern Europe (as well as into Asia Minor and beyond). This Hellenized world was assimilated by the rising political power of Rome and became part of its empire.

The Romans (or Latini) themselves, were a branch of these same migrating Indo-Europeans, who displaced the earlier inhabitants of Europe. These earlier inhabitants were marginalized, but they persisted with their languages and religions in the north as the Finno-Ugrians (ancestors of the present-day Hungarians, Bulgarians, Ostyak and Vogul peoples, Lapps, Estonians, and others) and in the mountains of the Pyrenees as the Franco-Cantabrians, now know as Basques. The Roman Empire spread Greco-Roman culture through much of Europe and the British Isles, though less completely at its frontiers. With the conversion of the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century and the removal of the capital from Rome to Constantinople, the part of Europe that was part of the Roman Empire began to become Christianized.

During the period of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the west, the Germani, whom the Romans had considered barbarians, or "wild men" *(feri),* and had never been able to conquer, descended upon the south into the Mediterranean lands and established centers of their own. The most important of these people were the Goths, Vandals, Suebi, Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians,

and Lombards, all of whom eventually accepted Christianity and the Roman culture that went with it.

As for those they conquered, it had been mainly only the urban centers that had been deeply influenced by the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity. Just as the old religions continued beyond the borders of Rome's control, in the most northern and eastern fringes of Europe and in Ireland, so they continued in rural environments in the rest of Europe among the "country folk," the *pagani,* whence the pejorative designation of the old religions as paganism. Eventually the official religion of the whole of Europe, including the country regions, was Christianity, but in many ways it was a Christianity shaped by the religions it defeated; many of the customs surrounding Christmas, for example, are of pagan origin. Pagan myths and beliefs also survived unnoticed in folktales and festival rites, as noted in "Russian Folklore and Shamanism." Sometimes, as with Iceland's late adoption of Christianity in the tenth century, the official conversion of the country served the purpose of commercial integration with the dominant mainland culture, rather than reflecting a true change of faith.

Thus it is not surprising that scholars have reason to believe that shamanism remained a living tradition in the most northern parts of Europe, especially in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, even into the seventeenth century, as the entry "Nordic Shamanism" discusses. Moreover, if one holds that the essential characteristic of shamanism is a direct mystical visionary experience of the spirits or the Otherworld through an out-of-body journey, often induced by a psychoactive sacrament or a technique of ecstasy, the various Gnostic sects of the early Christian Church, perpetuated, despite persecution, and repeatedly reintroduced by the Crusaders from the Holy Land, would qualify as European versions of shamanism. Examples would be Marcionism, Valentinianism, and Carpocratianism, heresies of the early church, and Manichaeism, a rival of the church in those early centuries. In the Middle Ages, the most famous of these sects was known as the Albigensian heresy, from its center in the town of Albi in the south of France. The founders and ritual functionaries of these sects were certainly shamanistic, in the sense that they were charismatic healers, spiritual guides, and teachers, as was the pagan Apollonius of Tyana, as noted in the entry "Classical World Shamanism (Ancient Greece and Rome)," and indeed the Jesus described in the Gospels, as discussed in "Christianity and Shamanism."

At the time Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, Mithraism had long been an important religion, especially in the imperial army. The worshippers of the Persian god Mithras, through the seven stages of initiation, a common theme in Eurasian shamanism, sought to reverse the taking on of evil associated with coming into human birth and free the soul to rise past the planetary gates to the outer rim of the Universe for a transcendent vision, the common aspiration, according to some, of Stoicism and all the Gnostic sects, as noted in "Classical World Shamanism (Ancient Greece and Rome)." Mithraism, with its psychoactive sacrament of *haoma* (the soma of the Indian Vedic tradition) persisted in the East as Zoroastrianism, including a "Eucharistic" meal of bread and an entheogenic potion. Christianity easily assimilated motifs from the sacramental religions it replaced because of its essential similarity, including its own version of the Eucharistic meal, which was originally psychoactive and continued as such for certain of the elite. Thus the great medieval mystics like Hildegard von Bingen and Teresa of Avila could be considered shamans, as could many others of those canonized as saints by the Catholic Church. Shamanistic paganism has been seen as persisting, as well, in the occult sciences, through the practices of the alchemists, highly respected in their time, who claimed to know the secret of the pliable botanic stone of the philosophers and the drinkable gold, the elixir that conferred ultimate knowledge and the experience of rebirth in a liberated state. Similar secrets cemented the bond of societies such as the Knights Templar and the Freemasons. The Grail legend is a perfect example of the syncretism and forced esotericism of "shamanism" after the triumph of Christianity.

All of these traditions, however, were mysteries, with their carefully guarded secrets divulged only to the initiates. Hence, deprived of the evidence presented by the great religions and sciences prevalent in early postclassical and medieval Europe, the scholar must seek indications of European shamanism in a reexamination of antique rites and religions, such as the great Eleusinian mysteries of ancient Greece, as noted in "Classical World Shamanism (Ancient Greece and

Rome)," and from surviving traces of the once thriving tradition that still persist in bizarre rural customs, funeral rites, witchcraft, magic, herbal/traditional medicine, folklore, and folktales. Such traces of these traditions still persisting are discussed in the entry "Witchcraft in Russia," and noted in the taboos and esotericism of certain marginal peoples such as the gypsies, often from the fringes of the more developed centers of European civilization, hence, in Russia, or among the Lapps, as discussed in "Nordic Shamanism." They are also covered in the entry "Finno-Ugric Shamanism," which describes these traditions among the northern Finns and their Hungarian ethnic brothers in the Carpathian mountainous forests. Moreover, more recent phenomena include the pagan revivalism of the literary elite, as discussed in the entries "Neo-Shamanism in Germany" and "Paganism in Europe," and attempts to restore the original sanctity of witchcraft, as discussed in the entry on "Witchcraft in the Modern West." Fortunately, much of European "shamanism" survived deeply enough, due sometimes to a late conversion or strong resistance to Rome and the Church, so that its mythos could be recorded, as noted in the entries "Paganism in Europe," "Finno-Ugric Shamanism," and "Russian Shamanism Today."

The Celts were Indo-Europeans who spread through the main areas of Europe, including Ireland. In Ireland, which remained beyond the reach of the Roman Empire, their ancient shamanic traditions persisted most strongly, even after the Christianizing of the island, as recorded in their great epics and in their folklore, discussed in "Celtic Shamanism." Druid priests were so named as "seers" (from the root **wid-*) of the sacred "oak," *drus,* which is host to the psychoactive mistletoe in its branches and the sacred fungus at its base. Certainly there seems to be no question that the root **wid* is present. Interestingly, that root is present both in words for seeing and in words for knowing (in Greek the verbal root for "seeing" [*widein,* Latin *videre*] is also the root for "knowing" [*eidenai* or *we-widenai*] as the condition that results from seeing), suggesting how basic visionary shamanism is to the Indo-European tradition of knowledge. Thus an idea is something archetypal that is seen *(widea),* and along the same lines, a theory *(theoria)* is an expedition to go someplace to see a sight, as in a theater.

In Celtic lore, as discussed in both the entries "Celtic Shamanism" and "Paganism in Europe," this world is coexistent with another, nearby and overlapping, subterranean, into which one may suddenly drop, the Faerie land. The entry "Fairies and Shamanism" explores a comparison between some European fairy tales—French, Scandinavian, and Scottish—and shamanistic concepts. These common characteristics may include the election of the hero by a fairy, similar to the election of a shaman by the spirits; the curing of illnesses by a spiritual journey; and the alliance of human beings with nature spirits or shamans to achieve a needed spiritual connection. This older European fairy tradition can be seen to have its continuance in modern concerns related to the search for identity and a connection to the natural environment. The other realm gives meaning to this, being the universal shamanic source of nonordinary power and wisdom. Celtic shamans, like the heroes of classical myth, are expected to journey to the other realm through magical gateways to bring back inspired information of incalculable value to their society, opening the pathways between the realms upon which the continuing stability and health of the people depends. In both traditions, knowledge is achieved through ecstatic rapture, with the poet bard originally experiencing inspiration as possession by an overmastering mind, or Muse.

Carl A. P. Ruck

"CELTIC SHAMANISM": PAGAN CELTIC SPIRITUALITY

The Celts in general and the druids in particular were averse to committing their own important lore to writing, and their formal memorized oral transmission was broken long ago. We therefore know very little about the pagan religions of the ancient Celtic tribes. In any case, it could not be strictly accurate to speak of "Celtic shamanism," as the terms *shaman* and *shamanic* properly refer only to the Tungus people of Siberia. However, magico-religious elements that can be recognized as "shamanistic," or reminiscent of shamanism, and which are furthermore common to many cultures, can indeed be found in the pagan Celtic spiritual traditions. Celts occupied a great deal of Europe by the fourth century C.E., but only in the British Isles did any substantial body of literature survive. This entry will therefore mainly focus on that area, especially Ireland.

We do know that the Celts had a complete system of magic, one that was highly respected by the ancient world. Diodorus Siculus and the great second-century Christian teacher Clement of Alexandria said the Celtic priests of Gaul trained with Pythagoras in mystical philosophy. In the first century C.E., the Greek rhetorician Dio Chrysostom equated the Celtic Druids with the Persian Magi, Indian Brahmins, and Egyptian priests.

What we currently know about Celtic spirituality and magical practice is based on Greek and Roman descriptions, a few works by the early Celts themselves (mainly from Wales, Ireland, and Scotland), folksongs and fairy tales, and a great deal of imaginative invention. These sources prove troublesome due to their limitations. The Greek and Roman texts are mainly observations by members of invading armies based on political encounters with the tribes of southern Gaul. Folktales may be changed by each storyteller. Some details of "Celtic spirituality" as represented in numerous contemporary popular books were originally recovered through *analepsis* (spontaneous ancestral memory) by more modern writers such as Iolo Morgannwg and Robert Graves. Finally, the story cycles and poetry that tell the history of the Celts were recorded years after the events recounted by Christian monks, who may well have felt hostility toward—or at least discomfort with—the pagan worldview.

Despite these difficulties, however, shamanistic elements can easily be discerned in the sources we have. These elements include descriptions of practitioners and patterns of magical initiation; magical practices such as spiritual healing, harming, and warfare; uncanny abilities such as enchantment, soul flight, distance viewing, shapeshifting, animal transmogrification, and understanding the speech of birds and animals; the employment of wise judgment through insights gained by trance, divination, and prophecy; the use of magical tools; the experience of deep mystical inspiration and understanding; and a pervasive theme of deep relational connection to all beings and the processes that tie them together.

Celtic Magic and Spirituality

Pagan Celtic spirituality perceived that the supernatural Otherworlds lie so close to this one that they often overlap, and that the magical, the numinous, was present in every aspect of their lives and surroundings. The pagan Celts keenly observed nature to obtain understanding of her deepest secrets in both the physical and metaphysical sense, without the aspect of torture, violence, penetration, or dismemberment in order to get to knowledge that we find in later Western inquiries.

The land itself was considered animate and conscious, quite aware of human activity but of course quite other in its needs and nature. The ceremony for investing a new *Ard Ri,* or Irish High King, involved a marriage of mystical dimensions with the land as goddess, thus binding the people to the place through kinship. Should this relationship be betrayed—for example, through disrespectful tribal behavior toward the land, trees, water, and so on, or

through loss of personal honor because of some lack in such qualities as generosity, bravery, or beauty—he could no longer serve as king.

In many folk stories collected between the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries, nothing is merely as it seems to the physical eye. Woods, wells, rivers, and trees all are sacred places that might house gateways into the Otherworld, both glorious and dangerous. On an ordinary walk home, a person might fall into a fairy mound and spend years there, which would feel like mere hours. Stones speak; a stranger or a bird might be God in disguise; music has the power to kill or maim. The greatest knowledge in the world is held by a fish. The fairies, or "good folk," leprechauns, and brownies are neighbors; and brownies, if treated well, might do your housework.

There is an intense practicality to the Celtic mystical worldview. Things tend to go better in fairy encounters for those who are generous with their labor, time, and material goods, and for good musicians. Irish scholar Jeffrey Gantz (1981, 1) observed that all Celtic art is characterized by a "tension between reality and fantasy." It is "romantic, idealistic, stylized and yet vividly, even appallingly, concrete." Further, there are no distinctions made between the natural and supernatural worlds in their potential for holding divine wonders. These tales clearly suggest a shamanistic worldview, with no separation between the physical and the metaphysical aspects of life.

We can turn to indigenous Celtic languages for clues to their speakers' thoughts about their magical arts. The noun used to describe a spell or spoken word of magic in both Scots and Irish Gaelic is *bricht,* which is related to the Icelandic *bragr,* "poetry or magical rhyme." The word *eolas,* "knowledge," is used to describe magical ability. And a Gaelic term for any sort of sorcery or magical act is *druidheachd.* From these words, we can glean that Celtic magic was practiced by Druids, that "knowledge" implied something much more than factual data, and that poetic inspiration expressed through the voice was commonly employed as a magical tool.

Pre-Celtic Works

It is easy for a casual observer to confuse Celtic with pre-Celtic artifacts. Although the druids may have used the great megaliths such as Stonehenge, Dol, and Carnac, and the tumuli at Newgrange and Gavr'inis, they did not build them. Standing stones were the work of peoples who inhabited these regions long before the first Iron Age Celts arrived around 500 B.C.E.

However, if we take the patterns of later immigrations as an example, some pre-Celtic spiritual knowledge may have been passed down to, or appropriated by, subsequently arriving peoples. The Irish *Book of Invasions* describes a much later wave of "indigenous druids" struggling with a newer tribe's chief druid over the right to kindle a fire that was ceremonially important to both.

Many prehistoric sites are found lined up in rows. Five or more sites in a row are known as a *ley,* and are believed by some to mark a natural earth meridian or channel of energy, a ley line, similar to the ch'i-filled "dragon currents" the Chinese recognize in feng shui. Modern mappers of these pathways, or ley hunters, believe that certain special places where two or more ley lines cross are full of power, which can be drawn upon in magical practice. Some researchers speculate that one such line, colloquially known as the Old Straight Track, was a road map to be used from the air during soul flight. Others believe that the leys reflect zodiacal patterns, as elements of passage-grave construction posit strong evidence that recurring astronomical phenomena were emphasized in the spiritual practices of Bronze Age Ireland and Britain. A third hypothesis is that the sites lie over hidden underground springs of water, and that the particular spiral flow of such an aquastat may serve as a healing force. Spirals do appear with extreme frequency in early Celtic art.

Spiritual Practitioners

The Roman historian Strabo lists three classes of learned Gaulish spiritual practitioners. The *druids* are described as philosopher-theologians concerned with both the immortality of the soul and natural phenomena. *Bards* were poets, storytellers, musicians, and singers who chanted histories, eulogies, and satires. And *manteis,* or *vates,* were naturalists and experts in divination through auguries and sacrifices.

Before the first millennium B.C.E., however, all of these abilities were attributed to druids, as the separation between these specialized functions was not so absolute. For example, in the

Tain bo Cuailnge it is noted that the bards, or "sweet-mouthed harpers," of Cain Bile were also druids of great knowledge. And in the Welsh tale of Gwion Bach as told in the *Mabinogion,* the witch Cerridwen is described as being a master of all three of the great arts: magic (the province of the druidic class overall), enchantment (a later specialty of bards), and divination (assigned to the manteis). Her facility in all three sub-branches of learned spiritual practice points to the fluidity of those categories. Some speculate that the separation into specialized functions occurred for political reasons involving the overall strength of the druidic class.

Despite the common portrayal of a druid with a flowing white beard, references to both male and female adepts can be found. Women were accepted in pagan Celtic cultures as military leaders, as queens in their own right, and as magical practitioners. Tradition refers to "sunset isles of women," where groups of female druids lived apart from their families for parts of a year. Examples include the Ile de Sein off the coast of Brittany, where a sisterhood of nine miracle-working healers worked, and the Isle of Avalon, which gained fame in the Arthurian saga as a training ground for sorceresses and healers.

Most scholars today agree with Pliny the Elder, who regarded the Old Irish name *druid* as originating with the Greek word for oak tree, *drus,* combined with the Indo-European root word *wid-,* to know (Piggott 1985, 103). Druids held their spiritual ceremonies in open groves of oak, preferring these natural cathedrals to any human-built structure. Place names involving the Gallo-Britonic word *nemeton,* which means both a clearing in a wood and a shrine, or sanctuary, were very likely once the sites of druidic practice and education.

At one time, a network of formal schools for generations of druids crossed the Celtic lands, the most important of which was located on the Isle of Mona (modern Anglesey). According to Julius Caesar, a druidic education—which could easily take twenty years—encompassed science, law, practical religion, philosophy, and history. Because writing was mistrusted for storage and transmission of important information, all of the information involved had to be memorized. Details of the education have unfortunately been lost, and we do not know how, or whether, magical initiation was formally conferred. Instead, we repeatedly find very human tales of somebody making an innocent blunder that turns out to have tremendous magical repercussions. The ordinary and the numinous sides of the world are so close together that they can shift places in a moment, and one small deed can catalyze great change. In the biographical tales of both the Welsh chief bard and seer Taliesin and the Irish tribal leader and warrior chief Fionn MacCumhaill, shamanistic initiation was not sought but came upon the recipient through terrifying accident. Very little in the Celtic magical world seems to take place as planned through human volition.

Druidic and Bardic Powers of Enchantment

Inspired poetry, regarded as a vital skill of the pagan Celtic seer, fits in with the shamanistic tenet that one must bring back any information gained from the Otherworlds to benefit the people. One challenge in carrying out this mission is that visions wildly pouring forth while in deep trance can easily be forgotten during the return to ordinary waking consciousness. They are much more likely to be retained and recalled for later use when placed in some sort of pattern that the cognitive mind can hold onto. Through the use of rhyme, alliteration, meter, repetition, and tune to this end, the crafts of music and poetry became intimately connected with magical practice and otherworldly power and knowledge in the Celtic world.

Besides voicing deep and otherwise hidden wisdom gained while in an altered state, bards used sound to harm, heal, and alter moods and probability. Poetry and music were not considered beaux arts by the pagan Celts, but tools of raw magical power. Scorching satirical poetry known as the *briarmon smetrach* was intended to "puncture" and to publicly destroy reputations. Well-aimed, the poetic form known as *glam dicin* was used to drive out rats and to disfigure or even kill an opponent. The Irish cattle-rustling epic *Tain bo Cuailnge* describes the bardic warfare employed by Queen Medb against her enemy Fer Diad: "Then Medb sent the Druids and satirists and harsh bards for Fer Diad, that they might make against him three satires to stay him and three lampoons, and

that they might raise on his face three blisters, shame, blemish and disgrace, so that he might die before the end of nine days if he did not succumb at once" (Kinsella 1969).

Bardic incantations could also be used to end hostilities. Diodorus Siculus observed this magical use of sound in the late first century B.C.E.: "Frequently when armies confront one another in line of battle with swords drawn and spears thrust forward, these men intervene and cause them to stop, just as though they were holding some wild animal spellbound with their chanting" (Diodorus Siculus 31, 2–5, as cited in Ireland 1986, 181). Tacitus describes the effect of this weaving of enchantment against Roman invaders on the Isle of Mona in 60 C.E.: "On the shore stood the opposing army with its dense array of armed warriors, while between the ranks dashed women in black attire round the Druids, lifting up their hands to heaven and pouring forth dreadful imprecations, scared our soldiers by the unfamiliar sight so that, as if their limbs were paralyzed, they stood motionless and exposed to wounds (Tacitus 1989, 30).

Finally, bardic powers could also be used to heal—as when a master harper restored speech to the dumb prince Maon through his music. Bards often employed the small harp as a magical tool. Part of the Celtic harper's toolkit was working knowledge of the *Adbhan Trireach,* "Three Noble Strains," attributed to the chants for childbirth sung by the god Dagda's harp Uaithne. Each strain was not only entertainment but a form of enchantment: *Sorrow- or Lament-Strain,* which could reduce listeners to tears; *Joy-Strain,* which could turn tears to laughter; and *Sleep-Strain,* which could soothe listeners' hearts into deep sleep. Gaining songs of power from spirits is a common element occurring in many shamanistic cultures.

Shapeshifting, Glamour, and Invisibility

Trickery achieved through enchantment, or the shifting of seeming reality, is a theme commonly found in literature detailing observations about indigenous magical practitioners of the Americas. It is also found throughout Irish texts and the British and Gaulish Arthurian literature.

The magical manipulation of weather by druids appears prominently in Irish sagas, often employed as one weapon in the arsenal for ordinary tribal warfare. Strong winds and tempests were raised by the Tuatha de Danaan people to keep the first Milesian invaders from landing on the shores of Ireland, and the druid Mog Ruath sent storm-spells and magic fire against King Cormac and his druids in order to drive them out of the area. Weather could also be called up in order to conceal people or to get their enemies lost and confused. Heavy snowfalls, thick mists, dense fog, thundershowers, and sudden darkness were all employed.

Another commonly found druidic practice is the manipulation of events through magical impersonation. For example, the Irish warrior Cuchulainn was once deceived by a sorceress, who took the form of a trusted lady in order to get near him and goad him onto the field of battle. Sexual themes are quite common. In the Arthurian cycle, the wizard Merlin enchanted Uther Pendragon, making him look like the husband of Igraine so that she would gladly sleep with him. Merlin knew through augury that this mating would conceive the child who would later become King Arthur. One tool for accomplishing such shapeshifting was the spell known as *fith-fath,* used to transform one object into another and also to confer invisibility.

A classic motif in Irish folktales is the nonhuman Fair Folk "casting glamour" upon an unwitting passer-by, who thinks he is being invited into a grand home to enjoy a fabulous feast, a gift of gold, and a night of love with a beautiful woman. Instead, in the morning when he wakes, he finds himself lying in an open field with dew on his coat and a pocketful of yellow leaves, holding a rotting corpse in his arms. Such tales could be seen as illustrating spontaneous and shamanistic soul flight with otherworldly aspects of travel, uncanny beauties and terrors, encounters with strange beings, the element of later finding one's body elsewhere, and great time discrepancies.

Animal Transmogrification

Ties with other animals are extremely strong in ancient Celtic tradition. The deepest wisdom in the world is held by the ancient Salmon of Knowledge. The appearance of crows foreshadows the coming of the war goddesses Morrigan and Badbh. Gwyrhyr, "Interpreter of Tongues," exhibits the ability to communicate with wild animals.

This shamanistic motif of mediating between human and other animal forms may also take the form of transforming into them. The druid Uath was said to change himself into any form he wished. In a conversation with the ancient Hawk of Achill, Fintan describes his history of transformations into an eagle, a hawk, and a salmon. And instead of dying, Tuan MacCarell repeatedly finds himself alive and vibrant in a new young animal form. In the last days of his final human life, he relates the entire history of Ireland as witnessed through his many different eyes, most of them nonhuman, to the Milesian invaders.

These mystical biographies, and those of the bards Taliesin pen Beirdd, Oisin, and Amergin, comprise some of the most powerful examples of shamanistic elements in the Celtic world. Each changed into animals and other forms (including waves, winds, a spear, and a seed), lived significant amounts of time in each form, then came back to the people with useful knowledge gleaned from their time spent in nonordinary reality. By leaving the ordinary human form, the poet-seer gets to understand divine nature through many lenses, learns to wield natural forces, and becomes unafraid of death.

If we can take the oldest extant mythological cycles as evidence of worldview, practitioners were also considered to be able to change the shapes of others. The story of the Children of Lir describes their cruel transformation into swans by their jealous and magically adept stepmother. Beings in the Welsh *Mabinogion* such as the hunted boar Twrc Trwyth, who was once a human king, and the lady Blodeuwedd, who is actually an enchanted owl combined with flowers, were similarly changed without their consent.

The Celts also live closely with beings who belong to both the human and other-than-human realms. Legends of seal-people, or *selchies,* abound in the outer islands such as the Hebrides. It is said that at certain times of the year such as the solstices, these seals shed their skins and go dancing on the rocks as human beings. Some of them are captured or captivated by "real" humans and mate with them. There are families in these islands who deem themselves to be part seal-blood, having descended from just such pairings. One benefit of this lineage is that these people seem to have better luck with the fishing and the waves: They have an intuitive knowing of where the fish will be, or when and how a storm will come. Their relatives below will also help them by herding fish toward their boats. Selchie legends comprise one of the most palpable variations of the shamanistic theme of transformation: Both the human and seal people learn of another perspective, and mediate between the worlds of land and sea, by literally and metaphorically living in the other's skin.

A personal connection through lineage could also determine behavior. Conary was forbidden to hunt birds, since his father came to his mother Messbuachalla through the window as a great bird, who threw off his plumage to make love to her. Ossian was forbidden to eat venison, as his mother Saar gave birth to him while transformed into the shape of a deer. Cuchulainn, whose name literally means the "Hound of Culainn," was under a *geis,* "taboo," against eating dogflesh.

Such relational protection is a common thread in Irish tales, and may connect back to earlier tribal totems. There is clearly a tie with other animals that far exceeds romantic sentimentality; it is an animistic view about one's relatives. Early Celtic tribes were named after these connections: *Epidii* (Horse People), *Cornavii* (People of the Horn), *Brannovices* (Raven Clan), *Taurisci* (Bull Folk). In early Celtic culture, the shamanistic elements do not generally center on individual human psychology as they tend to in modern Neo-Shamanism; instead, they illustrate tribal relatedness to a magical, completely alive and sentient, world of nonhuman and spirit equals.

Mantic Powers of Divination and Soul Flight

Divination and prophecy were integral parts of the pagan Celtic druids' or manteis' repertoire. They divined to see deeply or to travel into the "other nature" of seemingly ordinary things. This traveling could be done through ecstatic poetic trance, observation of natural forces for correspondences, or soul flight to other realms.

The twelfth-century Welsh historian Giraldus Cambrensis describes the Welsh magical poetry specialists known as *awenyddion* (people inspired) as going into deep ecstatic inspirational trance with the body in frenzied paroxysms, chanting wildly. Cambrensis says that when the inspiration came upon them, they

roared mightily, and the listeners had to pick out the useful bits from the mass of unintelligible gibberish around it. Both the Welsh awenyddion and the Irish poet-seers had to be violently shaken awake after their forays into this other state of consciousness. Cambrensis reports that the awenyddion felt as though they had sweet milk, honey, or writing poured onto their lips from the spirits.

The greatest-known magical practitioner from the Arthurian saga, the wizard Merlin, was so accustomed to soul journeys into nonordinary realms where space and time are different that he was reputed to "live backwards in time." It is said that he could prophesy easily because for him prophecy was not a matter of divination but simply of remembering the future.

Celtic prophecy was undertaken for practical purposes. In Irish sagas, we find the druids or manteis called upon to augur whether a particular day was auspicious for some important undertaking, such as births or battles. Mothers would sometimes artificially hold off delivery of their babies until a day the druids found would foster greatness in the child. The Irish druid Cathbad prophesied that whoever would take up arms on a particular day would have a short life with eternal fame. The young boy Cuchulainn seized the moment, and later went on to become hero of an entire cycle of Irish sagas.

The druids may have used a detailed divinatory calendar. Bronze calendar fragments found at Coligny in France form the oldest extensive document in a Celtic language, having been dated between the late first century B.C.E. and the early first century C.E. Thought to be a product of the Gaulish druids, the document uses Roman lettering, but its content is distinctly different from the Roman calendar. Each month in it is marked by either the abbreviations MAT (good) or ANM (not good). Similar methods were used in Babylonian and Jewish calendrics and can still be found today in Indonesia, where healer-seers and even everyday folk use them to plan events around particular days and even certain hours, due to their attributed characteristics.

Divination through Nature

Druids and manteis observed the patterns in nature for clues to the patterns surrounding human events. Fedelm in the *Tain* practiced crystal gazing. Scottish Highland seers discovered meaning by throwing the scapula bones of sheep. The first-century B.C.E. historian Strabo reported that periodically, in earlier times, a particularly chosen human being was stabbed in the back with a dagger to foretell the future from his convulsions. Smoke rising from a fire, the placement of the stars, the auspiciousness (or not) of particular days and hours, the placement and shapes of clouds—all could be looked to for advice. Asking nonhuman beings and the spirits of the beloved dead for help is, of course, a classic aspect of shamanic inspiration and practice.

Animal allies figured especially prominently in pagan Celtic divination. Parts of the bull could be eaten or worn to invoke divinatory aid. In the first century C.E., the Iceni warrior queen Boadicea used a hare for foretelling and to help ensure her tribe's victory against the invading Romans. The direction in which the hare ran off foretold to the assembled people whether or not the battle would go well. Many animals and birds were watched closely for clues, for it was deemed quite possible that some were actually humans or deities temporarily taking on that form.

Cave paintings by Bronze and Iron Age Celts that portray ravens speaking to humans have been found in the Camonica Valley of northern Italy. Augury by ravens appears commonly in the British Isles. The system is remarkably like that found in contemporary Tibet. Ravens are watched for omens of luck, approaching visitors, and the like. Oral poetry collected in the nineteenth-century *Carmina Gadelica* still includes tales in which approaching ravens are taken as an omen of impending death. Observation of both the raven and wren involved their various cries, direction of flying, and bodily position in the sky relative to the questioner. Diodorus Siculus observed that the early Christian saint Columba differed from his Druidic teachers in that he paid no heed to the voices of birds. The Welsh word for wren is *drui-en,* "druid bird," clearly alluding to its role as magical helper.

Journeys into the Otherworld

The definitive shamanistic act in many cultures is "soul flight." The shaman deliberately goes into trance, her soul temporarily leaving her

body, in order to gain deeper knowledge and understanding. The Celtic literature that has been translated to date describes other lands which are clearly not part of ordinary reality, seeing at a distance through both space and time, and details of methods used to leave the body.

The *Vision of Rhonabwy* describes seeking inspiration by going alone to a remote place and wrapping oneself up in a bull's hide at night. The Gaelic name for such a bullhide wrap was *taghairm,* which literally means "an echo," a response from a distance—in this case, perhaps from the Otherworld. Lacking bullhide cloaks, later generations similarly wrapped their plaids about their heads to cover their eyes in the dark, in order to see better. The *imbas-forosnai,* "divination by holding the cheeks," involved the seer eating the flesh of a white bull and then going to sleep holding onto his cheeks, with four druids continually chanting over him. In one imbas-forosnai, the dreamer had a vision of the man who was to be made king. He saw where the man was and what he was doing at that exact moment. This seems to be an example of distance viewing and prophecy, through the mechanism of soul flight.

The historical-mythological cycles are richly embellished with episodes of shamanistic trance. A scene in the Red Branch cycle describes the druid MacRuith rising up with the fire into the air of the skies, dressed in his magical garb of a bullhide cloak and *enchennach,* "bird dress," and soaring above the heads of the opposing army to scout their position. A *tugen,* "feathered cloak" has also been mentioned as worn by certain Irish poet-seers. The wearing of feathers is common in the shamanistic costumes of many peoples, intended to further soul flight, spiritual power, and magical insight or inspiration.

Tales involving travel into nonordinary realms abound in the British Isles, such as Pwyll's meeting with Arawn in the Underworld; the surreal voyages of Brendan, Peredur, and Maelduin; Ossian's return from Tir na n'Og after spending three centuries there; and Lancelot's crossing of the Sword Bridge in search of the abducted Guinevere. Other classic shamanistic elements in the latter include Lancelot's forgetting who he is and being confused as to whether he is alive or dead, his deliberate removal of his armor to cross the swords and his subsequently being cut up by them, and finally, the sudden disappearance of the fearsome leonine guardians he'd perceived guarding the far banks.

Shamanistic portals to other realms appear in Celtic tradition as they do in other cultures. Lancelot's sword bridge is a good example of an object that holds meaning in both ordinary and nonordinary reality, and can serve as a literal bridge between the two. Descriptions of narrow bridges that initially defy the promised passage to a magical place also occur in Irish literature.

Trees, which appear worldwide in shamanistic practices as a means of reaching other spiritual realms, are of central importance to druidic magical practice. Pliny observed that the druids "perform no rites without the foliage of the oak," and that they revere the mistletoe because "anything growing on oaks . . . is a sign that the tree has been chosen by the god himself" (Pliny, *Natural History,* 16, 249–251, as cited in Ireland 1986, 183). Perhaps the presence of the mistletoe designated a particular tree as a gateway into the gods' realms.

Certain hills in the British Isles are considered to be hollow inside, containing or leading to nonordinary realms called Faerie. Such realms have their own rules of time and space, their own unique weather patterns and natural laws. The perception that both space and time work differently in nonordinary reality is well documented cross-culturally. As in the case of Thomas the Rhymer, a traveler returning home from a journey of a day or two spent in the hollow hills of Faerie can find that in this reality, years have passed: his house has gone to rot, loved ones seen a few days ago as children have now long been dead, and nobody is left who knows him. As in the Irish tale of Oisin, who spent years in the Land of Youth, the journeyer's body may also be preserved in its original youthful state, but upon touching the mortal ground of this world, it may suddenly age to catch up with the years here, or even turn to dust.

Folk stories of adventures in Faerie give clues to avoiding dangers when journeying to the Otherworlds or accidentally coming upon spirits in this world. One should behave as befits a good guest: not stealing objects found in their homes; not intruding upon private dances or ceremonies; not playing bad music at their parties. It's best to avoid accepting food or drink in the Otherworld, as this could mean becoming their prisoner. The Queen of Faerie has a repu-

tation for stealing away mortals she finds beautiful, interesting, or useful. Brave attempts to retrieve beloved human souls from this thief involve trials by fire, shapeshifting terrors, riddles and other trickery, and the threat of dismemberment—all classic shamanistic elements.

Besides trees and hills, the Irish also viewed certain waterways as entry portals to the Otherworlds. The *Dinnshenchas* (History of Places—early Irish literature) describe many rivers being under the watchful care of particular female spirits or deities. Thermal springs in modern Buxton were once called *Aquae Arnemetiae,* the connection with the Brythonic word *nemeton* showing that these waters were once an important site of Druidic practice. W. Y. Evans-Wentz recorded the belief that the Faerie realms could be reached by entering through a well: "It was by passing under the waters of a well that the S'dh, that is, the abode of the spirits called Sdhe, in the tumulus or natural hill, as the case might be, was reached" (Evans-Wentz 1911, 431). Wells were widely known to be sacred places, each inhabited by—or being itself—a spirit. Many Christian shrines found in Celtic lands today, including the great cathedral of Chartres, were built on the sites of druidic wells.

Influence on Celtic Christianity

Christianity entering the Celtic lands became heavily informed by the animistic spirituality and Druidic practices that preceded it.

Some argue that Christianity came into Ireland so easily because the tenets of Christ were the same as those already held by the Druids. Themes common to both Druidry and Christendom include the saints' exhibition of healing abilities, the building of most churches over wells and facing east to greet the sun, the creation of monastic centers of learning, and the long teacher-student relationship in these monasteries. Monkish manuscripts like the exquisite, illuminated gospels of Echternach and Durrow, which portray the four Evangelists as animals (a bull, a lion, an eagle, and a man), reflect a deep syncretic correspondence between Ezekiel's Biblical vision and Irish animism.

Druidism also left its unique mark on the incoming religion. Some of the earliest Irish Christian saints, such as the well-loved warrior-monk Columba, were trained by Druids in magical practice. Druidic themes incorporated into the Celtic Christian Church include the sense of filial intimacy between humans, other beings, nature, and the Divine, the emphasis on the Trinity, the uses of poetry and song, the zoomorphic and knotwork illustrations on their illuminated scrolls, the snakes found curling on the end of early crosiers, and a sense of the sacred as immanent in all things. A lingering animistic sensibility can be seen in the distinctly non-Christian ornamentation found on many old Irish churches. These include images of the Green Man, whose beard and hair are made up of rich leafy foliage, and the Sheela-na-Gig, a grinning, naked, bald female figure gleefully holding open her huge vulva. Finally, the people have traditionally had a pragmatic relationship with Jesus, God, Mary, the Holy Spirit, the angels, and the saints and turn to them for practical aid with problems in their lives, just as they had done with previously known spirits.

As a result of this syncretism, Celtic Christianity differed significantly from the forms found in Rome and other places on the mainland. Ireland in particular remains unique, as it was the only part of the Celtic world that was never invaded by the Roman Empire.

Modern Movements

Many people across Europe and America still perform a vestige of pagan Celtic ritual every year through the celebration of Halloween. The autumn fire festival Samhain was considered a time when the veils between the worlds were thinner than usual, and spirits, including those of the dead, could move freely among the living.

The principles of modern Druidism were set down in the early 1700s, counting among its disciples the poet William Blake. It was then that groups of practitioners began the work of unearthing and reconstructing the tenets of Druidic practices and spirituality. These new groups, known as groves, conferred a romantic tinge on Druidry that can still be seen today.

Following in their footsteps, many contemporary Pagan, Wiccan, and Celtic Reconstructionist groups are experimenting with a creative fusion of ancient and modern elements to create a spirituality that can work for people today. These vary widely in depth, intent, and au-

Modern-day Druids gather for a summer solstice ceremony within the Ring of Trilithons at the ancient site of Stonehenge, in Wiltshire, England. The site was constructed over a period of 1500 years beginning around 3000 B.C.E. (Adam Woolfitt/Corbis)

thenticity, with a wide range of creative output. Some serious ritual groups exhort learning Celtic languages and planting trees as an integral part of their spiritual practice.

The Celtic traits of "high imagination" and conscious relationship with the spirit and nonhuman worlds persist in these movements. Like the druids before them, many practitioners are now taking on the vital responsibility of serving as ecological mediators and spokespeople. As such, they are fulfilling a primary role of shamanic practitioners worldwide—to help their people, and the other-than-human world they depend upon and are kin to, continue to live.

Tina R. Fields

See also: Divination; Ecology and Shamanism; Fairies and Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Paganism in Europe; Trees

References and further reading:

Ashe, Geoffrey. 1990. *Mythology of the British Isles.* North Pomfret, VT: Trafalgar Square.

Bayer, C. W. 1991. *The Historical Method of the Celtic Harp.* Carson City, NV: Purple Mountain Press.

Carmichael, Alexander, ed. 1992. Reprint. *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations with Illustrative Notes on Words, Rites, and Customs, Dying and Obsolete: Orally Collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and Translated into English.* Hudson, NY: Lindisfarne Press. Original edition, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1928–1971.

Troyes, Chrétien de. 1987. *Arthurian Romances.* Translated by W. W. Comfort. Introduction and notes by D. D. R. Owen. London: Dent; New York: Dutton.

Devereux, Paul. 1992. "Shamanism and the Mystery Lines." *The Ley Hunter* 116: 11–19.

Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, ed. 1910. *The Book of Taliesin.* Wales, UK: Llanbedrog.
Evans-Wentz, W. Y. 1911. *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries.* New York: H. Frowde.
Fields, Tina R. 1994. "Boadicea's Last Stand: How the Roman Conquering of the Iceni Marked a Phase Shift in Western Consciousness." *Celtic Connection: Journal of the Sierra Nevada Celtic Society,* May–November (serialized).
Ford, Patrick K., trans. and ed. 1977. *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales.* Berkeley: University of California.
Gantz, Jeffrey, trans. 1981. *Early Irish Myths and Sagas.* Middlesex, UK: Penguin.
Graves, Alfred Perceval. n.d. *The Book of Irish Poetry.* Belfast, IR: Gresham.
Hutton, Ronald. 1991. *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
Ireland, S. 1986. *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook.* London: Routledge.
Jacobs, Joseph, coll. 1968. Reprint. *Celtic Fairy Tales.* New York: Dover. Original edition, 1892.
Jestice, Phyllis G. 2000. *Encyclopedia of Irish Spirituality.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
Kinsella, Thomas. 1969. *The Táin: The Cattle Raid of Cúailnge and other Ulaid Stories.* London: Oxford University Press.
Macalister, R. A. S., ed. and trans. 1938–1954. *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (Book of the Invasions of Ireland). 5 vols. Dublin: Irish Texts Society.
MacCana, Proinsias. 1970. *Celtic Mythology.* New York: Hamlyn.
Matthews, John. 1991. *Taliesin: Shamanism and the Bardic Mysteries in Britain and Ireland.* London: The Aquarian Press/HarperCollins.
O'Rahilly, Thomas F. 1946. *Early Irish History and Mythology.* Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
Piggott, Stuart. 1985. *The Druids.* New York: W. W. Norton.
Rolleston, T. W. 1990. Reprint. *Celtic Myths and Legends.* New York: Dover. Original edition, 1917.
Ross, Anne. 1967. *Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Tacitus. 1989. *The Annals of Imperial Rome.* Translated by Michael Grant. New York: Penguin.
Underwood, Guy. 1972. *The Pattern of the Past.* London: Sphere/Abacus.

CLASSICAL WORLD SHAMANISM (ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME)

Classical scholarship at first accepted a very narrow definition of shamanism as a priestly practice restricted to the Tungus peoples of Siberia, from whom the term was adopted. Only those Greeks who appeared to have made contact with that or derivative cultures, sometime after the seventh century along the shores of the Black Sea in the regions of Scythia and Thrace, were recognized initially as perhaps themselves also shamans, displaying such common traits as bilocation, animal familiars, healing powers, spiritual journeys, soul recovery, divination, and trance states (Meuli 1935). Lacking was any awareness of the involvement of psychoactive sacraments in the ecstatic practices of both the northern shamans and their Hellenic imitators; nor was there any consideration given to similarities of religious experience between these oriental Siberian shamans and corresponding rites worldwide that went by other names in the Greco-Roman world. Such sacraments are now commonly termed entheogens.

Within this very limited definition, the sixth-century seer Abaris, who showed up in Athens and Sparta to banish plagues and predict earthquakes, was supposedly a Hyperborean priest of Apollo, which meant that he came from the otherworldly paradise "beyond the North Wind" in the central Asiatic highlands that the Greeks remembered as their mythological Indo-European homeland. His manner of travel was upon a golden arrow, not an implausible way for an ecstatic shaman to journey between this and other worlds, since the word for "arrow" *(ios)* is homonymous with "toxin"; similarly, *toxic* is derived from the Greek word for "of the bow" *(toxon)* and the arrow traditionally was drugged or poisoned, suggesting the metaphor of entheobotanical intoxication (Ruck 1986; Ruck and Staples 1994). Shamans, moreover, often indulge in psychic excursions on their arrows (Dodds 1951).

Aristeas, on the other hand, journeyed in the opposite direction from Greece to the Hyperboreans while "possessed by Apollo," apparently as a raven, the god's sacred familiar. Aristeas claimed Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmara as his native island. Nevertheless, it would obviously be extremely naive to consider

this shuttling back and forth in trance states reported of Abaris and Aristeas, trance states during which they reportedly appeared dead but claimed they had traveled as birds or arrows to Apollo's Hyperboreans, as evidence that either of these men had actual physical experience of the Scythian or Thracian lands. In any case, the shamanic paradise lay far beyond those lands. That otherworldly Garden of the God was supposedly peopled by Gorgons and creatures with a single eye, the Arimaspeans; its plants, guarded there by griffins, were called golden fruits or flowers of gold and subterranean honey. All of these can be understood as metaphoric for the Siberian entheogen *Amanita muscaria,* the fly agaric mushroom (Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich 2001). There the god's original name was known as Abalus, cognate with the medieval Avalon, the "Apple Island" (Dodds 1951); red "apples" are what these "tree mushrooms" are also called, since they grow only in symbiosis, as mycorrhizal symbionts, like the fruits of certain trees (Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich 2001).

The connection with the Hyperborean homeland was ritually commemorated in the classical period each year by a secret offering of the "first fruits" that came supposedly from this mythical Otherworld to Apollo's sacred island of Delos to celebrate the god's conversion from his earlier pre–Indo-European manifestations in the Aegean world as the recipient of human victims. Thus the first ambassadors with the offerings died and were buried on Delos, and the transition was reenacted by the annual ritual of the troupes of dancers, twice seven pubescent males and females, sent by each Greek city to the sacred isle, where their lives were at the last moment spared; they were only flagellated as they danced about the god's altar and bit upon the trunk of his sacred tree, the olive, that now represented the entheogenic mushroom's tree (Ruck 1986). The so-called Shining Island of Delos itself was a transposition into this world of that otherworldly isle that beckons as the departed soul's destination.

Hence the Hyperborean connection is not an indication of any imagined actual contact, but a metaphor for the shaman's descent to the past to reestablish the quintessential vertical pathways upon which the culture of the present is founded. Thus another Hyperborean visitor was Olen, who not only was said to have composed certain hymns on the subject of the original sacrificed ambassadors, but was claimed as the founder of the god's oracular site at Delphi (Ruck 1986). Such a role for Olen indicates that shamanism was not something foreign on the fringe of Greek religion, but central to its most important pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, the very basis of their common identity as a people. Not only Delos and Delphi, but even the great sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia betrays shamanistic origins, for the hero Herakles planted there the sacred grove of olive trees that he imported from the Hyperborean Garden. Here again the olive tree represented the sacred mushroom, and the grove of trees planted by Herakles was described metaphorically as the golden horn of a reindeer, an animal often associated with fly agaric and the ecstasy induced by its toxins.

Nor were Abaris and Aristeas alone in displaying the traits of a shaman. Epimenides of Crete was called the Maiden's youngling, which indicates that he was associated with Persephone and the Underworld; as a continuation of the pre-Hellenic traditions of the Minoan Goddess, he had lain asleep for fifty-seven years in her sacred cave. He could wander out of his body; he appeared in Athens in the fifth century, performing purificatory rites and prophesying. He, too, had an entheogenic secret, for he was said to subsist totally on a special herbal compound, taught to him by the nymphs, which he stored in a "bull's hoof," the bull being another metaphor for fly agaric (Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich 2001).

Epimenides believed that he had lived before and had once been the legendary Aeacus, king of a race of ant-men, the Myrmidons, and one of the judges in the Underworld. These Myrmidon people probably reflect some awareness of his native Cretan traditions: The ancient Minoans had metaphoric matriarchal societies of insects, and the symbolism of the bee-maidens depicted in their art involves the bee's nectar-gathering herbalism, which yields both honey and the poison of their sting. Here it was other entheogens that were involved, Persephone's "narcotic" *narkissos,* as the psychoactive sea-daffodil, *Pancratium maritinum,* was called, as well as the opium poppy (Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich 2001). Clearly shamanism was practiced in the worship of the Goddess, well established before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans with

View of the Tholos of the Sanctuary of Athena at Delphi, Greece. (Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis)

their own traditions of shamanism. A version of the Apollo god, with his Goddess who later became his sister Artemis, presided over the bull-dance offering of human victims enacted in the central courtyard of the great sanctuary of Minos, another one of the judges in the Underworld, at Knossos. This god, whose homeland was remembered as among the Lycian people of southern Asia Minor, was assimilated with the Hyperborean Apollo. It is that transition that is remembered in the myth of Theseus's encounter with the Minotaur and his celebration of the victory with the first performance of its pacified version on Delos around the altar that marked the god's conversion into a son of Zeus (Ruck and Staples 1994). At Delos, the victims now were merely flagellated as they danced around the altar, instead of the deadly dance with the bull at Knossos. It is highly likely that psychoactive plants (such as wolfsbane and mistletoe) prepared the human offerings to accept their fate, and even in the pacified substitutes, the entheogen made certain ordeals bearable.

It is also characteristic for a shaman to experience, as Epimenides did, the soul of a dead shaman entering into a living person to reinforce the sources of power and knowledge. Similarly, generation after generation of prophets claimed to be the fabled Boetian seer Bakis, for the hero-shaman commonly attains divine cultic status. Thus the fifth-century Pythagoras claimed that he had formerly been the shaman Hermotimus, as well as Aethalides, another shaman, said to have been granted the privilege of rebirth. Reincarnation is reportedly often an ability limited to shamans. Originally from the island of Samos, Pythagoras settled in

southern Italy, where he established a religious community of women and men devoted to dietary and spiritual practices, such as descent into caves for a spirit quest, that would assure that they would achieve metempsychosis, as well as induce the ultimate vision of the numerical purity upon which this world of appearances is based. The religious nature of this monastic society is indicated by the equal rank afforded the women, who apart from sacred roles, were ordinarily sequestered from and subservient to men.

We have an eyewitness account to the shamanism of a contemporary of Epimenides, Empedocles, as well the entheobotanical claims of the man himself. Empedocles says that he knows of all the drugs and can teach that knowledge to his initiates, for he has drunk fire from an immortal potion, and now can summon storms or calm them at his will, and can lead souls back up from Hades (Kingsley 1995). Such shamanic soul retrieval is described in the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice, and the Orphic religious communities claimed that their founder, too, had a special dietary regime and a "smoke" (incense inhalation); he was a priest of the "northern," or Hyperborean, Apollo and could summon beasts, and was apparently consubstantial with his god, for after his death he was himself compounded by ecstatic women into a potion, and his "head" alone continued to prophesy. His devotees believed that the body *(soma)* was a tomb *(sema)*—that this life was a deadly incarnation of the soul, which was liberated upon death, to be judged and recycled through metempsychosis for a series of further testings, until achieving a final celestial stasis. Nor was this shamanic idea of a detachable soul limited to Orphic doctrine. It underlies the literature of the classical age, in which the soul is considered most alert and free in sleep, and in dreams and trances, during which time it acquires some of the knowledge it will attain upon the final liberation of death. This soul could speak through gifted clairvoyants like the Sibyl, the "pythons," and the "belly-talkers" *(engastrimythoi)* whose voice seemed to rise from deep within them. These last, however, can probably not be distinguished from the "tongue-in-bellies" *(englottogastores),* a fabulous people, like the "Shade-foots" *(Skiapodes)* implicated in the profane use of the Eleusinian sacrament (Ruck 1986). These fabulous peoples are all anthropomorphized versions of the divine spirit that resides in the sacred plant.

The fifth-century philosopher Parmenides, from the region around Olympia, left an account of his soul's journey, while still in this life, to the gateway between night and day, where he met a goddess who imparted her teaching of the gnostic vision. He was said to have produced the laws of his city after a vision quest in a cave. Often these caves were sacred to Apollo, the most famous being the one on Mount Parnassos, the original site of the oracle. He and Pythagoras were not alone in achieving visionary knowledge. Plato explicitly claims that his dialogues are only the preparation for a vision of the Ideal, or archetype of reality, which will come only after an extended regime of spiritual practices, open to both males and females, for which he employed the famous metaphor of the Cave and a Mystery initiation. Thus shamanism is also at the heart of what we have come to call Greek philosophy. Sophists and philosophers were probably all shamans, at least in the common mind; a sophist, after all, is nothing other than a *sabio* or *sabia* ("skilled in an art"). It was from a wisewoman, the famous Diotima, who was also adept at banishing plagues, that Socrates learned the metaphysical nature of love that he expounds in the *Symposium.* Aristophanes parodied Socrates as a sophist-shaman, first in *Clouds,* where his community of disciples was shown digging up special roots in a profanation of a Mystery initiation and hallucinating on clouds. And later, after the actual scandal of the Profanations, when certain prominent Athenians were discovered to have used the Eleusinian potion for recreational purposes at their drinking parties, he was shown in the *Birds* again profaning the Mystery, this time in a shamanic rite of necromancy, as he summoned up spirits of the dead through the medium of his entranced companion Chairephon, squeaking like a bat (Ruck 1986). As Socrates claimed in *Apology,* this was the real crime of alleged impiety for which he was finally brought to trial at the end of the century. His execution with the hemlock potion indicates the sophistication of ancient pharmacology; he was advised not to waste a drop with a libation, for the exact dosage had been prepared: Hence the symptoms of his peaceful death are totally at variance with the observed effects of hemlock poisoning.

As is clear from the monastic communities of wise men like Pythagoras, Plato, and the Orphics, shamanism could be practiced as a group experience. The great Eleusinian Mystery involved an experience of this type, a shamanic initiation, in which the initiates journeyed in the soul to the Otherworld in order to experience personally the opened pathway between the realms, in a religious ceremony that ratified the transition from its Minoan precedents to the Hellenic manifestation and assured their own beneficial accord with the goddess and her son. The Eleusinian Mystery originated in the middle of the second millennium, indicating the antiquity of the concept of a detachable soul. The vision here was induced by a sacramental potion for which the primary psychoactive agent was derived from ergot, a fungus that grows on grain, for the religion also celebrated the social structures that evolved with the arts of cultivating grain. The Eleusinian ceremony was only the best known of similar mysteries, such as that of the Kabeiroi, enacted at various other sites, which is known from potion cups in museums.

Such communal shamanism was also the basis of the maenadism of the women devotees of Dionysos, which celebrated the previticultural antecedents of the god's vinous potion. Periodically the females of the city deserted their homes for a mountain revel, where they enacted herbalist rituals, gathering the toxic plants symbolized by *kissos,* "ivy," the wild vine that was considered the primitive intoxicating antecedent of the cultivated grape and the inebriant grown upon its juice. For the women, it was a return to past times and the former solidarity of the Minoan sisterhoods. They experienced ecstatic union with the god and his spiritual troupe of goat-men, or satyrs. It was a rite that was considered essential in order to honor the god's wild and primitive world, balanced by the civilized ritual drunkenness practiced by the men in the drinking party, or symposium, within the city. The god's wine is properly described as a vinous potion since, like the balanced rites of maenadism and symposia, it, too, mediated between the wild and cultivated versions of the god by incorporating, in addition to the alcohol grown through fermentation, commemorations of the vine's antecedents, a variable mixture of entheogenic herbal additives (Ruck 1986; Ruck and Staples 1994; Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich 2001). Such spicing of the wine with other inebriants is a common practice even today, and Greece perpetuates the ancient tradition with its retsina, or resin-flavored wine. This reconciliation with primitivism was also enacted by the wife of the king-archon (Basileus), who, after the conversion of the city's political organization into a democracy, perpetuated the former priestly role of the city's ruler, its shamanic founder. Each year this queen united "sexually" with the god in a temple that was considered a bull's stall, for she was enacting the old metaphoric bovine epithet of the Goddess and the taurine entheogenic sacrament of her spiritual consort.

Dionysos's most cultivated manifestation was in his patronage of the theater. Drama began as a shamanic experience, with the entranced narrator evoking the spirit of a dead ancestor from his tomb to impersonate his story. As it developed in the sixth and fifth centuries in Athens, it became a mediation of the rural and urban peoples and of wild antisocial and civilized tendencies (seen, for example, in the pairing of comedy with tragedy), as well as strengthening the vertical pathways linking the present to the past and the ancestors. The actors became possessed by the spirits they were impersonating, and that enchantment radiated out, like a magnet's field of force, to the entire audience, who participated, linked like iron filings, in the perpetuation of the myths that indoctrinated them into their identity as a people. To place them in the properly receptive mind, the members of the audience drank a special vinous potion throughout the several days of performances. Nor were the poets in their "right" minds when they became inspired. It was probably more than a convention that they testified that the tale spoke through them, for they become possessed by the Muse. It was said that Aeschylus never made a drama except with his mind well wined; and Euripides is said to have composed in a cave on Salamis, certainly an unlikely place except for shamanic rituals.

Our evidence is most abundant for the city of Athens, but similar rites were occurring elsewhere. The Spartans never went into battle without their shamans; and their presence in warfare is attested by the Homeric poems. The induction and initiation rituals of the Spartans also involved entheogens, either to induce the proper visions or to make the demanding expe-

rience endurable. Entheogen-induced trance states can also be traced to the terrifying rites of incubation through which healings were effected (Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich 2001). Music, drums, chant, and dance, of course, can induce a receptive state of mind without help, but probably entheogens, at least in the form of the vinous potion, were always involved, as in the orgiastic dancing of the reputedly drunken Korybantes (Crested Dancers) and warrior cults like the Kouretes (Youths), or other ecstatic rites of catharsis.

The traditions of shamanism and their entheogens, however, derived not only from the indigenous pre-Greek religions of the Goddess, assimilated with the religious rites of the immigrant Indo-Europeans. It was not only in Scythia and Thrace that the Hellenic peoples could have encountered foreign shamans; there was frequent contact with the Persians, in addition to the two great invasions of the Persian king's armies at the beginning of the fifth century. Exiled Greek leaders often sought asylum at Persepolis. The king, moreover, like the Spartans, never traveled without his magi, his shaman-priests. The Persian king Xerxes was entertained by the father of Democritos as he passed through Thrace in his campaign against Greece; and the young "sophist" Democritos, who later expounded the visionary atomic theory, learned astrology and theology from the king's magi. It seems likely that he also learned about their haoma sacrament (soma in the Sanskrit ṚgVeda is haoma in the Persian Avesta). If not, he is unlikely to have missed it as soma when he later mingled with the gymnosophists, "naked sages," the shaman priests of the Indian Brahmans at their monastery in Egypt (Heinrich and Ruck 2001). So, too, did Alexander converse with the gymnosophists on his Indian campaign.

The Indian and Persian rites, moreover, persisted among the early Indo-European immigrants to Mesopotamia and were assimilated by the Semitic and other peoples, passing on into ancient Judaism (Hoffman, Ruck and Staples 2001). By the Hellenistic period, such rites were well established among monastic communities like the Mosaic Therapeutai, in the desert outside of Alexandria, and the Essene brotherhood on the shore of the Dead Sea, which appears to have inspired many features of early Christianity (Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich 2001). Trade routes with the Orient facilitated the mingling of ideas, and the magi were visitors to Greek cities, performing their shamanic rites even in the Athenian marketplace. Moreover, the port cities, like the Piraeus of Athens and Rome's Ostia, had multiethnic populaces, with sanctuaries of their foreign rites. Journeying in the opposite direction, the shaman Apollonios of Tyana, a contemporary of Christ and also declared a god, was actually initiated into the soma rite by the Brahmans in India (Ruck, Staples, and Heinrich 2001). The Christian version of the rite was suppressed by the dominant church or reserved for its elite, but it persisted in various Gnostic sects condemned as heretical, notably in the East as late as the seventeenth century among the followers of Mani, although even in Europe Manichaeism and occult mysteries like alchemy persisted or were repeatedly reintroduced by travelers from the Holy Land.

The prevailing philosophy of the Roman Empire was Stoicism, founded by the Asiatic Zeno. Like Neo-Pythagoreanism, Neo-Platonism, and the other Gnostic Mysteries, Egyptian, Hellenistic, and Christian, this philosophy, too, was based on a visionary experience, and is in fact quite unlike what is usually said of it. The initiate strove to rise to the outer edge of the cosmos and look back down upon the universal perfection in which the individual is destined to play its part, as in the *Somnium Scipionis,* the "Dream of Scipio," which Cicero substituted for Plato's Myth of Er in his version of the *Res Publica.*

The main religious rival to Christianity in the later empire was Mithraism, so similar that with the conversion of Constantine, it was merely a matter of replacing one foreign god with the other. Mithraism assimilated Stoicism and was the way that the Persian haoma sacrament persisted and was spread throughout the empire, probably replacing local, and similarly entheogenic, mystery rites. It admitted only males to its congregations, which met in restrictively small subterranean chambers. The members were taken through seven stages of ascending initiations, patterned on ancient shamanic grades of metempsychosis (transmigration of the soul), beginning with the fiery soul's incarnation as a thirsting raven in the moisture of matter and culminating with its release from the Orphic tomb of the body to

burst out of the confining cavelike chamber and journey to the celestial rim, in imitation of the heroic role of the Solar Charioteer, Phaëthon, the son of the solar Father, whose sacrificial fall, like Christ's Crucifixion, was expected to occasion the final Stoic conflagration and collapse of the whole cosmos inward, only to expand again for an Age of the Second Coming. This highest grade of initiation was achieved by a banquet of Mithras and the Sun upon the flesh of the solar bull, actually a "Eucharistic" bread and an entheogenic potion drunk from a *rhyton,* or bull's horn. This fellowship of Mithraic initiates was the cohesive bond that united the soldiers and bureaucrats that administered the entire empire (Hoffman, Ruck, and Staples 2002).

Carl A. P. Ruck

See also: Entheogens and Shamanism; Initiation; Manchu Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Nong Shamanism; Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners; Oroqen Shamanism; Paganism in Europe; Peyote Ritual Use; Psychopomp; Qiang Ritual Practices; Taiwanese Shamanic Performance and Dance

References and further reading:

Dodds, E. R. 1951. "The Greek Shamans and the Origin of Puritanism." Pp. 135–178 in *The Greeks and the Irrational.* Sather Classical Lectures, vol. 25. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Evangeliou, Christos. 1997. *The Hellenic Philosophy: Between Europe, Asia and Africa.* Binghampton, UK: Institute of Global Cultural Studies.

González Celdrán, José Alfredo. 2002. *Hombres, dioses y hongos: Hacia una visión etnobotánica del mito* [Men, Gods, and Mushrooms: Toward an Ethnobotanical Vision of Myth]. Madrid: Edaf.

Heinrich, Clark, and Carl A. P. Ruck. 2001. "Old Gods in New Bottles: Alchemical Pharmacopoeia." *Entheos* 1, no. 1: 55–78.

Hoffman, Mark, Carl A. P. Ruck, and Blaise Daniel Staples. 2001. "Conjuring Eden: Art and the Entheogenic Vision of Paradise." *Entheos* 1, no. 1: 13–50.

———. 2002. "The Entheogenic Eucharist of Mithras." *Entheos* 2, no. 1: 13–50.

Kingsley, Peter. 1995. *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic: Empedocles and Pythagorean Tradition.* New York: Oxford.

Meuli, K. 1935. "Scythia." *Hermes* 35: 121–176.

Ruck, Carl A. P. 1986. "Poets, Philosophers, and Priests: Entheogens in the Formation of the Classical Tradition." Pp. 151–257 in *Persephone's Quest: Entheogens and the Origins of Religion.* Edited by R. Gordon Wasson. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ruck, Carl A. P., and Danny (Blaise) Staples. 1994. *The World of Classical Myth: Gods and Goddesses, Heroines and Heroes.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

Ruck, Carl A. P., Blaise Daniel Staples, and Clark Heinrich. 2001. *The Apples of Apollo: Pagan and Christian Mysteries of the Eucharist.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

Wasson, R. Gordon, Carl A. P. Ruck, and Albert Hofmann. 1998. *The Road to Eleusis: Unveiling the Secret of the Mysteries.* Twentieth anniversary edition, augmented, with a preface by Huston Smith. Los Angeles: Hermes Press. Original edition, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.

FAIRIES AND SHAMANISM

The role of fairies in the various European traditions has many shamanistic features, providing support for the existence of a European version of shamanism. Actually the central theme of European folk tradition is the relationship to spirits, such as nature spirits or spirits of the deceased; the central figure in this tradition is the fairy. This relationship to spirits, at least in the oral folk tradition, continued until the beginning of industrialization; moreover literature, particularly medieval literature, developed rich thematic material from the relationship to spirits.

Mircea Eliade defined some characteristics of shamanism as found among the Indo-Europeans: He described shamans as able to rise to the sky, to go to the Underworld to bring back a diseased soul or to escort the dead, to evoke the help of spirits in performing an ecstatic journey, and to master fire (Eliade 1989, 396–400). He also argued that the presence of one or several shamanistic elements is sufficient to prove that shamanism is the main characteristic of a religion. As European shamanism has

not been studied extensively, it is impossible to discuss it in an exclusively European context; one must compare the elements of the European traditions with the elements of other traditions. Thus Bertrand Hell wrote about "a common substratum of the representations" and of "shamanism beyond the diversity of the rituals" (Hell 1999, 24). If we use this broader basis, it is possible to establish that several similarities exist between the fairy lore of Europe and shamanism as a belief system.

To take one example, some characteristics of the election of the future shaman can be seen in the story of Melusine. In shamanism, the spirits designate the future shaman. In *The Chronicle of Melusine* by Jean d'Arras (written down in 1388), whose origin is in folklore, the fairy that the hero meets, elects him, in the sense that she chooses him, and becomes his wife (d'Arras 1979). The spirits appear in the same way to the future shaman saying, "I will be your wife" (Hamayon 1990). A condition accompanies this declaration. If the spouse disobeys, he risks death, which reminds us of similar taboos in legends, in which the hero, for example, must not see his wife on a Saturday, or the legend of Beauty and the Beast, in which she is prohibited from looking at her husband (the Beast). The legends of fairy brides and loving intercourse between mortals and these supernatural beings are plentiful in European folklore. Roberte Hamayon points out that matrimonial alliance between the shaman and a spirit is fundamental to shamanism in Siberia. Moreover she states that the supernatural being adopts a natural form, which is the case of the fairies, who come from the Otherworld in the guise of a human.

Both the harm and the good deeds attributed to fairies are similar to those attributed to the spirits in shamanism. Illnesses are considered to be the result of a meeting with a spirit. This concept is common to all European folklore; for example, in some parts of England it is said that fairies provoke rheumatisms, contusions, and cramps (Briggs 1976, 25). To cure illness, the shaman must travel into the Otherworld and negotiate with the spirits. Auxiliary spirits, which assume an animal form, help the shaman, as the animals that accompany fairies help the fairies. For example, Melusine attracts the hero by sending a doe for him to follow. Deer serve very often in medieval literature as intermediaries between the human natural world and the supernatural world, as they do in the world of Siberian shamanism. In tales and legends, animals help the hero to find his way or to find an object that he needs. The journey of the fairies, who come from the supernatural world, and their transformation can also be seen as the journey of the Double in the supernatural world. It recalls the *fylgia,* the spiritual double of the individual, of the ancient Scandinavians as analyzed by Claude Lecouteux (1992). He described the journey of the hero in the lay as an ecstatic journey of the kind undertaken by shamans, presented in literary form (88).

In shamanism, an illness is often seen as the result of a debt owed to the Otherworld, a debt that has not been paid. Similarly, in European tales and legends, when the fairies are displeased because some obligation has not been met or some taboo has been violated, they give a punishment. Shamanism also involves the employment of appropriate dances and feasts; otherwise the spirits will send disease and misfortune. Similarly, when fairies are not properly honored, they will show their discontent. For example, in the tale of Sleeping Beauty, when one of the fairies is not invited to the baptism of the princess, she causes the princess to prick her finger on the spindle of a spinning wheel and fall into a deep, century-long slumber.

Spirits influenced fertility and fecundity: In hunting societies, shamans dealt with spirits to obtain abundance. In Europe in the nineteenth century, society was still rural, and fairies played the same role: In Scotland they helped the miller to produce a greater quantity of flour, and in France they protected pastureland and helped all sorts of trades, with one sole purpose—promoting abundance (Sébillot 1983). The evidence of this kind of alliance with the fairies is a recurrent one.

Sometimes a fairy will play the role of a shaman rather than of a spirit, curing and prophesying as do shamans. In this way Vivian, the Lady of the Lake, and Morgan le Fay came to play different roles in literature. From fairies, understood as nature spirits, they became enchantresses, perhaps by a psychological process of rationalization, as some specialists have theorized (Aguinario 1993, 19). Such fairies may travel from one world to the other as shamans do, in order to preserve the order of the world.

The recurrence in European folklore, and the literature based on it, of alliance between na-

ture spirits and the human sphere raises the question whether all rural societies are not based on a shamanistic relationship to the world and how this relationship was transformed with urbanization. Today a shamanistic relationship to the world is expressed in New Age experiences and the individual's search for contact with his or her auxiliary spirit. It is not a question of community, except in the case of Findhorn, an experiment begun in the 1950s in Scotland, when a couple grew vegetables, fruits, and plants by asking the spirits for their help (Chryssides 1999). Their farm became a community, the origin of the ecovillage network.

Just as there has been a renewed interest in shamanism in the twentieth and early twenty-first century, so too there has been a renewed interest in fairies, seen in the New Age movement and in movements such as Wicca or Druidry. Both reflect a reaction against modern materialism, taking the form of a quest for a way of life rooted in the past and in environmental concerns.

Anne Ferlat

See also: "Celtic Shamanism": Pagan Celtic Spirituality; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Paganism in Europe

References and further reading:

Aguinario, Benito. 1993. *Fées, Dieux et Déesses au Moyen Age* [Fairies, Gods, and Goddesses during the Middle Ages]. Colloque organisé par le Centre d'Etudes médiévales et dialectales de Lille, 3 [Colloquium organized by the Center of Medieval and Dialect Studies of Lille, 3]. Villeneuve d'Ascq.

Briggs, Katharine Mary. 1976. *An Encyclopedia of Fairies: Hobgoblins, Brownies, Bogies, and Other Supernatural Creatures.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Chryssides, George D. 1999. *Exploring New Religions.* New York: Cassel.

d'Arras, Jean. 1979. *Le Roman de Mélusine.* Paris: Stock.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1990. *La chasse à l'âme: Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien* [The Hunt for the Soul]. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

Hell, Bertrand. 1999. *Possession et Chamanisme* [Possession and Shamanism]. Paris: Flammarion.

Lecouteux, Claude. 1992. *Fées, Sorcières et Loups-garous au Moyen Age: Histoire du double* [Faries, Sorceresses and Werewolves of the Middle Ages: History of the Double]. Paris: Imago.

Sébillot, Paul-Yves. 1983. *Le Folklore de France.* Paris: Imago.

FINNO-UGRIC SHAMANISM

Finno-Ugric shamanism is a belief system of northern Eurasians, with a foothold both in Europe and in Asia. Elements of Siberian shamanism as well as European folk and mythological motifs, especially European ideas of animism, are found in Finno-Ugric shamanism. One explanation might be that these cultural traits spread along the trade routes of Baltic amber.

The Finno-Ugrians

The Finno-Ugrians, those peoples who speak languages belonging to the family of Uralic languages, are divided into five groups: (1) Ugrians, made up of Hungarians (Magyars), and Ob'-Ugrians, that is, Voguls (Mansi) and Ostyaks (Khanty); (2) Baltic Finns, made up of Finns, Estonians, Karelians (including Olonets and Luds), Ingrians (Izhors), Veps, Vots, and Livonians; (3) Lapps (Sami), of dubious ethnic origin; (4) Finno-Permians, made up of Zyrians (Komi) and Votyaks (Udmurts); (5) Finns living in the territories of the Volga, made up of Cheremis (Mari) and Mordvinians (Moksha and Erzya peoples).

The Hungarians of course for the most part live in Hungary, but Hungarian minorities are found in Romania, Slovakia, Croatia, Austria, and Ukraine, and in other Slav countries in the South. The Voguls are located mostly between the Urals and the lower Ob' (an important river in Siberia); to the east, and also along the central Ob' and its tributaries, is the territory of the Ostyaks. Their capital is Khanty-Mansiysk.

The Finns occupy Finland, with a limited number living in Russia. Small Finnish com-

munities dwell in Siberia, northeast of Omsk and south of the Tuy (a tributary of the Irtysh).

The Estonians reside mainly in Estonia; in Russia some are found near the shores of Lake Peipus. Estonian communities inhabit the same areas of Siberia where the Finns settled and also more to the east, near the middle reaches of the Chulym (a tributary of the Ob').

The Karelians are located in Russia to the east of Finland. Groups of Karelians are found in the lands around Kalinin, where their ancestors moved in the years following the peace of Stolbovo in 1617. Some groups settled to the west and north of Kalinin.

With regard to the Baltic Finns of the southeast, the Ingrians are based along the southeastern shores of the Gulf of Finland, to the east of Estonia, the Veps to the east of Lake Ladoga and toward the southwestern shores of Lake Onega, the Vots to the south of the Ingrians toward Saint Petersburg, and the Livonians in villages on the north coast of the peninsula of Kurland.

The Lapps are situated in the Kola peninsula and the northern regions of Sweden, Norway, and Finland.

The Zyrians inhabit the areas of the Vychegda and its tributaries the Vym' and Sysola, the Mezen' and its tributary the Vashka, and the Pechora and its tributaries the Usa and Izhma (capital: Syktyvkar). The southern Zyrians, or Permyaks, live in the region of the Upper Kama (capital: Kudymkar). The (rare) presence of Zyrians is documented in the vicinity of the confluence of the Tura and Tobol. The Votyaks reside in the areas between the Kama and Vyatka (capital: Izhevsk) and to a lesser extent near Kirov and Perm' and, to the south, in the territories of the Mari, Tatars, and Bashkirs.

The Cheremis inhabit mainly the areas defined by the Volga, Vetluga, and Vyatka; others live with the Bashkirs in the lands between the Belaya and Ufa, others again, in smaller numbers, in the lands of the Tatars and Votyaks. Their capital is Yoshkar-Ola. The Mordvinians are very scattered: most do not live in the districts around their capital Saransk, but elsewhere in the territories of Ul'yanovsk, Nizhniy Novgorod, Saratov, the river Samara, and Orenburg, and in the Chuvash, Bashkir, and Tatar areas; some Mordvinian groups live in Siberia, at great distances from each other. The autonomous western ethnic group of the Moksha is situated along the river Moksha, the eastern group of the Erzya, along the Sura. However, to the east of the Volga the territories of the Moksha and Erzya alternate freely, with no areas reserved for one or the other.

Finno-Ugric Belief System

The rules of organization of the most ancient Uralic society were tightly connected to animistic and totemic concepts applied to the natural habitat, the only source of sustenance. It seems that the word for shaman was already known in the Proto-Finno-Ugric era (Hajdú 1973, 87); the shaman was the medium who, thanks to knowledge acquired by his double, or "free soul," in his extracorporeal journey, maintained humanity in harmony with the mysterious forces of nature and animals, elevated to the level of spirits. Totems, conferring sacral dignity on tribal communities, were conceived mostly in animal forms and were considered as being endowed with qualities superior to those of man. The totem in bird form was particularly frequent and much reproduced in distinctive signs of ownership belonging to individual clans (Hoppál 1978, 390). Belief in the rebirth of all beings subject to decay was common and perhaps influenced by the rebirth of nature in spring. What was reborn was the double (or immortal soul) attributed to every component of earthly reality. By reincarnation a man's soul could transmigrate into a physical reality different from the human one (for example, in the Lappish area the belief became rooted that the soul of a just man would be reincarnated in a bear). Because of the animistic worldview, the boundaries between the material, vegetal, animal, and human worlds and between earth, heaven, and the land of the dead were not seen as absolute. Spirits were believed to live in families of the patriarchal and monogamous kind, just as humans did. According to popular Votyak and Cheremis tradition, trees and lakes could actually be transferred from one place to another, depending on the needs of their respective spirits. The concept of the double gave more room to the belief in metamorphosis, which was modeled on the cyclical changes of nature: To become clear to a human being, the immortal soul had to assume one of the forms of visible reality. The idea of an ambivalent (potentially both beneficent and evil) twofold

reality (visible and invisible) became increasingly more clearly defined; this twofold reality implied a relationship of complementary opposition that is the basis of the coherent flexibility of the whole shamanic system of beliefs. Thus, free from the rigidity of the models of the great religions (Hoppál 1984a, 227) and political ideologies, it managed to adapt itself to these to survive.

The practice of shamanism lasted varying lengths of time among the various Finno-Ugrian peoples; even in the east, however, where it has lasted longest, it is by now limited and localized. The great sacrificial ceremonies are no longer practiced: Among the Cheremis the last ceremony took place in the early 1920s (Bereczki 1977, 238). The characteristics of original Siberian shamanism were especially preserved among the Ob'-Ugrians and Lapps. Various processes of cultural integration and assimilation, occurring particularly among the Hungarians, Finns, and Baltic Finns of the southeast, have not erased memories of common traditions in the distant past. These memories are very clear, for example, in the *Ancient Songs of the Finnish People* (*Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot*), collected by the Society of Finnish Literature (1908–1948), in the Finnish national epic (*Kalevala*), the Estonian epic (*Kalevipoeg*), or the fables of magic in Hungarian tradition. The sacred eagle, white horse, and miraculous stag as celestial guides in the legends of the origins of the Hungarians are related to Siberian totemism. The heavenly stag (representing Jesus), often with the sun and moon between its antlers, appears in the early legends of the Hungarian saints and with analogous symbology in the texts of the ancient propitiatory songs (*regölés*) of Christmas and New Year. These songs, though contaminated by Christian elements, reveal a shamanic cultural substratum. There are bird spirits; there is an evocation of the ox, into which the double of the *táltos,* a sort of magic priest, was transformed; the ritornello *haj, regülejtem, regülejtem* ([and its variants], in which the recurrence of the ancient root *reg-,* the base of some Hungarian verbs indicating the act of hiding), probably alludes to the trance during which the *táltos* "hid" and his double traveled in the world of the invisible (Diószegi 1958, 414–416). The use of "hiding" behind masks by the *regösök,* the singer of the regölés, was analogous to the practice of covering the face in the shamanic rituals of divination, rituals that occurred on the same days, to obtain greater identification with the dead, who returned to the earth during that period.

Cosmological Concepts

In the cosmological concepts of the Finno-Ugrians, the earth (represented by the Lapps in the form of a sleigh, and by the Ob'-Ugrians as a flat disk surrounded by a chain of mountains, the Urals) was considered to be in the sea, supported by one or more pillars or floating on the back of a gigantic whale or prawn, which caused earthquakes as they moved. Evil was concentrated in specific areas of the cosmos, such as the terrible marine whirlpool, called *kurimus,* and according to Finnish belief situated in the north, in the center of the sea, a meeting place of the conflicting forces of the universe. The cosmos was divided into three layers (one for the gods, one for men, one for the dead), through all of which extended the tree (or column, or mountain) of the world, the *axis mundi* (axis of the world). The three worlds might also be thought of as standing next to one another in a horizontal dimension and crossed by the river of the world.

The sky was a rotating dome held up at the center by the tree of the world, or the tree of life, or by a cosmic column or mountain, at the upper end of which was the Pole Star. The tree, called in Hungarian fables "the tree reaching the sky" (Berze Nagy 1984), was also envisaged with roots submerged in the water of life (Hungarians, Ostyaks, Mordvinians) with the supreme god on top; among the Ugrians he appeared as a griffin with his young, or as an eagle. For the Voguls the cosmic tree, and for the Ostyaks the column or mountain, had seven sections, indicating the various layers of the sky, related by the Ostyaks to destiny. With the exception of the Ob'-Ugrians, the cosmic tree was represented with the sun and moon in its branches, since it was situated in the center of the world, where the sun does not set and the moon always appears full.

In contrast with Tartar and Greco-Roman mythology, the Voguls and Lapps, as well as the Finns and Cheremis, imagined the sun as a female principle, a mother, while for the former the moon was male, a father (Hoppál 1978,

377). The symbolic association of water with the sun has left eloquent traces in the tradition of throwing into the water and retrieving small ritual objects (combs, symbols of solar rays at sunset, or swords, emblems of solar rays at sunrise) to favor the star in its journey of death (sunset) and rebirth (sunrise).

As the Hungarian representation of the archetypal tree as a revolving castle on a duck's foot (a symbol of the hereafter) clearly underlines, the cosmic tree also represented the tree of death. This concept is found, for example, in the archaic Finnish practice of planting a tree near the house on the death of every member of the family. The hereafter was placed more vaguely: It might be thought of as in a celestial area (like the Radien-ájmuo of the Lapps, kingdom of the illustrious dead, forming part of the myth), or in an isolated place (like the luminous Sájva-ájmuo of the Lapps, where dead shamans went), or in the dark, cold north, or under the earth. However, the idea, also conceived by the Indo-European peoples, that the kingdom of the dead was beyond a river, in an imprecise area, was probably already widespread in the Uralic epoch.

Some similarities (especially in the field of sacred flora) between Indo-European and Finno-Ugric beliefs can be explained in the light of the common cultural world of ancient Eurasia, the result of direct or indirect reciprocal prehistoric relationships. Among the first agents of shamanic diffusion in western Europe were the merchants who travelled along the eastern and western Baltic amber routes and peoples like the Celts, Anatolian Phrygians, and Thracians, as well as the Scythians and their descendants the Ossetes.

The Soul

For the Finno-Ugrians the souls of the dead could reach the hereafter by flying like birds, mostly palmipedes (web-footed), along the horizontal line of the Milky Way, called the Way of Birds, or by crossing a river, a lake, or the sea in the form of an aquatic animal (swan, gander, reptile, or fish), or by completing both initiatory journeys. For the Voguls the soul of the deceased, heading for the hereafter in the form of a bird, had to pass through a small hole in a rock where the sky touches the earth; there it broke its wings trying to pass through seven bird nets placed before the entrance, then fell into the water and was transformed into a fish to overcome the obstacle of seven fishing nets, after which it finally arrived in the hereafter (Hoppál 1978, 384–385). Sometimes to reach the hereafter the souls of the dead had to cross dangerous narrow bridges with sharp blades (Hungarians, Baltic Finns), or climb up trackless mountains with the help of their nails and hair (Ob'-Ugrians, Lapps, Finns, and Karelians). Water was linked with the hereafter, as can be seen from the veneration of certain rivers as tribal totems. As a shamanic initiatory vehicle, water was considered a source of grave risks: Supernatural spirits were feared because they ate human flesh. Saliva was also dangerous in its negative power, because it was like water; it was connected by the Mordvinians with the source of illness, since it came from the spit of the Evil One.

The concept of the soul as a force with both physical-intellectual and spiritual functions (mutually nonconflictual prior to Christian influence) was dual-pluralistic: In addition to one or more souls that died on the death of the body, there were "second souls," or "free souls," or "soul-shadows" (attributed to the dead) that survived, including the one subject to reincarnation. The latter ensured the continuity and multiplication of the stock (for the Ob'-Ugrians the soul of a woman entered two or four babies, that of a man three or five).

In Hungarian, words connected with the concept of the multiplicity of the soul have disappeared; there remains as a generic term for the soul, *lélek* (Vogul *lili,* Ostyak *lil,* Komi-Zyrian *lol, lov,* Udmurt *lul,* Finnish *löyly,* Estonian *leil,* Livonian *läul*), which initially meant "soul-breath," destined to die on the death of the body. In the past terms were used such as *elme,* "soul, mind," *jonh,* "soul, the inner, stomach," or the dialect *íz* (*ísz, isz*), "cancer (illness)." The latter probably originally meant "soul-shadow" (similar to the corresponding Vogul *is*), then an illness-bringing evil spirit, and finally the illness itself (Büky 1989, 130–131). The Ob'-Ugrians attributed five souls to males and four to females: the "soul-shadow," which followed the corpse to the tomb, but could return and trap the living; the "soul which goes down (on the river)," which could leave the body temporarily and after definitive detachment from it with the name *urt* (corresponding to Cheremis *ört,*

Zyrian *ort,* and Votyak *urt*) descended toward the mouth of the Ob' heading for the hereafter; the "soul of sleep" or the "bird of sleep," which returned into the body during sleep and after its owner's death continued to live in his clothes (which were hung on a tree); and the soul identified with strength, attributed only to males (Chernetsov 1963, 5–24). The Finns, after they were Christianized by the Swedes, conceived of a single soul (*sielu*), but before that time they believed in the "soul-breath" (called either *löyly* or *henki,* the former subsequently meaning sauna steam, the latter the spirit of the deceased, and then the deceased himself) and in the double, or *haamu,* "form, shadow, spirit of the dead." The Estonians substituted the independent idea of "free soul," attributing to ancient corporeal souls *vaim* ("vital soul," generally) and *hing,* "soul-breath," meaning souls that survive the body, opening the way to the Christian idea of a single soul (in ecclesiastical usage the meaning of spirit was attributed to *vaim* and soul to *hing*). A similar process was seen with reference to the two bodily souls of the Livonians (*jeng* and *gara*), while the Vots completely unified the concepts of soul-breath and free soul, using both terms to mean the undesired spirit of the deceased returning to earth (Paulson 1965, 246–247). The Lapps must also have had a dual-pluralistic concept of the soul; once influenced by Christianity, they distinguished in man the body, the soul, and the spirit. The original soul-breath of the Zyrians (*lol, lov*) and the Votyaks (*lul*), with its accompanying soul-shadow (*ort* and *urt*), were also modified following the imposition of Christian-Orthodox monism. The Mordvinians distinguished the free soul from the soul-breath, but the latter, influenced by Orthodox monism, was also considered as surviving death. The Cheremis, on the other hand, preserved a marked dualism between the free soul and the two bodily souls.

The importance of the head and hair as the seat of the free soul is highlighted in folklore ornaments, in funeral practices reserved for the skull, in reproductions of funeral dummies made of lasting material (Ob'-Ugrians) (Dienes 1980, 93), and in the belief that possession of the skull or scalp of the enemy meant seizing their power. The free soul temporarily left the body when the person was asleep, unconscious, or in a trance, adopting the form of a small animal. If it went to the hereafter, it could not eat the food of the dead or it would become definitively part of their nature. When the free soul entered a baby, on the appearance of the first teeth, the Ob'-Ugrians kept it in a small receptacle to protect it from evil spirits, and for the same reason they gave a false name to a baby, keeping secret the real name, that of the ancestor reincarnated in the baby.

The Finno-Ugrians took precautions to favor the departure of the soul-shadow at the moment of death, and to disorient it and obstruct any return, they made the coffin leave through the back opening of the tent or a hole opened in the wall for the occasion. They feared haunting by the evil force, and they also believed that the "double" of uncorrupted bodies was not able to detach itself from the corpse and reach the hereafter, and then be welcomed into the community intended as a complex of the living and the dead. Therefore, they helped the decomposition of corpses by exposing them to air or humidity. Furthermore, they practiced the ritual of "second burial" to test or assist the decomposition of the corpse, reexhumed before definitive burial. During the ritual they purified the bones to ensure a resurrection; to this end the Mordvinians not only washed the bones, like other peoples, but burned them slightly (Gasparini n.d., 110–111). Feasts were held for the recently deceased so that they did not feel neglected and did not send negative influences on the earth. The cult of the dead and the ancestors (cultural heroes of the clan and its protectors) involved collective autumn or spring feasts and the observance of numerous taboos.

The presence of evil, however, could be exorcised: In its continuous and complementary relationship of twofold reality with the good, it was regarded as an integral part of the whole cosmos, from the upper celestial world to the earth and the hereafter. According to a version of the cosmogonic myths, it was the evil being itself in the form of a "diving bird" that helped the demiurge to create the world. White shamans, although for the most part beneficent, also inevitably had a relationship with evil (their witchcraft, called *rike,* was feared by the Finns). Similarly, evil could be sent by blacksmiths (cf. Estonian *Kalevipoeg*), already respected by the Uralic peoples, who had learnt to work metals from Iranian peoples (Hoppál 1978, 391–392), as well as by initiates and ma-

gicians in close relationship with shamans (Eliade 1956), represented as ancestors by the Ob'-Ugrians. Black shamans (rare, socially excluded, and endowed with hereditary powers), such as the Votyak *vedün,* and the more negative spirits could also be neutralized by those who were helped by the superior forces of good.

Sacrificial Practices

Offers and sacrifices of animals (whose meat was eaten) to the spirits, held on the occasion of regular festivities or calamities, were practiced in sacred places (such as the small clearing, or *lud,* for the Votyaks) or in the so-called sacred groves (such as the *keremet* of the Cheremis), fenced off and tabooed, preferably near a lake or spring, in front of the sacred tree (which the Votyaks stripped of leaves). The Zyrians, Votyaks, Mordvinians, Cheremis, and Lapps separated the sacred places for the cult of good spirits from those associated with evil ones, spirits that caused illnesses. The Hungarians very soon abandoned sacrificial practices: References occur in medieval chronicles to the sacrifice of a white horse in honor of the sun, at which the *táltos* performed the function of sacrificer. The Votyak *tuno* (an elderly person), who performed the tasks of shaman in four or five villages, was helped in directing the ceremonies dedicated to the common ancestor by some assistants (chosen in ecstasy at the appropriate time) in the role of sacrificers (perhaps originally reserved for the tuno). Among the Cheremis there were the *kart* sacrificers who, even if they exercised this mandate all their life, had to be formally designated by the people for each sacrifice, in order to represent the common will, a condition indispensable for being listened to by the gods.

The ancestor cult among the Ob'-Ugrians was practiced in sacred huts, along with the surrounding territory, a collective inviolable asset belonging to a determined group. Whereas domestic idols of wood, leather, or cloth were rather rudimentary, those for the collective cult in wood, stone, or metal were more finished and well clothed. The Ostyaks and Zyrians insulted and beat their domestic idols when their prayers were not fulfilled. The Finno-Ugrians had a similar attitude toward the icons of the saints imposed on them by the Orthodox clergy. The separation of idols worshiped by men from those worshiped by women, particularly evident among the Ostyaks and Lapps, reflected the ancient rivalry between the world of the hunt and that of the home, also confirmed by the Lapp practice of reserving the back entrance of the tent for rituals connected with hunting, practiced exclusively by men.

The Finno-Ugrians made offerings to rivers and lakes, resorting to the regenerative and purifying force of water in most of their rituals, although mention has been made of occasions when water or saliva could be dangerous. The bathroom was a sacred and tabooed place: Here childbirth occurred, the dead and ancestors were commemorated, illnesses cured, and sacred beer produced. Furthermore it was believed that immersion in water caused healing and water could not be entered by evil people. Saliva also had healing properties: Cheremis magicians practiced a ritual of benediction, accompanied by the relevant magic formula, appropriately called sputum (*šüvedeme*).

Sacrificial blood, red like the color of regeneration, a taboo for women, connected with the magic properties of water, fire, and the sun, was used to bathe idols, sacred rocks (on which wheels, symbols of the sun, were drawn) and the ground (Mordvinians). It was thrown directly on the fire in honor of the sun, or fire itself (Estonians, Livonians, Finns). It was necessary to offer the blood of specific animals to the sun and the gods: The Votyaks dedicated a white bull's blood to Inmar, a celestial god in their pantheon; the Lapps offered the blood of a white reindeer to the sun. In archaic Hungarian tradition blood was used to seal pacts.

In the celebration of certain festivals it was a frequent ritual practice (of which traces still remain) to use twigs, in connection with goddesses as protectors of vegetation, life, and fertility. Erzya Mordvinian girls held birch twigs in their spring visits in honor of their maternal goddess Ańǵe-pat'aj. The title *Nyírfa Kisasszony* (Miss Birch), for the propitiatory bunch of birch twigs given to Hungarian children in some localities on Saint Nicholas' Day (6 December) was probably connected with this goddess (Barna 1879, 70). The Lapps believed that beating with birch twigs caused the deceased's resurrection before his or her double reached the hereafter.

Fire (a female spirit), associated with the symbology of the sun and the vegetal world,

was venerated and used as a powerful remedy against evil. From this was derived the practice of warding off evil by ritual leaps over bonfires or circling the fire in the purification rituals of hunters or in propitiatory rituals for a new bride. For the Ob'-Ugrians, fire incorporated the soul of the tribal ancestor, and its crackling was interpreted as the language of the dead.

In the ceremonies dedicated to the dead, officiators wore clothes inside out, because things in the world of the dead were imagined as the reverse of things in the world of the living. The tree was considered a communicating bridge with the hereafter, as can be clearly observed in the Karelian practice of hanging offerings for the dead on commemorative trees in cemeteries.

Among the animals revered as ancestors the bear was particularly predominant, being divine or semidivine in origin, called by periphrases and nicknames because it was too powerful to be called by name. The generative relationship between bears and human beings is confirmed in traditions like that of the Koltta Lapps, who believed they were descended from the union of a girl and a bear, and also in various women's taboos related to the meat of the bear. Another especially significant family ancestor was the domestic snake (connected with regeneration through the sloughing of its skin) or the water snake, on which the destiny of the head of the family depended, according to Finnish belief.

Supernatural Spirits

The mythical scenario from which the shamanic system of beliefs was derived was characterized by a rich pantheon, a hierarchy ranging from countless nature spirits to superior divinities and the chief god, the so-called Sky God (Finnish: Jumala, Estonian: Jumal, Cheremis: Jumo, Mordvinian: Jumi[ši-paz], corresponding to Vogul: Numi-Tōrem [Superior/High-God/Sky], Ostyak: Num-Tūrem), a probable divinization of the soul of the heavenly vault, not nameable in invocations. To the lower space occupied by the air was attributed another celestial god (the Finnish Ilma[rinen], Estonian: Ilm, Votyak: In[mar], Zyrian: Jen, Livonian: Ilma).

There was a very ancient cult, which lasted a long time in the Zyrian and Ob'-Ugrian area, of the mythical Golden Woman, or Sun Woman, or Dawn Goddess, personification of the sun at its rising. The Voguls, who represented her accompanied by children, called her Kalteś or Sorńi-Kalteś (Gold Kalteś) and considered her the daughter (or wife or sister) of the Sky God. One of the seven sons of the latter was Mir-susne-χum (World-Surveyor-Man), who, on his father's order, had planted the cosmic tree. When the cold arrived, as Gander-Prince, a swan or crane, he guided the dead in bird form in their migration along the Milky Way toward the south (Róheim 1966, 18). Survivals of similar myths include the Erzya Mordvinian swan sent by Nišk'e-paz (firstborn of the Creator) on the earth to watch over the life of men, or the Magyar myth of the fairy Ilona who flew along the Milky Way transformed into a swan or crane. The swan's importance (as a matriarchal ancestor) has also left signs in material culture (the Ob'-Ugrian swan-shaped harp, the wheel associated with the swan, a sun symbol, decorating the greaves of Hungarian warriors, and others).

Vogul mythology clearly exemplifies the characteristics of the ancient Finno-Ugrian system of gods. The complementary opposition of Sky God (male, positive, above) and Mother Earth (Mā-āŋkuw) (female, positive, below) is well expressed in the tradition in which the phratry (a grouping of clans within a tribe) of *moś-χum* (*moś*-man), heavenly people, ate raw meat and sacrificed white horses to the Sky God, while the phratry of *por-χum* (*por*-man), earth people (practising witchcraft in alliance with evil Underworld spirits) ate cooked meat and sacrificed black or brown horses to Mother Earth. The divine trinity corresponding to three cosmic levels was completed with the figure of Xul'-ōter, Lord of the Underworld (male, negative, below) (Hoppál 1978, 380, 385).

The gods mainly honored by the Finno-Ugrians were those connected with nature and its phenomena and the fundamental moments of human life, such as Bieggolmai, the Lapp wind god, Tapio, the Finnish forest god, Peko, fertility god of the southeast Estonian Setu, and Sárakka, the Lapp goddess assisting in childbirth, who gave the baby his or her ancestor's soul. Gods like the Mordvinian Šajtan, Zyrian Kul', god of water and death, or the Lapp god Rota, Lord of Rota-ájmuo, kingdom of the souls of evildoers, were considered exclusively evil.

The supernatural spirits guarding the home and related buildings were very important and often coincided with spirits of the ancestors (in archaic thought new buildings required human sacrifices), and the hearth, or "sacred corner" (Finns and Karelians), was dedicated to them.

Fantastic natural beings, manifestations of the spirits of the dead, were considered superhuman entities influencing man. These included bird-spirits of the dead; dwarfs (like the Finnish one who felled the mythical Great Oak [Iso Tammi], which had grown so high as to obscure sun and moon), and the giants; the Lapp elves connected with the cult of the *seite* stones placed on sacred mountains or the *sâjva* (originally sacred "lake," then sacred place), among whom were the auxiliary spirits of the shamans or the shamans' spirits themselves and the guardian spirits of humanity; Baltic Finnic wood spirits with hair, beard, or clothes green in color (like vegetation), symbol of death and rebirth. At times wood spirits made fun of earthlings, trying to mislead pedestrians.

Certain spirits underwent a demonization process: For example, among the Lapps the *Ulda,* masters of magic, composers of sacred songs, and helpers of stronger shamans, were depicted as kidnappers of babies in their cradles, and the giants *Stallo,* healers like their wives, were considered evil shamans, killers and devourers of children and adults.

The Shaman

Although there were some female shamans among the Finno-Ugrians, most of the ethnological literature refers to these shamans as male. Hence, in what follows the male pronoun is used. Shamanhood was reached by heredity or vocation (a gift of the supernatural spirits). Birth with the "shirt" (amniotic membrane), one tooth (like the Hungarian táltos), or extra teeth or bones was an indication of predestination. A refusal of the spirits' "call" caused misfortune (madness, mutilation, death) for the chosen one and his relatives. Signs of initiation (which was generally achieved in childhood) were visions, convulsions, mental confusion, and long sleep, usually followed by illness or retreat from the world. The candidate's double had to face struggles against other shamans or other painful trials while climbing a tree (ladder), a projection of the archetypal tree, or crossing water, a projection of the river of the world, where the double could be swallowed by monsters. In these trials the candidate's ritual death was enacted (involving quartering and reduction to a skeleton so as to verify the possible presence of the physical attributes of predestination). The candidate met spirits (making him very hot) in a timeless mythical dimension and from them learned the origins of phenomena and nature's secrets, including the language of animals. The candidate's rebirth was imagined as happening through the bones of the skeleton (reproduced in the so-called X-ray motif in the popular decorative art of peoples like the Ostyaks and Lapps, especially on ritual drums). For the Votyaks the future tuno, who at night managed to jump and dance on the strings of a zither on the banks of a great river before the supreme god Inmar, would have had the latter as a spirit guide.

The power of shamans was not uniform, but depended on their gifts and those of their spirit guides or spirit helpers (often in animal form) and on how many spirits aided them. The representations of spirit helpers, frequent on the drums of Lapp shamans, had already appeared in ancient Finnish rock paintings (Siikala 1992a, 65).

The difficult trials of resistance to pain during initiation could discourage the badly motivated shaman candidate or even cause his death, while arousing in the neophyte who succeeded in overcoming them a loyal engagement toward his own community, which he had to maintain in his behavior, constantly judged by the group. When, during séances, the shaman, in ceremonial costume and accoutred with liturgical accessories, went into trance, he faced a similar experience to that of the initiation. The shaman helped his ecstatic "doubling" by drinking eau-de-vie, chewing benzoin resin, taking small quantities of the mushroom *amanita muscaria,* or fly agaric (drinking milk was an antidote), or dancing and beating the drum. The Lapp shaman facilitated his own trance by hammering a bronze serpent and frog on an anvil (Corradi Musi 1997, 60–61), linking up with the celestial myths of the blacksmith, the active principle of creation and transformation.

Evidence is preserved of the drum's importance as one of the shaman's basic elements of ceremonial equipment. Made from the wood of

the sacred tree and often painted with cosmological and totemic symbols and arrayed with pendants (metal figures representing spirits, little rattles, arrows, bows, and knives), it functioned as a vehicle in ultraterrestrial journeys, that is as a "boat," or "horse," as in the Siberian area. In Hungarian fables it was called "horse táltos." The drumstick was an important magic element, considered by the Lapps a receptacle of the souls of dead shamans. The shaman's instruments also included the magic wand, arrows with bells attached, a hatchet, and special sticks.

Historical and social reasons and the secrecy of the rituals have obstructed the preservation of documents (including photographic reproductions) concerning the distinctive attributes of shamanic costume: the feathers or horns of the headdresses (symbolizing the zoomorphic beings into which the shaman's double was transformed), the ribbons or fringes (reproducing the feathers of totemic birds), and metallic pendants (in which the spirit helpers resided). Among the Ob'-Ugrians masking with zoomorphic headdresses and ornithomorphic plumage (which lasted a long time in anthropomorphic pantomime masks with zoomorphic attributes) was used in ancient times, probably in dances or ritual pantomimes. In travelers' accounts and ancient folk songs, faint records are preserved of the decoration of the clothing and headdress with zoomorphic elements among Lapp shamans. When the Lapp shaman went to the gods in the sky, he adopted the appearance of a bear (the mythical ancestor shaman) to increase his strength. It was his custom on certain occasions to cover his face with a handkerchief, both to concentrate and to better identify with the invisible spirits, making himself part of a different dimension. Finnish and Karelian shamans enhanced their dignity by wearing belts, which could be ornamental, increasing their symbolic magic power. Finno-Ugric shamans, especially Ob'-Ugrian, kept away (during ceremonies) from metal objects, to which spirits were averse. The magic power of metal pendants (of which rare samples remain) was believed to be controled by spirit helpers. Shamans also turned their clothes inside out if necessary.

The shaman was a professional capable of keeping alive the tradition (Hoppál 1984a, 227) allowing him contact with the spirits, "a social functionary" (Hultkrantz 1989, 46) who acted for the good of the group and its individuals through trance and enlightenment provoked by the arrival of the auxiliary spirits (Hultkrantz 1978, 42). Fundamentally, he was "wise," as shown by the Finnish *tietäjä* (sage), the term used in popular tradition instead of *noita,* "shaman." He functioned as diviner, psychopomp (a person who guides spirits or souls to the Otherworld), and healer of illnesses caused by loss or theft of the sick man's soul or by a change in his state due to insertion of an evil spirit into his body (the Lapp shaman, the *noaide,* also liberated people pursued by spirits). The breaking of a taboo was considered a cause of vendetta by spirits.

If it was not enough to recall the soul or offer prayers designed to ward off evil to domestic idols or to resort to appropriate exorcism, healing by the shaman required trance. Shamans often predicted the future by staring at water or eau-de-vie. The Lapps had professionals specializing in each of these functions. Shamans also had ritual struggles (in animal form) with shamans from neighboring communities to influence crops and the weather; they also celebrated sacrifices and prayed at annual feasts of thanksgiving for powerful spirits. In sacrificial rites Vogul shamans hung victims on a personal sacred tree, a copy of the cosmic tree: Climbing on the tree they delivered them to Mir-susne-χum, who carried them to heaven. At times the Lapp shaman, to decide on the appropriate sacrifice to the gods, made a bronze frog jump on the images of animals on the drum. An animal of the same kind as the one on which the frog landed was sacrificed.

Despite their common shamanic beliefs, not only each ethnic entity but also each group within it tended to practice its own distinctive rituals, thus allowing each group to preserve the characteristics of its cultural identity. Thus it is possible to learn much about the distinctive cultural identity of each group through research on the unique symbols and features of its ritual.

In the Finno-Ugric field, apart from the shaman, there were other people endowed with supernatural power (such as the sage [*tudós*], or magician [*garabonciás*], or the one who sees the dead [*halottlátó*] of the Hungarians), but they were considered inferior to the shaman, mainly because they could not establish, as he could, direct contact with the spirits and the gods.

Carla Corradi Musi

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Costume, Shaman; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure; Nordic Shamanism; Russian Folklore and Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Balassa, Iván, and Gyula Ortutay. 1979. *Magyar Néprajz* [Hungarian Ethnography]. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó.

Barna, Ferdinánd. 1879. *A mordvaiak pogány istenei és ünnepi szertartásai* [Pagan Gods and Festive Rituals of the Mordva]. Budapest: A. M. T. Akadémia Könyvkiadó-Hivatala.

Bereczki, Gábor. 1977. "Széljegyzetek cseremisz gyűjtőfüzetemből" [Notes from my Cheremis Field Journal]. Pp. 233–239 in *Uralisztikai olvasókönyv.* [Uralic Readings]. Edited by Péter Domokos. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó.

Berze Nagy, János. 1984. *Égigérő fa* [The Tree Reaching the Sky]. 3d ed. Pécs: A Baranya Megyei Tanács V. B. Művelődési Osztálya.

Büky, Béla. 1989. "Hungarian Terminology for Soul and Related Concepts." Pp. 129–134 in *Uralic Mythology and Folklore.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Juha Pentikäinen. Budapest and Helsinki: Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Finnish Literature Society.

Chernetsov, Valeriy Nikolayevich. 1963. "Concepts of the Soul among the Ob Ugrians." Pp. 3–45 in *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Edited by Henry N. Michael. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Corradi Musi, Carla. 1997. *Shamanism from East to West.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Dienes, István. 1980. "Les Hongrois à l'époque de la conquête et leurs croyances ancestrales" [The Hungarians at the Time of the Conquest and their Ancestral Beliefs]. Pp. 85–123 in *Les peuples ouraliens* [Uralic Peoples]. Edited by Péter Hajdú. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó.

Diószegi, Vilmos. 1958. *A sámánhit emlékei a magyar népi műveltségben* [Traces of Shamanic Beliefs in Popular Hungarian Culture]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1967. *A pogány magyarok hitvilága* [World View of the Pagan Hungarians]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Eliade, Mircea. 1949. *Traité d'histoire des religions* [Treatise on the History of Religions]. Paris: Payot.

———. 1956. *Forgerons et alchimistes* [Blacksmiths and Alchemists]. Paris: Flammarion.

———. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Gasparini, Evel. n.d. [1958?]. *"Ethnologica": Finni e Slavi* ["Ethnology": Finns and Slavs]. Venezia: La Goliardica.

Hajdú, Péter. 1973. *Bevezetés az uráli nyelvtudományba (a magyar nyelv finnugor alapjai)* [Introduction to Uralic Linguistics (The Finno-Ugric Basis of the Hungarian Language)]. 2d ed. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó.

———. 1975a. *Finno-Ugrian Languages and Peoples.* Translated and adapted by George Frederich Cushing. London: Andre Deutsch.

———. 1975b. "A rokonság nyelvi háttere" [Linguistic Background of Genetic Relationships]. Pp. 11–43 in *Uráli népek nyelvrokonaink kultúrája és hagyományai* [Cultures and Traditions of our linguistically related Uralic Peoples]. Edited by Péter Hajdú. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó.

Holmberg (Harva), Uno. 1927. *Finno-Ugric, Siberian* [*Mythology*]. Vol. IV. *The Mythology of All Races.* Boston: Marshall Jones Company.

Hoppál, Mihály. 1978. "Mitologie uraliche" [Uralic Mythology]. *Conoscenza Religiosa* 4: 367–395.

———, ed. 1980. *A tejút fiai—Tanulmányok a finnugor népek hitvilágáról* [Sons of the Milky Way—Selected Readings on Finno-Ugric World View]. Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó.

———. 1984a. "Contemporary Forms of Shamanism." Pp. 226–230 in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Shamanism.* Edited by Ruth-Inge Heinze. Berkeley: Independent Scholars of Asia.

———, ed. 1984b. *Shamanism in Eurasia.* Göttingen: Edition Herodot.

———. 2000. *Studies on Mythology and Uralic Shamanism.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hoppál, Mihály, and Juha Pentikäinen, eds. 1992. *Northern Religions and Shamanism.* Budapest and Helsinki: Akadémiai Kiadó and Finnish Literature Society.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1978. "Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism." Pp. 27–58 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited

by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
———. 1989. "The Place of Shamanism in the History of Religions." Pp. 43–52 in *Shamanism: Past and Present.* Edited by Otto J. von Sadovszky and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest and Los Angeles/Fullerton: Ethnographic Institute Hungarian Academy of Sciences and International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.
Ipolyi, Arnold. 1987. Reprint. *Magyar Mythologia* [Hungarian Mythology]. Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó. Original edition, Pest: Kiadja Heckenast Gusztáv, 1854.
Paulson, Ivar. 1965. "Les religions des peuples finnoises" [The Religions of the Finnish Peoples]. Pp. 147–265 in *Les religions arctiques et finnoises* [The Arctic and Finnish Religions]. Edited by Ivar Paulson, Åke Hultkrantz, and Karl Jettmar. Paris: Payot.
Róheim, Géza. 1966. *Hungarian and Vogul Mythology.* 2d ed. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1992a. "Finnish Rock Art, Animal Ceremonialism and Shamanic Worldview." Pp. 56–67 in *Studies on Shamanism.* Edited by Anna-Leena Siikala and Mihály Hoppál. Helsinki and Budapest: Finnish Anthropological Society and Akadémiai Kiadó.
———. 1992b. *Suomalainen šamanismi: Mielikuvien historiaa* [Finnish Shamanism: History of Ideas]. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

IRISH SHAMANISM

See "Celtic Shamanism": Pagan Celtic Spirituality

NEO-SHAMANISM IN GERMANY

Neo-Shamanic trends and activities have become an important part of the esoteric and New Age scene in German-speaking countries. Workshop participants are taught shamanic techniques enabling them to go on "shamanic journeys" for themselves, for the purpose of self-exploration, self-help, and self-healing. Such a journey involves entering altered states of consciousness willingly and in a controlled way in order to communicate with other "beings" in nonordinary reality. Additionally, there are practitioners whose purpose is to go on a journey for others, that is, to work with clients and patients. Here, shamanic practitioners fulfill a function similar to that of counselors, spiritual healers, and other practitioners of alternative methods of healing. The aims of shamanic practices are to aid the healing process in cases of physical disease, to encourage personal development, to uncover hidden potential, to provide counseling on important issues in life, and to develop concepts about leading a good life.

The meaning of the term *shamanism* in this popular context is broad, and the term is not clearly defined. Still, two main directions can be identified: Core Shamanism and what may be called ethno-shamanic approaches.

Core Shamanism

In 1982 there was a conference on "Shamanism and Healing" in Alpach, Austria, the first international conference in Europe on this field. At this conference Michael Harner, founder of the Foundation for Shamanic Studies (FSS), met the Austrian journalist Paul Uccusic. After this conference, Paul Uccusic became a student of Michael Harner's and later founded the first European section of FSS. His book *Der Schamane in uns* (The shaman within us) (Uccusic 1991) made Core Shamanism known to many interested readers in German-speaking countries. Furthermore, Paul Uccusic and his collaborators regularly offer workshops in Germany and other European countries. Galina Lindquist (1997) and Merete Demant Jakobsen (1999) have provided detailed information on introductory courses and shamanic journeys following the method of Core Shamanism. For many neoshamans in Germany, these courses represented a gateway to their practice. Some participants in these workshops meet afterwards in so-called shamanic drumming circles to practice and to perform healing sessions. These drumming circles are often led by experi-

enced neoshamans. There are no reliable data available as to the number of shamanic practitioners and drumming circles, since many cases remain unreported. At the moment it can be assumed that there are about 50 to 100 drumming circles and at least a similar number of shamanic healers.

Ethno-Shamanic Approaches

Those who follow what are known as ethnoshamanic approaches dislike the label *Neo-Shamanism.* In their view this label has a negative connotation and stands for a lack of authenticity and depth (such a view is also common among contemporary practitioners of traditional shamanism). Nevertheless, since there is no clear demarcation line between authentic and inauthentic shamanism, ethnoshamanic approaches have to be seen as part of Neo-Shamanism (broadly understood). In contrast to Core Shamanism, which offers, according to its own Web site, "the near universal methods of shamanism without a specific cultural perspective" (Foundation for Shamanic Studies www, 2002), ethno-shamanic workshops emphasize the authentic, culturally bound background of experts. Native shamans transmit their individual experiences to a Western audience. Alternatively, initiated Westerners who have undergone a long period of training with indigenous peoples communicate the knowledge they have acquired. Both native shamans and representatives of the Foundation for Shamanic Studies disapprove of some of the neoshamanic offerings. The main complaint is that such events represent cultural exploitation.

The Institut für Ethnomedizin (Institute for Ethno-medicine) (ETHNOMED) and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ethnomedizin (Ethno-medicine Union) (AGEM) attempt to treat foreign cultures and native shamans with respect. These two closely collaborating organizations are interested in examining and appreciating ethno-medical approaches to healing, with regard to how they function, to their effectiveness and transferability. Their aims are, on the one hand, to expand the scope of healing methods in Western culture and, on the other hand, to strengthen and preserve these methods in their countries of origin, where they are threatened by the influence of Western medicine. The position native shamans hold in their own countries becomes strengthened by the attention they receive in Western industrialized countries. Whereas AGEM emphasizes theoretical and scientific approaches, ETHNOMED emphasizes practical applications by offering workshops and seminars.

European Origins

Although most interested central Europeans first approached shamanism in the context of Siberian and North American cultures, many people understand the new flourishing of shamanism in Europe as a reimportation. They believe this "new" shamanism to be a rediscovery of old knowledge deeply embedded in their own European culture. Accordingly, evidence is sought in archaeology, mythology, and folklore. Neo-Shamanic authors use archaeological findings (e.g., cave paintings in southern France and northern Spain) and an understanding of shamanism as a "religion of the stone age" to confirm the hypothesis that shamanic practices constitute a universal cultural feature. Historian Tom Cowan presented Celtic religion as a kind of "primal form" of shamanism and stated that there are "striking parallels between the patterns of Celtic tribal life and that of Native Americans" (Cowan 1993, 6). According to him, these can be found in the way they lived together, their religious beliefs, practices and their "earth-centered spirituality." Others have found evidence of shamanism around the Mediterranean, above all in Greek mythology. Reports on the cults of Dionysus and the Eleusinian mysteries have pointed to structural similarities to the shamanic matrix (e.g., ecstasy, experiences of dissolving and dismemberment, the controlled induction of altered states of consciousness in order to connect with nonordinary reality). These claims have been harshly refuted by anthropologists and archaeologists (Francfort and Hamayon 2001).

Other Uses of Shamanism

In Germany further approaches can be found, either focusing on certain persons or as specific forms of shamanism. Huna shamanism (based on Hawaiian traditional practices), for example, has a special position among neoshamanic trends. It offers practical advice on how to cope with life and uses magical approaches and div-

ination techniques. American psychologist Serge King created a popularized version of this magic system for the esoteric and New Age scene and placed it in a shamanic context (King 1990). To do this, however, he needed his own definition of shamanism—one that excluded the shamanic journey. In adapting the notion of shamanism, King related it to recent methods of psychological training and aimed to develop strategies for coping with personal and job-related problems. Whether the term *shamanism* is justified here is beyond the scope of this article.

The Huna system also illustrates that the area known as shamanism has widened considerably. The terms *shaman* and *shamanism* have appeared in the most unexpected contexts. There are outsiders and members of cultural minorities for whom a "shaman" represents someone who "really" knows what's going on, who confronts society with uncomfortable truths. In youth culture, the charismatic disc jockey, a "master of trance," is described as a shaman who, by the use of sounds and rhythms, exerts control over the induction of altered states of consciousness.

The Attraction of Shamanism

Since the beginning of the 1980s there has been a considerable increase in scientific research and general literature on shamanism and Neo-Shamanism, a development that has its roots mainly in the counterculture of the 1960s. The hippie movement was directed toward territories at the furthest possible remove from ordinary life: Trips into psychedelic states of consciousness as well as to exotic countries served the longing for an alternative lifestyle. India, for example, offered spiritual alternatives to established religious practices. Similarly, the indigenous population of Central and Latin America had established an easy and everyday way of dealing with altered states of consciousness induced by psychotropic substances. In the more recent interest in shamanism, Carlos Castaneda's books play an important role. A German version of *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* was published in 1972. But only with the powerful growth of the esoteric and the New Age scene, which in the 1980s started to extend beyond the counterculture, were conditions created that allowed for the rise of a neoshamanic "scene" in Germany.

The current interest in shamanism in German-speaking countries can mainly be attributed to three factors: (a) a fascination with indigenous cultures and a longing for a simple life close to nature; (b) a return to a magical way of thinking as a form of criticizing contemporary culture and its materialistic orientation; (c) the efficiency of shamanic techniques. For many people shamanism means a life embedded in intense, primal, and powerful rituals, which stand in stark contrast to the customs of a civilization that cherishes security and comfort.

Clearly the adherence to an animistic worldview and magical thinking implies a criticism of enlightenment as propagated by modern science. Science is steadily demystifying the world, and this has led to a call for a re-enchantment of the world, because, despite increasing scientific knowledge, people have not become any more liberated from their spiritual fears and ills.

A further reason for the recent popularity of shamanic techniques is that they are easy to learn, while being at the same time highly efficient and flexible. Whereas most spiritual paths require a long time of disciplined practice before one can gain an intense and significant expansion of consciousness, inexperienced people can gain this experience even in their first shamanic weekend workshop. This efficiency also serves the needs of our culture, which is geared toward instant success, with ever more exciting events being sought. The flexibility of shamanism arises from its not being a religion but rather a set of techniques that can be adapted to various cultural and spiritual settings.

The easy access to modern Western shamanism notwithstanding, leading teachers—such as Jonathan Horwitz from the Scandinavian Center for Shamanic Studies (Copenhagen)—claim that the shamanic path is as difficult and enduring as other spiritual techniques, since the shaman is an apprentice to the Spirits.

Shamanic Elements in Psychotherapy and Complementary Medicine

Whether consciously or unconsciously, shamanic elements have been incorporated into several new psychotherapeutic approaches. In the esoteric milieu that has influenced recent psy-

chotherapeutic approaches, these elements appear in various forms and in different contexts, and they are used in a rather eclectic way. No systematic research has so far been done in this field. Hence, only a few hints can be given here. Transpersonal psychotherapy offers a variety of techniques: trance induction through holotropic breathwork, imagery, symbolism, and ritual work. But structural similarities to shamanic methods can be found also in psychodrama, dance therapy, and music therapy, and in the Bert Hellinger approach for systemic solutions with families.

A considerable percentage of participants in shamanic workshops come from the healing professions (Mayer 2003). The range covers psychotherapists, medical doctors, health practitioners, and nurses, most of them dissatisfied with traditional Western medicine. They criticize the way human beings are seen, the underlying concept of illness, and also the claim to be in possession of the only valid approach to healing. In their opinion, shamanic practices should become part of complementary medicine, aiming to heal on a different level and to accelerate the healing process. In the present health system this can happen only more or less covertly, since these methods are not acknowledged, and are even massively rejected, by the scientific mainstream.

The Worldview of Shamanic Practitioners

Shamanism cannot be reduced to the acquisition of certain techniques. Many practitioners see it as a spiritual path characterized by a specific relationship to nature, which scholarly analysis traces back to nineteenth-century nature philosophy (von Stuckrad 2002, 2003). In-depth interviews with shamanic practitioners for a study on Neo-Shamanism in Germany showed, however, that there was no strong affiliation to an ideology represented by either a guru or a certain school (Mayer 2003). This may be due to the individualistic and experiential approach of Neo-Shamanism. All practitioners interviewed spoke of having a strong relationship to the earth and a commitment to shamanism, and of rejecting "guruism." They also shared many experiences corresponding to the shamanic matrix. These experiences were, however, accompanied by individual forms of experience that led to personal methods and interpretations. This combination illustrates that even in Neo-Shamanism or Core Shamanism individuals report authentic and deep personal experiences. Furthermore, it illustrates that in modern culture a practical approach to reality can exist together with, and easily fit into, an animistic view of the world. The participants' communication with "beings" in nonordinary reality seems very easy and does not lead to any problems of adjustment. Experiences that can be seen as paranormal and that would sound like fantasies to people outside this field can in most cases readily be integrated into everyday life. So can altered states of mind.

Obviously, there is no specifically German neoshamanic scene. Influences from other cultures are strong, as is the exchange between different cultures. There are also controversies on an intracultural as well as an intercultural level, mostly with respect to the question as to which form of shamanism represents a more authentic or adequate shamanism. Reproaching neoshamanic practitioners with practicing "plastic shamanism" seems unjustified, as does the reproach of postcolonial exploitation. Both phenomena certainly exist, but they may be undesired, and unavoidable, marginal effects of approaches that on the whole may be called trustworthy and fertile. Shamanism has once again proved its ability to adapt to various religious systems and cultural contexts.

Gerhard Mayer

See also: "Celtic Shamanism": Pagan Celtic Spirituality; Classical World Shamanism; Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; History of the Study of Shamanism; Paganism in Europe; Pilgrimage and Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Urban Shamanism

References and further reading:

Cowan, Tom. 1993. *Fire in the Head: Shamanism and the Celtic Spirit.* San Francisco: Harper.

Foundation for Shamanic Studies. http://www.shamanism.org (cited October 21, 2002).

Francfort, Henri-Paul, and Roberte N. Hamayon, eds. 2001. *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Jakobsen, Merete Demant. 1999. *Shamanism: Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing.* New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
King, Serge Kahili. 1990. *Urban Shaman.* New York: Simon and Schuster.
Lindquist, Galina. 1997. *Shamanic Performances on the Urban Scene: Neo-Shamanism in Contemporary Sweden.* Stockholm: Stockholm University Press.
Mayer, Gerhard. 2003. *Schamanismus in Deutschland* [Shamanism in Germany]. Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag.
Stuckrad, Kocku von. 2002. "Reenchanting Nature: Modern Western Shamanism and Nineteenth Century Thought." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* 70, no. 4: 771–799.
———. 2003. *Schamanismus und Esoterik: Kultur- und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Betrachtungen.* Leuven: Peeters.
Uccusic, Paul. 1991. *Der Schamane in uns: Schamanismus als neue Selbsterfahrung, Hilfe und Heilung* [The Shaman within us: Shamanism as new Self-Knowledge, Help and Healing]. Geneva: Ariston.
Vitebsky, Piers. 2001. *Shamanism.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. First American edition, Boston: Little, Brown, 1995.

NORDIC SHAMANISM

Within the area of the present-day states of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, shamanism was a living tradition until the seventeenth century, at which time the Reformation and the establishing of Evangelist-Lutheran churches led to an attempt to eradicate the earlier Catholic as well as ethnoreligious cultural elements from the social life of village communities.

At the heart of northern shamanism—as of shamanism generally—was the assumption, or rather the experience, of the reality of spirits and souls "beyond" both the natural, material world and the human, social world. *Shaman* (in Saami, *noai'de;* in Finnish, *noita;* in Inuit, *angākoq,* plural *angākut*) was the name given to the specialist in souls, whose domain of expertise comprised both parts of the natural world: the visible and the invisible. In the Eurasian north, from Greenland to the Bering Straits, the shaman was a person who possessed the necessary technical competence, traditional knowledge, and psychic tendency to enter into an ecstatic trance and to establish contact with the spirit world posited by the particular religious system. By falling into a trance and separating the soul from the corporeal body, the shaman of the northern peoples cured the sick, escorted the souls of the dead to the Underworld, foretold the future, and transcended time and space, as well as the boundaries between the living and the nonliving, in order to find something lost or to assist hunters in tracking down and killing their quarry. The shamanistic ritual enacted by the community was in principle a means of control over life, whereby a passage was kept open between the visible and the invisible reality. This passage was needed in order to find answers to economic problems and questions of justice, and above all in order to heal the sick (see, e.g., Siikala 2002).

Among the northern peoples, the dominant explanation of illness was that it was the result of the loss of the soul, with both spiritual and somatic symptoms. The shaman's objective was to restore the soul to the individual, and at the same time revitalize the life powers that form the foundation of spiritual and physical integrity. The conception of illness as the loss of one's soul entailed the belief that the soul had been stolen by the spirits of the dead. To recover it, the shaman had to undertake a spiritual journey to the other side. Belief in this form of soul loss was prevalent among the Saami of Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Among the Greenland Inuit, shamanistic diagnosis generally involved the violation of a taboo. In such a case, the shaman had to undertake a spiritual journey, for instance to the bottom of the sea, to appease the female Spirit of the Sea. (Siikala 1978; Merkur 1985).

The Saami Shaman Drum and the Shamanistic World View

In northern shamanic practice, the most characteristic tool of the ecstatic trance technique was the drum, by means of which the shaman entered into a trance and gained access to spirit helpers, who took animal form. It was only with

the support and help of these spirits that the shaman was able to penetrate or attack the territory of those powers that, according to the local mythology, threaten the individual or the community, in the form of disease or other misfortune. The drum, whose surface membrane was divided into three parts corresponding to the shamanistic cosmology, was generally described as a means of transport, for instance a horse or a boat. The rhythmic drumming created a form of "sound bridge" that allowed the shaman's soul to transcend the boundary separating the levels of the universe. Drumming, dancing, spells, singing, voices, costume, rattles, and pendants of bone or metal were part of the shamanistic trance technique, by means of which the shaman moved at the level of the spirit between the human world and that of nature (cf. Rydving 1991; Siikala 2002).

The drum of the shamanistic ritual can be compared to the altar in sacrificial religions. As an instrument of metamorphosis it formed a center of symbolic communication, offering a means of both visual and aural expression for the transmission and reception of messages. But the drum was not used merely to summon spirit helpers; it also functioned on the shaman's spiritual journey as the animal helper's body, to which the shaman's soul attached itself.

In various cultures the fabrication of the drum was a carefully regulated ritual procedure. For instance the wooden frame of the drum had to be made from a particular species of wood and from a tree growing in a particular location. The various components of the edges and handle of the drum frame were called by the names for the parts of the living body: The drum had "ears," "lungs," and an "artery." The shaman's function required certain spiritual equipment, which allowed the shaman to enter into the natural world. This equipment was based in part on the novice's psychic constitution, in part on a tradition that had been handed down through the process and act of initiation. The initiation of a shaman followed to a great extent the pattern typical of spiritual metamorphosis: the response to a call, withdrawal into solitude, submission as a pupil to a master, and metaphorical death and rebirth. To become a shaman, the neophyte followed a path of visions, dreams, or illness. Through these processes, the novice's cultural knowledge and physical, motor behavior took on new forms; the mythology that underlay community membership, its systems of ritual activity, and the mythical helpers were activated as the foundation of the shaman's thinking and way of processing information (Anttonen 1994; Siikala 2002).

The other world, however, did not open itself up merely because the shaman beat the membrane of the drum and read its figures as a map to the Underworld. Shamanism also involved the way in which the local community read the natural environment—the forest and the northern wilderness—and endowed it with significance. Salient natural features and locations were perceived as boundaries, edges, crossroads, openings, and fissures, as places where a channel from this world to the other one could be opened up (Anttonen 1994). In the Saami tradition, the clear fell lakes, with no outflow rivers, were perceived as double-bottomed *saivo* lakes, linked by a "breath hole" (the same word denotes both "breath" and "spirit"). For the Saami shaman, the noai'de, this opening offered a way into the Underworld, the world of the dead—the *jabme,* or *saivoaimo* (Rydving 1990). In Inuit shamanism, the boundary might be located, for instance, at the line between the ice and the open water.

The Northern Shamanistic Tradition in Finland

The roots of Finnish shamanism can be found in the word *noita* (Modern Finnish "witch," "wizard"). The word can be traced back to the original Uralic name for practitioners of an ecstatic trance technique. In Finnish the word is linked to the oldest religious stratum of the prehistoric hunting culture, characterized by its use of Comb Ceramic pottery, in a subarctic taiga environment. The cognates of noita in certain other Finno-Ugric and Uralic languages are the Saami noai'de and the Ob-Ugrian Mans *näjt.* It was originally the name given to a holy man, honored by the community. This was not the same noita who from the Christian Middle Ages onward was persecuted as an enemy of the Son of God and as the embodiment of evil, and of whom illustrations were painted on the ceilings and arched vaults of medieval churches as a warning to the people. Material evidence of the tradition of the noita as a shamanistic figure who goes into a trance to heal illness can be

seen in the horned human figures and stags painted on sunlit rock faces, as for instance at Astuvansalmi near the town of Ristiina in Eastern Finland. These rock paintings date back to a period extending from the Late Comb Ceramic period into the Bronze Age (3200–1700/1500 B.C.E.). The direct material evidence available in the form of artifacts, however, dates back only to the seventeenth century; it is from this time that Saami shaman drums have been found in graves, along with the remains of decorations and amulets made from bears' teeth (see Haavio 1967; Siikala 2002).

Information about the noita institution in Finland, however, is conveyed above all by the oral folk tradition. Shamanistic traits emerge from the traditional epic poems of the Kalevala cycle, above all narratives of origins and heroic legends from the Viking era, with their mythical themes emphasizing the importance of other world. Väinämöinen, the central figure in Finnish-Karelian folk poetry, was a *tietäjä,* a "man of knowledge"; similar to the figure of Odin in Scandinavian mythology, Väinämöinen was linked to the motif of a visit to Tuonela, the world of the dead. Where Odin took the form of a snake to creep into a rock to drink mead, the mythical culture hero Väinämöinen set out to the dark Pohjola to acquire the necessary magic words in order to complete the building of his boat. A distinctive shamanistic feature was the account in the poem *The Visit to Tuonela,* describing how Väinämöinen took the form of a lizard or worm and swam across the river of Tuonela to the world of the living. A lizard, worm, or snake were among the common forms a shaman was thought to assume (Anttonen 2000b; Siikala 2002).

The ancient Finnish folk poetry *(Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot)* was recorded in the nineteenth century in the White Sea Karelia by the collectors of the Finnish Literature Society. It was on these narratives that the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala,* was based; the first version, the *Old Kalevala,* was published in 1835, and the *New Kalevala* was published in 1849. The main mythical actor was the hero Ilmarinen, who created the Sampo. Ilmarinen was depicted as a blacksmith who forged the mysterious artifact in the mythical Pohjola, that is, in the land of the departed. Kalevala-enthusiasts and academic scholars alike have offered answers to the riddle of the Sampo, seeking its meaning as an abstract concept or concrete object from historical and mythological contexts believed to be described in the songs. The Sampo has been interpreted as a human-made replica of the mythical world pillar, represented in a sacrificial context in a community cult. This supposition was based on the evidence of shamanistic practices not only among the peoples of northern Eurasia, but also among the ancient Germanic and Saami tribes. According to the established scholarly view, prehistoric peoples needed the symbolic representation of the mythical world pillar, supporting the heavens by the north Star. The idea of a ritual pillar was based on the shamanistic tree of the northern peoples taking the form of a passageway linking heaven and earth. This idea was inherited by the pre-Finnish agriculturalists (see Anttonen 2000b; Siikala 2002).

The idea of inheritance was also related to the Väinämöinen's mythical instrument called the *kannel,* interpreted as a Finnish-Karelian version of the drum of the shamanistic hunting culture. Väinämöinen, in addition to his role as a creator god, was also the first singer of spells and maker of hymns, creating a foundation for the institution of the man of knowledge. In Finland, these wise men raised and strengthened their powers by drinking water or spume from the foaming waterfall, or by standing naked on a rock during a thunderstorm and pouring the rainwater caught in holes in the rock over their heads (Harva 1948).

The Old-Norse Seiðr Cult

In the Nordic ethnographic literature on shamanism, it is reported that places that shamans employed to exit and re-enter the world of ordinary reality were holes and openings in the ground, caves, and fissures between rocks, that is, places that had been marked off and set apart as sacred (Anttonen 1994). It was the shaman's task to address the powers in terms of which socioeconomic values and the physical and mental integrity of an individual community member were conceived. In traditional Norwegian Saami culture, there was a semantic category of the *seiðr,* denoting both natural rock or stone formations and man-made wooden columns around which ritual actions are organized. In Old Norse the term

seiðr was also used to denote witchcraft. Most seiðr objects are stone formations, erratic boulders, weathered rocks or stones, or conspicuous, anthropomorphic stones on the banks of a river or a lake. Seiðr stones contain cracks, hollows, excrescences, and flat "shelves" due to weathering. These functioned as altars, on which reindeer, deer, and fish were sacrificed. Likewise the indigenous Saami gods were believed to have their abode on the seiðr.

The seiðr sacrificial sites were closely connected with economies based on reindeer pastoralism, hunting, and fishing. Depending on the specific location in the territory of the individual Saami groups, observances at the seiðr sites were performed either by several reindeer-herding communities (designated as *sii'dā*), by members of a family, or by individual persons. In the Saami language the attribute *bāsse* (sacred) was used as a territorial marker to set apart topographically anomalous sites. Saivo mountains (in the Norwegian Saami area) and saivo lakes (in Finnish Saami territory) are other conspicuous points in the terrain that were described as bāsse (sacred) and that contained a seiðr stone as their distinctive marker. It was believed that saivo lakes had two bottoms, which were connected by a hole. Fish could come up and disappear through the hole. The noai'de entered upon his soul journey to the Underworld through a hole (see Rydving 1987; 1990).

In distinct geographical areas where shamanic practices survived, the very corporeality of its ritual systems came to be viewed as a threat to the theologically legitimated social order. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scandinavia, Lutheran priests systematically uprooted shamanic traditions by destroying the drums of the Saami shamans and by denying the value of the indigenous ethno-religious traditional elements which had dominated their social life for centuries, especially the close interplay between the living and the departed members of the family (see Rydving 1991, 1993). In ritual performances, the drums were not only auditory vehicles for inducing a shamanic state of consciousness but formed the nucleus around which the corporeality and territoriality of the shamanic institution and the whole indigenous religious tradition revolved.

Veikko Anttonen

See also: Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure; Finno-Ugric Shamanism; Greenland Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Paganism in Europe

References and further reading:

Anttonen, Veikko. 1994. "Transcending Bodily and Territorial Boundaries: Interpreting Shamanism as a Form of Religion." *Shaman* 2: 99–107.

———. 2000a. "Sacred." Pp. 271–282 in *Guide to the Study of Religion.* Edited by W. Braun and R. T. McCutcheon. London: Cassell.

———. 2000b. "The Enigma of the Sacred Pillar: Explaining the Sampo." Pp. 165–192 in *Ethnography is a Heavy Rite: Studies of Comparative Religion in Honor of Juha Pentikäinen.* Edited by Nils G. Holm et al. Religionsvetenskapliga Skrifter no. 47. Åbo: Åbo akademi.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam. 1997. "Introduction." In *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia.* Edited by M. Mandelstam Balzer. Armonk, NY: North Castle Books.

———. 2002. "Shamans across Space, Time and Language Barriers." *Shaman* 10, nos. 1 and 2: 7–19.

Haavio, Martti. 1967. *Suomalainen mytologia* [Finnish Mythology]. Helsinki: WSOY.

Harva, Uno. 1948. *Suomalaisten muinaisusko* [The Ancient Beliefs of the Finns]. Helsinki: WSOY.

Merkur, Daniel. 1985. *Becoming Half Hidden: Shamanism and Initiation among the Inuit.* Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 24. Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis.

Rydving, Hȯkan. 1987. "Shamanistic and Postshamanistic Terminologies in Saami (Lappish)." Pp. 185–207 in *Saami Religion.* Edited by Tore Ahlbäck. Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 12. Åbo: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History.

———. 1990. "Scandinavian-Saami Religious Connections in the History of Research." In *Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place-Names.* Edited by Tore Ahlbäck. Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis XIII. Åbo: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History.

———. 1991. "The Saami Drums and the Religious Encounter in the 17th and 18th Centuries." Pp. 28–51 in *The Saami Shaman Drum.* Edited by Tore Ahlbäck and J. Bergman. Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 14. Åbo: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History.

———. 1993. *The End of Drum-Time: Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670–1740s.* Historia Religionum 12. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1978. *Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman.* Folklore Fellows Communications 220. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

———. 2002. *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry.* Folklore Fellows Communications 280. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

PAGANISM IN EUROPE

The pre-Christian, indigenous religions of Europe are often referred to under the general name *paganism.* Though European pagan religions cannot be said to be essentially shamanistic, they do display shamanistic elements of great interest. Paganism was suppressed by medieval Christian authorities, but in recent times, there has been an effort by individuals and groups across Europe and beyond to reconstruct the pagan religions of old, including their shamanistic practices.

The term *pagan* dates from the late Roman Empire. The late Latin *paganus,* derived from *pagus,* meaning "country or rural district," originally denoted a dweller in rural regions outside the city. As Christianity gradually became established in the cities of the Roman Empire from the second century C.E. onwards, it was in the rural areas that pre-Christian Roman religions persisted, until they were finally driven underground or survived only in folk rituals. They were defeated, at least in the central Mediterranean lands, by the combined forces of Christian Church and Roman emperor in the late Roman Empire. It was this combination of political, religious, and demographic factors that caused rural locations to be associated with non-Christian religious identity, and *pagan* to become a blanket term for all non-Christians of the Roman Empire and beyond.

The rise to supremacy of Christianity in the region of the Roman Empire brought an end to the pagan religious traditions of ancient Greece and Rome. In other regions of Europe, particularly to the north, pagan religious traditions persisted into the Middle Ages and are today undergoing a partial revival under the auspices of various small organizations. The general tendency across Europe for pagan religious deities, beliefs, and practices to be preserved in folklore as folk song, stories, art, and holiday customs or to be combined with Christianity at the level of popular religion created a repository of pagan tradition, which the pagan revivalists of recent times have been able to draw upon in their efforts to reestablish the religious traditions of the European past.

The Indo-European Foundation

The pre-Christian pagan religions of Europe were polytheistic and diverse, with worship of deities representing both forces of nature, such as earth, sky, rivers, ocean, and fertility, and aspects of culture, such as poetry, law, arts, war, and commerce. In the pantheons of the different national traditions, certain striking similarities in function and myth have been found, not only among most European pagan religions, but also among a number of other religions to the east of Europe, particularly the Zoroastrian religion of Iran and the early Hindu religion of India. These similarities follow upon the linguistic affinities that have been shown between certain languages of Europe, Iran, and India, such as Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Old Norse, and Old Irish, on the European side, and Avestan (an early Iranian language) and Vedic Sanskrit (an early Indian language) on the Asian side. This linguistic continuum is known as the Indo-European language family, and on this basis, scholars of comparative religion and mythology such as Georges Dumézil, Jaan Puhvel, and J. P. Mallory have dubbed the set of related European and Asian religious traditions the Indo-European religions. The vast majority of European nations, and their pagan religions of pre-Christian times, can be classified as Indo-European, but Finland, Estonia, Hungary, and the Basque nation have non-Indo-European language and origins.

One of the most striking common features of the Indo-European religions is a three-way division of divine functions between gods of wisdom and sovereignty, war and physical force, and peace and fertility. These divine functions are seen as the model for human social order. To use the Norse or Scandinavian pantheon as an example, Odin represents the function of wisdom and knowledge, related to the elite social class of kings and priests; Thor represents the function of war and force, related to the social class of warriors; and the twin deities Frey and Freya represent the function of peace and fertility, the model of farmers, fishermen, artisans, and laborers—in short, the social class of producers of goods and services. To a greater or lesser extent, these same three functions are found in the other European pagan traditions with Indo-European roots.

European pagan religions also contain many gods and goddesses whose character and function lie outside of the tripartite, Indo-European structure. European pagan religions are generally composite traditions that mix imported Indo-European elements with others purely local to the regions in which the religions are found. The composite nature of pagan religious traditions is most probably the result of a cultural and religious fusion that combined an Indo-European immigrant population with a non-Indo-European, indigenous population at an early point in each nation's history—somewhere in the neighborhood of 2000–1000 B.C.E., in the reckoning of most Indo-Europeanists.

There is much about European pagan religion that cannot be determined with full certainty, for the reason that the Christianization of Europe involved the large-scale destruction of sacred sites and objects and the prohibition of pagan ritual activities and community gatherings. Because pagan religion was primarily preserved and transmitted through oral tradition, there were few written documents to serve as records of paganism, once a given community or nation had ceased to maintain the oral traditions of the pre-Christian past. Many of the documents that did survive were set into written form by Christian clerics, presenting to the modern reader the considerable difficulty of separating Christian perspectives from pagan traditions. Comparative analysis of pagan texts helps to obviate the problems inherent in the source materials. Where similar themes and motifs occur across traditions widely separated in time and geography, this demonstrates both the authentic, pre-Christian nature of the themes and motifs under discussion and their common derivation from ancient Indo-European traditions.

Shamanistic Elements in European Mythology

There are, in the surviving documents of European paganism, a number of features that strongly suggest shamanistic practices and beliefs. Quite a few myths in the different pagan traditions refer to the ability to communicate with the spirits of the dead and divine or otherworldly beings, either by journeying to their realm and returning back again with special knowledge obtained from the Otherworld, or by opening a channel of communication with the dead or divine beings without leaving the ordinary, earthly realm of existence. Such otherworldly journeys and communications can be viewed as allusions to the shaman's stock-in-trade, the ability to maintain controlled contact with gods and spirits for the benefit of his or her community.

It is said of the Norse god Odin that he is forever journeying restlessly, seeking new knowledge from the inhabitants of diverse worlds and testing his own knowledge against those whom he meets. Odin is described as being able to change his shape or leave his body, the better to travel freely between the different realms of the Norse cosmos. In the Old Norse poem *Voluspá,* Odin uses his magic to charm a dead seeress into rising from her grave to speak with him and give him insight into past and future events from the creation of the world through to its destruction. It is not difficult to see Odin's ceaseless journeying and intimacy with the world of the dead as a reference to shamanistic activities.

Shamans typically undergo a process of initiation in which the putative shaman imagines or experiences the agonizing dismemberment of his or her own body. At the conclusion of this violent process, the shaman receives enhanced knowledge of spiritual matters. A similar process can be detected in the poem *Havamál,* which relates the myth of Odin slashing himself with a spear and hanging on a tree for nine

days and nights, with no food or drink to refresh him or ease his suffering. At the conclusion of the nine days, Odin gains access to the knowledge of the Norse writing and divination system known as runes. He also acquires the power of healing, one of the key shamanistic abilities. In another myth, Odin tears out one of his eyes in exchange for a drink from the magical well of Mimir whose waters contain special knowledge. Such myths of self-immolation fit the shamanistic pattern quite well.

There are also myths of other Norse gods that display shamanistic features. The goddess Freya possesses a magical feather-coat, which Loki borrows to fly through the air, like Odin on Sleipnir. The god's use of a goddess's clothing is reminiscent of the transvestitism and bisexuality attested to in a number of shamanistic traditions. In the humorous poem *Lokasenna,* Loki and Odin accuse each other of performing magical spells dressed as women. The goddess Freya is herself renowned for her magical lore, including the ability to speak with the dead. Freya's magic is called *seiðr,* and Odin is said to have learned it from her.

The myths of other pagan peoples contain similar figures and incidents. The Greek god Hermes is, like Odin, able to pass at will between the lands of the living and the dead and serves as a guide to the spirits of the dead. The Greek hero Odysseus sails to the house of Hades, where the blind sage Tiresias and the other dead dwell; there he must make a blood sacrifice so that Tiresias, something of a shamanistic figure in his own right, can drink of the blood and speak the truth to him. The sacrifice enables Odysseus to communicate with the dead seer and many others besides. A third Greek example is the hero Orpheus, whose enchanting music allows him to both enter the Underworld and leave again, still alive, and whose head continues to sing after it is severed by the angry Maenads. The music of Orpheus resembles the use of chanting and drumming in many shamanistic traditions, just as his mutilation resembles the violent initiation undergone by many shamans.

The Lithuanian hero Sovius sacrifices a boar and feeds its nine spleens to his nine sons, after which he is able to enter the land of the dead through the last of nine gates. He returns to his people with new knowledge of the ritual of cremation, much as a shaman would bring back to his or her people valuable information from the beyond. It may be that the killing of the boar with its nine spleens eaten by nine sons, leading to passage through the ninth gate, is a variant of the same tradition, which is expressed in Norse myth as Odin's nine days of hanging on the tree, with the killing of the boar a corruption of the motif of shamanistic self-immolation.

Journeys to the Otherworld are a major theme of Celtic myth in both its Irish and Welsh variants, and such episodes often involve visits to the land of the dead. These otherworldly journeys are of two types: ocean voyages to far-off islands populated with fabulous beings, and travels into the Otherworld via the magical hills known as *Sídhe,* which are also grave-mounds. On the night of the feast of the dead known as Sámhain in particular, the Sídhe hillsides open to allow passage into the dangerous realms of the beyond, from which Celtic heroes rarely return unscathed. In the prologue to the Irish epic, the *Táin Bó Cuailnge,* the poet Muirgen visits the grave mound of Fergus mac Roich and chants a poem to summon the fallen king. Fergus appears in a mist to recount to Muirgen the full version of the epic, much as the Volva narrates past and future events to Odin in the *Voluspá.*

Entheogens and Intoxication

European pagan mythology also contains numerous references to rites of intoxication, which open the way to the beyond. R. Gordon Wasson and Carl A. P. Ruck have written extensively on elements of Greek myth and religion, such as the Eleusinian mysteries, which may contain coded references to the ritual use of hallucinogenic substances, which they term *entheogens* (Wasson and Ruck 1986). The wine-god Dionysus, who inspires his followers with divine frenzy, seems the very personification of mystical intoxication. Wasson and Ruck have argued that the wine of Dionysian myth and drama was very likely a concoction of mind-altering ingredients.

In Norse mythology, Odin steals the mead of poetic wisdom from Suttung, a hostile giant, and flies off in the form of an eagle to bring the mead back to the gods. A few drops fall to earth and give humans the power to compose poetry—a critical aspect of culture for the preliterate, pre-Christian Scandinavians, who kept

their laws and lore in oral, poetic form. Here, Odin is very much in the role of the culture-hero shaman, bringing beneficial knowledge from the beyond. With reference to the wine-that-may-be-more-than-wine of Dionysus, it is of interest that Odin is described as needing no food as nourishment, living by drinking wine alone. In another Norse myth, the gods Thor and T˝r go on a quest for a kettle large enough to serve as the gods' beer brewing vessel, which they take by force from the giant Hymir, much as Odin stole the mead from the giant Suttung.

In Celtic mythology, there is the Well of Connla, near which grew nine hazelnut trees containing powers of wisdom and poetic inspiration. Dropping into the well, the nuts endowed the waters with these powers, which then passed on to whoever drank from the well. This is quite reminiscent of the Norse myth of Mimir's Well mentioned above. It is also known from archaeology that the Celts of Ireland, Britain, and continental Europe revered numerous springs, ponds, and lakes as sacred sites.

Shamanism in Literary and Ethnographic Accounts

Surviving accounts of European pagan religious practices contain certain incidents highly suggestive of shamanistic activities. The Norse Saga of Eirik the Red tells of a woman named Thorbjorg, known as "the Little Sybil," who is a practitioner of seiðr, the shamanistic magic associated with the god Odin and the goddess Freya. Thorbjorn performs a shamanistic ritual in a Viking community in Greenland. With the crucial support of several other women chanting spells, Thorbjorg enters a trance and is then able to make contact with hidden beings from beyond and provide predictions about future events (Blain 2002, 17, 31–33).

In the funeral rites of a Viking chieftain observed by the Arab ambassador Ibn Fadlan, a female slave, chosen to join her master in death, is first made to drink an intoxicating beverage. She then claims to be able to see into the afterlife and behold her master waiting for her. The graves of Viking chieftains, kings and queens have often been found to contain elaborate drinking vessels, leaving no doubt that these were prestigious and important items. Whether they were intended for ritual use beyond mere revelry is a matter of conjecture, but the mythic associations with wisdom and poetry are suggestive, as is the tale of the slave woman. Archaeological excavations in Celtic regions have also disclosed drinking and feasting vessels, most famously the exquisitely crafted Gundestrop Cauldron, richly decorated with sacrificial motifs.

In Greek tradition, the Pythia (the priestess) of the Oracle of Delphi was believed to gain the ability to predict the future by entering a trance state, thought in past times to have been induced by inhaling the vapors of a chasm in the earth. Geological research has disproved the theory of psychoactive vapors rising from the depths, but does not rule out the ingestion of other mind-altering substances. The sources describe the Pythia as preparing for her trance by drinking the waters of a mysterious sacred spring that flowed into the temple, and also by chewing bay leaves. It is obviously possible that she might have drunk more than simple water and eaten more than mere bay leaves. A mixture of bay leaves, barley, and possibly other substances would also be burned throughout the rite, again raising the possibility of entheogen use. Other oracles, such as those of Klaros and Didyma, also involved trance states associated with the waters of sacred springs. As at Delphi, the ingestion of entheogens can neither be proven nor ruled out, nor can the possible use of other techniques.

Druids, the spiritual leaders of the ancient Celts, are sometimes seen as shamanistic figures. Unfortunately, because the Druids insisted on keeping their spiritual knowledge in the form of oral tradition, there is little that survived Christianization. It is known from the accounts of Julius Caesar and others that the Druids performed sacrifices and practiced divination, but it is unclear if such procedures may have included encounters with spirits or divine beings as in the typical shamanistic trance journey.

The Sami, or Lapp people, whose nation is divided across northern areas of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, deserve special mention as a European ethnic group with non-Indo-European language and origins who possess a very rich and continuing shamanistic tradition that has never been broken by Christianization. Chanting and drumming are used to induce trance states in Sami shamans, and Sami shaman drums, known as "troll drums," are

elaborately decorated with mythical references, which constitute a virtual map of the Sami spiritual universe for the aid of the journeying shaman. Scholars of Norse myth and religion of the Viking age and earlier have often pointed to Sami shamanism as a likely influence on the shamanistic elements found in the myths of Odin and elsewhere in Norse tradition.

It is tempting to conceptualize two different categories of shamanistic practices in European paganism: shamanism that relies upon rhythmic techniques, such as chanting and drumming, and shamanism that is achieved via chemical agents or entheogens. This distinction should not be overemphasized, however; as in any given pagan tradition, either or both techniques of spiritual enhancement may have come into play, and in any case, extant sources are inadequate to permit a definitive judgement.

Recent Revival Movements

In recent years, many neo-pagan, or pagan religion revival movements have developed in different regions of Europe. Among the most prominent neo-pagan associations are the various Norse revival movements, often named Ásatrú, which have arisen in the different Scandinavian nations, with kindred movements in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. There are also Celtic neo-pagan movements such as OBOD (the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids, formerly the Ancient Druid Order), Greek neo-pagan groups such as the Supreme Council of the Gentile Hellenes, Baltic neo-pagan organizations such as Dievturi, in Latvia, and Romuva, in Lithuania, and Slavic neo-pagan groups such as Pravoslavya (the Society of the Ukrainian Native Faith) in Ukraine, and the Slavic Communities Union in Russia. There is also Wicca, the less ethnically based and more eclectic form of neo-paganism that originated in the United Kingdom but has won many adherents in the United States and worldwide. It should be noted this brief list provides only a small sample of hundreds of such organizations, which can easily be located through Internet sites and numerous publications.

Umbrella organizations such as the Pagan Federation, centered in the United Kingdom, and the World Congress of Ethnic Religions, centered in Lithuania, have arisen as support networks for neo-pagans across Europe and beyond. To varying degrees and in different ways, in response to different social and cultural contexts, all of these associations attempt to revive and restore such past beliefs and practices as are known from myth, folklore, family traditions, local customs, and other sources. Because of the past efforts by Christian authorities to erase all knowledge of pagan religious traditions, modern neo-pagan groups resort to various means of filling in the gaps in their religious beliefs and practices. Baltic neo-pagans, for example, have found it instructive to borrow certain elements from the Vedic-Hindu religion of India, building on the Indo-European foundation of much pagan religion. Other neo-pagans have looked to other sources, including their own intuition and creativity. The balance between fidelity to past traditions and the creation of new ones is a challenge that each neo-pagan group works out in its own way.

Just as *neo-paganism* signifies many and varied efforts by individuals and organizations to adapt pre-Christian European pagan religion to modern life, the term *Neo-Shamanism* is often applied to the modern revival and reinterpretation of ancient shamanistic traditions. There are both neoshamans who follow an eclectic "Core Shamanism" detached from ethnic roots, and those who follow shamanistic practices rooted in specific ethnic traditions. The eclectic form of Neo-Shamanism draws freely on a wide range of shamanistic traditions from around the world. This borrowing has prompted complaints by Native Americans, Sami, and others that their ancestral traditions have been plundered by outsiders and exploited for commercial use, calling attention to the question of the ownership of particular shamanistic techniques and the larger issue of indigenous people's spiritual rights.

The more ethnically based schools of Neo-Shamanism avoid this sensitive question of indigenous rights by focusing on recreating the shamanistic traditions of specific ethnic and cultural contexts with which the majority of its practitioners and participants are in some way affiliated. Scandinavian Neo-Shamanism derives its spiritual concepts and shamanistic techniques from the shamanistic lore of Old Norse literature, particularly the practice of *seiðr* associated with the god Odin and the goddess Freya.

It is to be expected that as the ranks of people involved in neo-paganism continue to grow in Europe and beyond, so will the numbers who engage in shamanistic practices add to the growing phenomenon of Neo-Shamanism, with continuing debate and dialogue between adherents of eclectic, nonethnically based traditions and others more strongly rooted in particular ethnic traditions.

Michael F. Strmiska

See also: "Celtic Shamanism": Pagan Celtic Spirituality; Classical World Shamanism; Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Entheogens and Shamanism; Fairies and Shamanism; Finno-Ugric Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Nordic Shamanism; Russian Folklore and Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Witchcraft in Russia

References and further reading:

Blain, Jenny. 2002. *Nine Worlds of Seid-Magic: Ecstasy and Neo-Shamanism in North European Paganism.* London and New York: Routledge.

Burkert, Walter. 1985. *Greek Religion.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Davidson, H. R. Ellis. 1988. *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Dumézil, Georges. *Gods of the Ancient Northmen.* 1973. Edited by Einar Haugen, translated by various authors. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Harvey, Graham, and Charlotte Hardman, eds. 2000. *Pagan Pathways: A Guide to the Ancient Earth Traditions.* London: Thorsons.

Pennick, Nigel, and Prudence Jones. 1995. *A History of Pagan Europe.* London and New York: Routledge.

Puhvel, Jaan. *Comparative Mythology.* 1989. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rees, Alwyn, and Brinley Rees. 1961. *Celtic Heritage.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Trinkunas, Jonas, ed. 1999. *Of Gods and Holidays: The Baltic Heritage.* Vilnius, Lithuania: Tverme Press.

Wasson, R. Gordon, and Carl A. P. Ruck. 1986. *Persephone's Quest: Entheogens and the Origins of Religion.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wilson, Peter Lamborn. 1999. *Ploughing the Clouds: The Search for Irish Soma.* San Francisco: City Lights Books.

RUSSIAN FOLKLORE AND SHAMANISM

In the Russian Federation, classic shamanism appears only among the Asiatic indigenous peoples, yet the focus of this entry is on European Russia, referred to simply as Russia here, and its traditions. It is important to note the geographical location of European Russia: It is at the center of several territories where it is clear that shamanism is the traditional technique, if one accepts Andreas Lommel's perspective that shamanism is a technique, one that can appear within the framework of any religion (Lommel 1967). It is impossible to be certain that Russian society was in past times a shamanistic society, but some elements in Russian folklore indicate that this hypothesis is a plausible one. Support for the hypothesis can be found in an examination of the relationship to nature and to nature spirits seen in Russian folklore, as well as in an analysis of the structure, motifs, and themes of specific folktales. The basis of this analysis can be found in works by Mihály Hoppál (1984), Anna-Leena Siikala (Siikala and Hoppál 1998), and above all Mircea Eliade (1989). Some comparisons with the shamanism of the Asiatic peoples of the Russian Federation are made in order to understand shamanistic elements or aspects of Russian folklore.

Even as late as the first years of the twentieth century, beliefs about the relationship of human beings to nature were still strong in Russia, beliefs that revealed the sense of a close connection to the surrounding world, a world deeply animated by the supernatural. Despite Christianity, some ancestral rites and festivals continued to exist.

The Russian oral tradition is rich and includes several modalities: incantations, tales, ritual songs, historical songs, lyrical songs, and epic songs. The epic songs, called *bylins,* contain shamanistic motifs from central Europe, as several researchers have pointed out (Pocs 1995; Siikala and Hoppál 1998). The bylin *Volx, Vsieslavl's son,* an archaic, even prehistoric song (Gruel Apert 1995, 193–196), tells how the hero was born from his mother and a snake. Eva Pocs pointed out that "from among the wizards with shamanistic abilities the figure called *zmej, zmaj, zmija, zmajevit covek* ("snake," "dragon," or "winged man") is relevant in this context. His

existence is well known in Bulgaria and East Serbia." The name Volx itself comes from *volxv,* "the magician" (Pocs 1995). The hero knows the language of birds, snakes, and wild animals, and is able to transform himself into all kinds of animals and then to fight in this form. This last ability of transformation is one of the most characteristic aspects of shamanism. Comparison with Hungarian folklore also shows some elements linked to totemism: "Battles in animal-shape as well as magical animals have been linked up to totemic ideas (Solymossy, Diószegi, Balazs, Gunda, de Fernandy)" (Fazekas 1967, 100). It is also the case that in various traditions the shamans know the language of the animals, and, using that knowledge, they are able to communicate with the spirits (Eliade 1989).

Another bylin, the story of *Iliya Muromets and the Brigand Nightingale,* is full of shamanistic motifs (Gruel Apert 1995, 217). This figure, whose origin is probably in the north of Kievan Russia at the time of Vladimir, the end of the tenth century, incarnates the strength of the Russian people. Ilya is a knight and rides through the forests. He uproots the oaks to open up the way. He comes to a river and sees the brigand Nightingale seated on nine oaks. Nightingale whistles like a nightingale, hisses like a snake, roars like a ferocious animal, and shouts like a valiant knight. The horse falls, and Ilya flies into a rage. The horse then gets up again and rises from Mother Earth into the air. Ilya comes still closer to the brigand and adjusts the arrow of his bow. He pronounces a spell in which he tells his arrow to go even higher above the forest to reach the brigand's right eye. The brigand falls from the oaks, and Ilya hangs him up on one of his stirrups. Mother Earth is shaken. The hero comes to Vladimir's Court. The brigand reappears at the court and again whistles, hisses, and roars. Ilya takes him to the plain and finally cuts him to pieces, leaving the pieces there for the ravens to pick and the wolves to tear.

The horse is of course an ordinary means of transportation at the time of this bylin, but it is also commonly used as a shamanistic vehicle to travel to other worlds. Thus Ilya's horse is able to rise from the earth into the air. Moreover the hero comes through the forest, often a symbol of the threshold area between this world and the next. The brigand sits on nine oaks, perhaps an allusion to the nine levels of the cosmos, connected by the cosmic axis of the world tree, which the shaman climbs in various Siberian traditions (Eliade 1989); the oak often figures in Slavic mythology. It reminds us also of the initiation ceremony in the Buryat tribes, which employs several birch trees. The three levels of this axis are symbolized by Nightingale himself: He whistles like a bird, suggesting the celestial level; he hisses like a snake, suggesting the chthonic level (the Underworld),; and he roars like a ferocious animal, suggesting the terrestrial level. The choice of the creatures itself relates to shamanism, as they are known as helping spirits in several shamanistic traditions and are frequent in European folklore.

It is significant that Ilya shoots an arrow: The arrow is connected with the rainbow, and both of them function as bridges between the worlds and allow ascension to the Upper World. The Samoyeds called the shaman's drum a bow, as its magic projects the shaman like an arrow toward the sky (Eliade 1989). The arrow is aimed at the brigand's eye: The sacrifice of the eye is a frequent motif in the search of knowledge. The dismemberment of the brigand at the end looks like the dismemberment of the future shaman. Thus this bylin can be interpreted in at least two ways: It can be seen as the story of an initiation in which Ilya is the initiator of the brigand, or it can be seen as the story of the initiation of Ilya, who becomes a shaman after initiation rites. It is recounted in another part of the story that Ilya was ill until he was thirty years old, a characteristic of future shamans. The bylin could also be seen as a description of a battle between two shamans.

The bylin tradition is rich and has its origins in different parts of Russia. The stories are often interpreted in terms of history, but it seems clear that another interpretation is possible. The Russian folktale, whose tradition is also very rich, shares some common characteristics with the bylin. One of the most important and famous figures in the Russian folktales is the "witch" Baba Yaga. The basic plot is almost the same in each tale: The hero or heroine must go to look for an object. He or she travels through a forest and comes upon a small hut surrounded by stakes surmounted by skulls. The hut is often perched on a chicken bone (Afanassev 1988, 95, 99, 105, 112). The hero must face an ordeal; he must succeed in escaping Baba Yaga. Her vehicles are a broomstick

and a mortar. When she moves, the earth shakes. In the hut or just before going into it, the hero finds magical helpers. Baba Yaga is always associated with the forest.

The etymology of the name Baba Yaga has been analyzed in several ways: A. N. Afanassev links it with the snake (Afanassev 1992). In that case, the name would recall the link between woman, snake, and fertility; Claude Lecouteux wrote on this subject that the snake is an earth symbol, and even is the personification of the earth (Lecouteux 1982, 56). Marija Gimbutas linked the etymology of "Yaga" with the Proto-Slavic *yaga,* which contains the idea of "illness" and "fright." She states that Baba Yaga is the old Slavic goddess of death and regeneration, well preserved in the tales, but under the altered form of a witch (Gimbutas 1989, 210). Baba Yaga is also present in some incantations, here against drought: "There is in the field the oak Sorontchinskoï and under the oak Sorotchinskoï there are twenty-seven young girls. The Baba Yaga comes out from under this oak and lights twenty-seven fires from oak logs"(Cerepanova 1983; author's translation). The motif of the cosmic axis is present. Baba Yaga appears here as the mistress of fire, a common shamanistic ability. So her image is ambiguous—not totally positive, and not totally negative.

Another figure of the folktales is interesting: Kacheï the Immortal. The term comes from the Turkish language and is linked to the idea of captivity. The hero must bring back a princess from Kacheï's kingdom. (Afanassev 1990, 7, 15). In the first tale, "The Most Beautiful among the Beautiful Young Ladies," the hero, the czar's son, awakens every three days and at the end of the nine days wants to be married to the most beautiful among the beautiful ladies. He takes his horse and rides. Three times the same scene happens: He discovers a hut that looks like a palace and ties up his horse to a ring. The first one is a copper ring, the second silver, and the third golden. An old woman, each time older, serves him a dinner. So the hero comes from one realm to another one. The old women know how to speak with the animals and ask them advice for him to find his way. The third time he rises into the air on the back of a female bird. He cuts off his calves and gives them to the bird to eat. She reconstitutes them at the end of the journey. After some fighting, he finally gets engaged to the most beautiful among the beautiful ladies. But then he sleeps for nine days, and Kacheï steals his fiancée. He tracks her down and discovers her in Kacheï's kingdom. Three times he asks Kacheï where his death is hidden. It is hidden within an egg, which is hidden within a female duck, hidden under a stump that floats on the blue water. The hero leaves and meets some animals that help him find the egg. At the end of the story, the hero breaks the egg and comes back to his own kingdom.

This folktale shows an initiatory journey with a progression, use of the motif of dismemberment, and several uses of the theme of initiatory sleep that lasts a symbolic length of time. Two other elements are typically shamanistic: In the Yakut legends, each shaman has a mother bird, which shows itself twice during life, at the spiritual birth of the shaman and at his death. It takes the shaman's soul and dismembers his body when the soul is mature. After the bad spirits have eaten the pieces of the body, the bird replaces the bones (Eliade 1989, 36). The part of the story in which the female bird takes the hero is very similar to this description. A second Yakut legend tells that a mother bird settles on a tree in the north. It lays eggs that contain the shamans' souls. The great shamans are born at the top of the tree, whereas the inferior ones are born at the bottom of it (Eliade 1989, 37). The parallel with the death of Kacheï is striking. Both bylins and folktales may be interpreted in several ways, among which the shamanistic interpretation is possible. It is also interesting to mention that in Central Asia, the first shamans were reputed to be able to really fly on their horses, but their descendants are unable to do the same, which is interpreted as decadence (Eliade 1989, 190–200). The bylins and the folktales may be a reminder of this old ability.

The traditional cosmology of the Russians seems to have some shamanistic elements. Sometimes the Earth is considered as an open space, but at other times it is depicted within a structure dominated by the image of the world tree with three levels. This image is a constant one in shamanism, as Eliade noted. Incantations against illness collected at the end of the nineteenth century still refer to the cosmic axis, which is localized on the mythic Bujan isle. The elder bird is seated on green sedge.

A raven, the elder brother of all the ravens, lives there and also a whale, the mother of all the whales. There is a sacred mountain where an old man lives, while seven other old men live under the oak. The Bujan isle is a center where all the creative force of nature is concentrated, the seed that will fecundate the earth. These images, which have shamanistic elements, of the primal center of the world give information about the mythical structure as the ancients perceived it.

People's folklore beliefs were still very strong at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century in the countryside. The world was seen as full of forces that it was necessary to conciliate. It was a mix of pagan and Christian beliefs called *dvoeverie,* "double faith," by the scholars. The representations of the nature spirits, although demonized, were particularly rich: the *lechii,* the forest spirit, was known for his tricks. It was difficult to see him but easy to hear him. As the master of the forest, he ruled and protected the animals. When he liked someone, he would grant a good hunt (Tokarev 1957, 83). The *polevik,* the field spirit, was depicted anthropomorphically, with herbs instead of hair and walking naked. The peasants brought him an old cockerel and some eggs to persuade him to favor a good harvest (Tokarev 1957, 84). Another type of feminine spirit is more complex: the figure of the *russal'ka.* People believed that she was the soul of a child who had died without baptism. This personage was generally represented as having the features of a beautiful woman with long green hair, who liked swinging on the branches of the trees. She had a close relationship with the fecundity of the earth.

Many other spirits were associated with various locales, in particular those places linked to fertility of some kind. Some places, such as crossroads, were greatly dreaded because they were reputed to be centers of concentration of impure forces. A well-known epic motif in Hungarian and other folk legends (Siikala and Hoppál 1998) tells of the crossroads, with its extraterritoriality, as the venue of an initiation rite, where the hero encounters frightening monsters and trials reminiscent of shamanistic initiations. The relationship to nature and surroundings was shamanistic in that there was a search for reconciliation with the spirits. Nothing was neutral in the peasant's universe of the last centuries. The whole environment had a meaning.

The kind of evidence discussed in this essay cannot establish with any certainty that pre-Christian religion in Russia was shamanistic. For one thing, it is difficult to determine where influences come from, and so to be sure which elements of Russian folk belief actually reflect the pre-Christian religion of Russia. What can be said is that Russian folk beliefs and traditions do contain some shamanistic elements, whatever their source.

Anne Ferlat

See also: Finno-Ugric Shamanism; Paganism in Europe; Russian Shamanism Today; Sakha Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Afanassev, A. N. 1988, 1990, 1992. *Les Contes Populaires Russes* [The Russian Folktales]. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

Cerepanova, O. A. 1983. *Myfologiceskii Lexic Russkovo Severa* [The Mythological Vocabulary of the Russian North]. Leningrad: Leningrad University.

Degh, Linda. 1978. *Studies in East European Folk Narrative.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fazekas, Jeno. 1967. "Hungarian Shamanism, Material and History of Research." P. 97 in *Studies in Shamanism.* Edited by Carlo-Martin Edsman. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Gimbutas, Marija. 1989. *The Language of the Goddess.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Gruel Apert, Lise. 1995. *La Tradition Orale Russe* [The Russian Oral Tradition]. Paris: PUF.

Hoppál, Mihály. 1984. "Traces of Shamanism in Hungarian Folk Beliefs." Pp. 430–439 in *Shamanism in Eurasia.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Göttingen: Herodot.

Lecouteux, Claude. 1982. *Mélusine.* Paris: Payot.

Lommel, Andreas. 1967. *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Pocs, Eva. 1995. "Traces of Indo-European Shamanism in South East Europe." In *Folk*

Beliefs Today. Edited by Mare Koiva. Tallinn: Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Siikala, Anna-Leena, and Mihály Hoppál. 1998. *Studies in Shamanism.* Helsinki and Budapest: Finnish Anthropological Society and Akadémiai Kiadó.

Tokarev, S. A. 1957. *Religioznye Verovanja Vostocnoslavjanskovo Naroda XIX Veka i Nachala XX Veka* [Religious Beliefs of the Eastern Slavic People in the Nineteenth Century and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century]. Moscow and Leningrad: Institute of the Academy of Sciences USSR.

RUSSIAN SHAMANISM TODAY

Shamanism in the Federation of Russia currently exists in a variety of forms, some of which can be considered Neo-Shamanism. The Neo-Shamanism is of two kinds: one similar to that encountered in Western countries and the other a kind of Neo-Shamanism linked to the Slavic pagan movements. Moreover, traditional forms of shamanism within Siberian ethnic groups have survived, though they have also been altered in the post-Soviet period under the influence of external forces and the importation of new ideas. These different forms and their relationships to each other constitute Russian shamanism today.

In the post-Soviet period, European Russia (ethnically Slavic) has had a different relationship to the world, and hence it might be possible to construe the emergence of shamanism as a new response to the new situation. It is, however, important to note that the belief in nature spirits remained alive in Russia, sometimes strongly, sometimes as a distant echo from the past, despite the Soviet period. One of the reasons is the role that grandmothers played in telling folktales to their grandchildren. Nevertheless, it is true that Neo-Shamanism is the predominant type of shamanism in the Slavic areas. Neo-Shamanism started in Russia with the publication of the books of Carlos Castaneda in the 1980s; this new phenomenon created many problems for those people who began to practice shamanism and took hallucinogenic mushrooms without regard for their personal safety. Today Castaneda is still read in Russia, but the Internet sites that mention his work warn about the possible dangers of the practices proposed. In the 1990s the Transpersonal Institute in Moscow published *The Way of the Shaman* by Michael Harner. Today this institute organizes sessions of holotropic breath work according to the Stanislas Grof method. Michael Harner represented the starting point of a form of Neo-Shamanism in many countries including Russia, and many people have begun their neoshamanic path after reading *The Way of the Shaman.* Michael Harner and his shamanic trainings remain the reference point for many people on different paths interested in the practice of shamanism.

Shamanism and its techniques are often associated with psychology in Western Neo-Shamanism, and the practice of shamanism is defined in terms of "energy exchanges." It is also presented as a prenatal phenomenon, the rhythm of the drumbeats being the same as the heartbeat in the mother's womb. The sources of this phenomenon include both North or South American shamanism and Siberian and Slavic traditions. Thus Neo-Shamanism is a mix of traditions and can be classified as a New Age phenomenon. Furthermore shamanism is defined as the universal protoreligion, the basis of every culture, in which each person can find a seed of this experience, the shamanic cosmos linked to the layers of the human psyche and levels of consciousness. But that does not mean that everybody is able to become a shaman. It is possible to make a distinction between holding a shamanistic conception of the world and practicing as a shaman.

Russia has seen the emergence of schools of magic that base themselves on occultism, pagan traditions, healing, and witchcraft, and also mention Slavic shamanism. Everybody is considered able to practice magic. The schools of magic suggest the use of techniques that they associate with shamanism. These techniques have a collective aspect when, for example, the drum, a traditional shamanic tool, is used to summon rain. Moreover, there is a kind of mystery and secrecy, as the teaching of such practices is presented as dangerous. Some other methods taught are only focused on the individual, such as learning how to feel oneself as air, water, or fire, or how to communicate with birds, animals, and trees. Very often, the question of health is at the center of the practices

proposed, and they are connected to the ancient art of healing. These schools of magic draw on a range of sources, from pre-Christian Russian beliefs to Shambala, an eclectic form of practice rooted in Tibetan Buddhism that originated in the 1970s.

We see here the same phenomenon as in the West: the New Age and its beliefs. People who attend the Neo-Shamanic seminars adhere to all sorts of beliefs. Today the phenomenon of Neo-Shamanism is found associated more and more with an urban way of life, an adaptation to modernity that is somewhat artificial. It seems that shamanism has become a business in some cases.

Neopagan groups take another approach to shamanism. Here again, the definition of shamanism can be wide, taking into consideration new criteria adapted to modern society. For instance, an issue of *Myth and Magic* edited by Anton Platov, one of the intellectual figures of contemporary neopaganism in Russia, presents a young leader of a musical group as a shaman. His music is a mix of tradition and rock and roll, and his vision of the world is typically shamanic, according to the journal. In an interview with him, this young singer asserted that sound allows the body and the soul to be in harmony with the cosmos.

No pagan group presents itself as practicing shamanism. The practice of shamanism remains an individual matter inside some groups, almost a secret one, and it is difficult to obtain information. Some practices consist of contacting the spirits to establish a link with them. Other practices use breathing techniques to reach an altered state of consciousness, which allows the participant to gain a sense of the power of an animal, such as the wolf. The participants try to incarnate the animal itself by imitating its cry. One person conducts the ceremony using a drum.

Among the pagan movements, one refers to the god Veles as the shamanic god. He is considered mainly as the god of cattle, though his origins and functions seem more complex (Zaroff 1995, 10). He was the guardian of oaths and inflicted disease as a punishment and was also linked to clairvoyance and prophecies. Today neopagans refer to the *Book of Vles,* a book that was found in the form of small wooden boards in 1919 by a Russian officer, which tells the story of the Slavic people in Russia.

If the success of Michael Harner did not really last in Russia, it has helped in some respects the revival of traditional Siberian shamanism, such as the shamanism of the Tuvan and Buryat peoples. Scholars of Siberian shamanism have noted the interplay of traditional and neo-elements in current practices, elements that it is often difficult to separate clearly. In the now autonomous republics of the Russian Federation, the situation of shamanism is complex, as it coexists with other religious beliefs and practices, such as Islam, Buddhism, and Eastern Orthodoxy. One of the criteria of authenticity of a shaman is hereditary transmission, which makes this practitioner different from other kinds of healers. Emphasis is also put on the language used in shamanic séances, since sound is a fundamental element of communication with the spirits.

Shamanism, after being almost eliminated in some areas, gained strength again as a form of resistance against the Soviet state and its domination. This resulted in the complex form of shamanism and Neo-Shamanism today, which is heading toward internationalization and becoming an object of consumerism. Tatyana Bulgakova has noted one problem with the new shamanism: "We have never heard about a traditional shaman who made up his mind to change the methods of his activity and to go on the stage. In our view it is impossible because all his activity is really connected with all traditional surroundings. Only some shamans-innovators and autodidacts can do that" (Bulgakova 2001). It also seems unlikely that the new shamanism will be able to help to preserve the identity of the northern peoples (the ethnic minorities) in Russia, as this shamanism is only one isolated element of a whole system and of a whole culture. It is questionable how effective it is to search for external recognition when the primary need is to strengthen internal cohesion. On the other hand, Mihály Hoppál has emphasized the political role of shamans as a natural extension of their traditional role; they enter the political arena as a new way of defending their communities. In the same way, one can say of Neo-Shamanism in Russia today, at least the kind that turns to shamans from the traditions of the northern peoples, that it is not only a question of individuals looking for personal salvation in a misunderstood tradition but also a question of new methods within tra-

ditional shamanism to guarantee the safety and security of the community in a modern world where the paradigms and conditions of life have changed. Moreover, it may also be a matter of adaptation to globalization.

Today some Russian shamans travel to Western countries, where they perform their ceremonies or invite people to see them, and some shamans perform rituals collectively, neither of which modalities are found in the tradition. Shamans also give initiations whose cost is relatively high for young Russian people. Shamanism has become a tourist attraction, exactly as in Latin America. This phenomenon is largely opposed by the elders. Furthermore, it seems that making a show of shamanic performances misrepresents the shamanic art itself, and it appears that some shamans or members of their family fall ill afterwards. These illnesses have been interpreted as a consequence of the discontent of the spirits. Demonstrations appear to be a betrayal, and the lack of respect for the sacredness of shamanic practice has heavy consequences (Bulgakova 2001). It is as if shamans who give demonstrations have sold their souls. The terrifying aspect of shamanism in its traditional form comes into play, an aspect of traditional shamanism that stands in strong contrast with the beneficence of Western New Age Neo-Shamanism.

There are other notable differences between traditional shamanism and Neo-shamanism: In the traditional form, people do not decide to become shamans, they are "elected," chosen by the spirits or an older shaman, in what is often described as a hereditary transmission. Just as traditional shamanism is not always the pleasant phenomenon often depicted in the Western version, the spirits may not be compassionate. They do not give the shaman a choice; the chosen shaman who refuses to shamanize falls ill. The neoshaman, on the other hand, seems to be in charge of his or her own destiny. The first concern of neoshamans is to cure themselves; if they succeed, it is their choice whether or not to become shamans.

This individual dimension does not exist in traditional Siberian shamanism. In that practice, shamans help people and serve their communities; they are linked to their particular locale and to the presence of their clan. Shamans work with the spirits of the land where they live and with their clans' ancestors. The shamans have to fight all their lives, often against evil spirits or antagonistic shamans, and their personal lives can often be very difficult. By comparison, the definition of shamanism has become very broad and adaptable in the West, where it is not a question of serving a community but of serving oneself. The distinction between shamanism in service to a community, versus self-realization, is a major difference between traditional shamanism and Neo-Shamanism.

Andreï Vinogradov (2002) has asserted that the difference between Neo-Shamanism in the West and in Russia is that the common goal of the shamanic practitioner in the West is the experience itself, which cannot really be judged as "authentic" or "inauthentic," since it is just an experience. Its value is measured subjectively or among the "interest group" and does not require any specific external reference (such as a traditional spiritual authority) for its evaluation. Clearly, the demand of proof of "authenticity" is much less rigorous than elsewhere. In Russia, even Neo-Shamanism that is most influenced by the West has an element not found in the West—it is part of a quest for national identity. As for traditional shamanism, it is true that it has evolved with societal changes, and the shamans have to adapt themselves to the new paradigms of societies that are undergoing profound change at all levels and are affected by many influences and tendencies. Andreï Vinogradov (2002) noted that, even as it was being revived, shamanism mutated into something quite different from its "classical" forms and began to fulfil new functions. Nevertheless, much remains that is clearly traditional. For example, many shamans think that most of the problems happening currently, in particular alcoholism, are the result of negligence: Spirits and ancestors are discontent because they have been neglected. The dead ancestors have not received proper treatment, and those who died violently continue to take the energy of the living.

One can also wonder if modernism itself does not prevent a true traditional shamanism. In the modern, or postmodern world, diseases are not considered the consequence of the action of a malevolent spirit. People seek to cure the symptoms of an illness, not to understand the real origin of it, and even if they do seek the origin, as in homeopathy, they do not acknowledge a spiritual dimension. In Russia, the situa-

tion is more complex as there are strong traditional elements that have survived as popular medicine in some areas (Magalova 1996).

Shamanism today in Russia consists of a disparate landscape. While traditional forms in Siberia evolve toward a kind of postmodernity, New Age forms are increasing in urban society, and on the contrary, although this is a marginal phenomenon, some shamanistic practices are emerging among the pagan movements, focusing on the past while searching for traditional roots and identity.

Anne Ferlat

See also: Buryat Shamanism; Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Evenki Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices; Khakass Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Paganism in Europe; Russian Folklore and Shamanism; Sakha Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Tajik Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism; Urban Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bulgakova, Tatyana. 2001. *Shamanism on the Stage (Shamanism and Northern Identity).* Pro Ethnologia 11. Tartu, Estonia: Estonian National Museum.

Hoppál, Mihály. 1999. *Shamanism at the Turn of the Millennium.* Pro Ethnologia 8. Tartu, Estonia: Estonian National Museum.

Magalova, Natalia Euguenievna. 1996. *Ethnologie française* 26, no. 4: 654–665.

Vinogradov, Andreï. 2002. “Changes in Shamanic Discourse in Post-Soviet Southern Siberia.” Paper presented at the Conference on Post-Soviet Studies, February 27, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Zaroff, Roman. 1999. “Organized Pagan Cult in Kievan Rus’, The Invention of Foreign Elite or Evolution of Local Tradition.” *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 2: 47–76.

WITCHCRAFT IN RUSSIA

Witchcraft in Russia has always been an important phenomenon, as well as a complex phenomenon because of Russia’s geographical situation and history. Many influences, including Finnish, Mongolian, German, and Baltic, and even possibly the influence of later occult movements, have contributed to the formation of a popular witchcraft. It is difficult to define what is typically Slavic or typically Russian. But it is possible to discern a general framework with some shamanistic aspects.

Etymological and Historical Considerations

The etymology of the terms used in connection with witchcraft is a rich source of information for the varieties of functions and practices of ancient Russian witches. The vocabulary has connections with different domains from justice to magic, and they are all concerned with the idea of the supernatural, secrets, and mystery.

The terms *vedun* for a male witch and *ved’ma* for a female witch come from the root **wid-*, designating “knowledge” and “science” and also found in words connected with sight. From this root come the words *Veda,* the Hindu scripture that is considered the quintessence of knowledge, and *druid, *druiwid-*, “the very learned” (Guyonvarc’h and Le Roux 1986, 432).

This derivation suggests that the vedun and the ved’ma are those who “know” and also “see.” One could also say that the implication of these Russian words is that witches were originally seen as unique possessors of knowledge.

Another term is *koldun’* or *koldunja,* which indicates ancient sacrificial practice. The verb *koldovat’* means “to practice sorcery.” Nikolaevich Afanassev made the link with the ancient terms *kaldovati,* “to bring a sacrificial victim,” *kaldovanec,* “the sacrificer,” and *kaldovise,* “altar” (Afanassev 1869, 3, 423). Vladimir Dal’ interpreted the verb koldovat’ as “to practice sorcery, divination, to create charms” (Dal’ 1912, 1). The negative connotation of the terms koldun’ and koldunja for one who practices sorcery may well derive from the association of the terms with the practice of sacrifice, a practice that had come to be seen as pagan and evil.

The term for magician is *kudesnik.* The root of this word is *kud,* or *-cud.* The verb *cuditi* meant in the past “to purify,” and the *cudar* was the judge. There was a link between the idea of justice and that of purification. *–Cud* is also linked to miracles and the supernatural. The linguist Emile Benveniste made the connection between the Greek term *kûdos* and the Old Slavic term *cudo;* the first designated an irre-

sistible magical power, a monopoly of the gods, who sometimes concede it to a chosen hero. Those terms relate to the ancient gods and place the human being at the same level (Benveniste 1969, 2, 57–69). So it is possible to hypothesize that the kudesnik had an important religious function in the past.

Afanassev also mentioned *mara* or *maraja* as a name for witches in some parts of Russia (Afanassev 1869, 3, 567). *Mar–* is the Indo-European root that is present in the French *cauchemar* (nightmare) and English *nightmare,* whose origin is **mer-*, which is linked to death.

Thus the terms to designate witches are numerous and relate to a wide range of functions and magical means. It is important to mention that the belief in female witches was more prevalent in Ukraine and Belarus. The magical universe was more male in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. Male witches were more tolerated because they were known for their healing qualities, whereas women were known for their malevolent actions (Krainskii 1900, 13).

Some professions, particularly shepherds and millers, were closely associated with witchcraft. Shepherds were reputed to have relationships with the spirit of the sheepfold (who gave good health to the livestock), and millers with the spirit of the river. They both knew incantations and magic rituals. Their functions were directly linked to the community's well-being. They were the guarantors of fertility. Thus we see here that if the terms designating the witches were related to a sacred function in their pagan and historical meaning, there seems to have been a shift. By the end of the nineteenth century, all magical acts had come to be considered witchcraft, and all the people practicing magic, or supposedly doing so, had come to be considered as witches.

The actual status of witchcraft and witches in Russia did not change much during the time for which records exist, despite the influence of Christianity. The situation is not comparable to the situation in the rest of Europe and the Latin countries in particular, where the Inquisition prosecuted witches. In the Slavic countries, Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) was the first prince to act against the witches. In 1649, under Czar Alexis Mikhailovitch, all practices associated with pagan worship were forbidden. In 1716, Peter the Great decreed execution for those who practiced witchcraft. In the nineteenth century, the last executions, which were most often vengeance cases, were registered. During this whole period, up until the Revolution of 1917, each village had both an official witch, or healer, and a Christian priest. People went to church, but they visited the witch when they had a problem.

The Practice of Magic

People were ambivalent about the practitioners of magic, who mixed pagan and Christian references in their incantations, but they were most afraid of hidden witches. There were several ways of recognizing hidden witches: For example, if a person lit a candle and it either did not burn or it fell, that person was a witch—likewise, if a person burst into tears when someone handling a knife said a prayer.

In general, though, the distinction between good and evil was not clear in witchcraft, as indeed it is not clear in nature. It was not only that witches were people of what specialists call double faith, who mixed pagan and Christian beliefs and practices. They were not as concerned with the distinction between good and evil; they saw everything in the world as animated by the life force, and their main concern was preservation of life force. This was especially true in the north of Russia: The magical power of the witch was held to depend on life force. Each person was believed to be born with a certain amount of it. Life force was seen as concentrated in some parts of the body: hair, teeth, nails, and the heart in particular. Witches and healers were held to be endowed with more life force than anybody else. When witches became old or lost their teeth, their life force was felt to be diminished and they could no longer practice. As the life force was seen as still unstable in the young, a teenager could not become a healer or a witch.

It is difficult to give a truly coherent image of witchcraft in Russia because there were different beliefs in different areas, some of which contradicted each other. Nonetheless, on the whole they were based on the centrality of the natural cycles of life and a conviction that some people had the gift to be intercessors between human beings and supernatural forces. One could say that witches were the leaders of religion in Russia, behind the scenes.

Russian witches practiced two basic kinds of magic: malefic and healing. Malefic magic comprised three kinds, *sglaz, zalom,* and *prozin.* Sglaz had to do with human beings and animals, causing bewitchment by the eyes. Zalom was a form of magic that caused harm to crops by twisting the wheat ears or spreading earth from a cemetery, believed to be the remains of decomposed bodies, at the roots of the plant. Prozin, which literally means "slit," involved bewitching scarab beetles and worms so that they would damage the rye or the wheat beside the road.

Healing magic was for humans and animals. Each illness was considered as an entity, and the healer had to chase it out of the body of the sick person. The removal of a spell cast against someone also belonged to healing magic. There was also love magic and domestic magic. This last protected fertility and ensured abundance. In the distant past, when ethnic groups were fighting, there were magical war rituals. Magic concerned all the spheres of existence, and the witch seems to have been the appropriate person to turn to in all circumstances. It seems that the order of society itself was based on the actions of witches.

The spells were very rich and the root of the magical act. Most of them were secret and lost their force if anybody else knew them. Their complexity varied. Magical remedies were based on animals and plants. Some of the remedies seem to have been common to European culture; for example, Russian witches used plants that Pliny the Elder mentioned as being used by the druids. Modern medicine has discovered, or rediscovered, the properties of certain plants or animals used in remedies. Everything was believed to have a meaning. Just as witches occupied a place between two worlds, so did the objects and the natural elements used in their remedies.

Russian witchcraft had some strong similarities to shamanism, as for example in the way one became a witch. Often it involved a crisis similar to the crisis that future shamans experience. Future witches would be melancholic and solitary, and then one day they would fall ill. Spirits would visit them, and sometimes someone in their family would guide them. They would realize that they had inherited a gift for witchcraft.

Their practices and attributes also often suggested a link with shamanism. The female witch used a broom in order to fly. Two words designate a broom in Russian, *metlo,* the simple broom, and *venik,* the birch broom. The birch was the typical shamanic tree in western Russia, and also in Siberia. The venik may well have been related to the shamanic tree, and the story of the witch's flight may have been a way of speaking of shamanic travel into other realms. In addition to her use of a broom made of birch, when a witch flew from her house, she used the chimney, suggesting communication between the sky and the earth and ascension into Upper Worlds.

Witches could also turn into animals, as shamans could, and leave their bodies. As Claude Lecouteux mentioned, in the Germanic tradition, the belief was that everybody had several doubles, which could assume a zoomorphic shape. The double in the shape of an animal would serve the person who knew how to use it. Lecouteux suggested that magic and witchcraft were believed to act on the double, not on the body itself (Lecouteux 1992, 142–143). This belief in the double and its functions is also present in shamanism, as Roberte Hamayon mentioned concerning Mongolian shamanism (Hamayon 1990). As for leaving the body, a fundamental belief in shamanism is that the soul is autonomous: It can leave the body without provoking death (Hamayon 1990, 329). The historian Carlo Ginzburg also linked witchcraft and shamanism (Ginzburg 1992). It seems reasonable, then, to speak in terms of shamanistic aspects of Russian witchcraft, though not shamanic aspects, since that would imply a shamanic society.

Although practices and beliefs have changed, so much so that the past tense seemed more appropriate for the description of witchcraft as it was documented over a hundred years ago, witchcraft never ceased to be used in Russia, even during the Soviet era: The leaders of the USSR had their healers. Everywhere in Russia the belief in witchcraft has never disappeared, even though witches no longer play the same role as during the past. In the early twenty-first century, witchcraft has entered what might be described as a New Age era, and the newspapers contain the advertisements of witches and mediums.

Anne Ferlat

See also: Paganism in Europe; Russian Folklore and Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Afanassev, Nikolaevich. 1869. *Poeticeskie Vozrenja slavjan na Prirodu.* Moscow: Izd. K. Soldatenkova.

Benveniste, Emile. 1969. *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes.* 2 vols. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Dal', Vladimir. 1912. *Tolkovy Slovr Zivovo Velikoruskogo Jazyka.* Moscow and St. Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Kuigoprodavsta-tipografa M. O. Volfa.

Fasmer, Maks. 1964. *Etimologiceskij Slovar Russkogo Jazyka.* Vol. 1. Moscow: "Progress."

Ginzburg, Carlo. 1992. *Le Sabbat des sorcières.* Paris: Gallimard.

Guyonvarc'h, Christian-J., and Franse Le Roux. 1986. *Les druides.* Rennes: Ouest-France.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1990. *La chasse à l'âme: Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien.* Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

Krainskii, Nikolai V. 1900. *Porcha klikushi i biyesnovatye, kak iavleniia russkoi naroduoi zhizni.* Novgorod: Gubernskaia tip-iia.

Lecouteux, Claude. 1992. *Fées, sorcières et loups-garous au moyen âge: Histoire du double* [Fairies, Sorcerers and Were-wolves of the Middle Age: History of the Double]. Paris: Imago.

Ryan, W. Francis. 1999. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE MODERN WEST

Modern witchcraft overlaps with shamanism in various religious practices such as out-of-body experiences and altered states of consciousness. Many practitioners of modern witchcraft are involved with magic and see themselves as shamans, although there is debate whether witchcraft itself is a form of shamanism in the strictest sense.

Modern witchcraft, often referred to as Wicca, particularly in America, was essentially created in the 1940s in England by a British civil servant, Gerald Gardner, who published a series of fictitious ethnographies (e.g., Gardner 1982) of supposedly contemporaneous people practicing the rites of their pagan ancestors and worshipping the earth goddess and her consort in ceremonies beneath the full moon. Gardner claimed to have been initiated into one of these secretive groups, which he said had been hidden since the "burning times." He described their rituals as the practice of an ancient nature religion, the most ancient of religions, in which the earth was worshipped as a woman under different names and guises throughout the inhabited world. She was Astarte, Inanna, Isis, Cerridwen—the Great Goddess in her many aspects—and her consort was the stag god, or the god of the hunt. Gardner began initiating people in groups of three to thirteen members called covens, which were led by people called high priestesses and high priests. Covens bred covens; people wandered into the occult bookstore, bought Gardner's books and soon others, and created their own covens, first in England and then abroad. By now there are many different types of covens, some of which see themselves as direct descendants of his (they are called "Gardnerian") and some of which describe themselves as feminist, "faerie," and so forth. Although the number of practitioners is very difficult to establish, they probably number in the thousands in Europe and in America and undoubtedly in other parts of the globe (see Luhrmann 1989 and Adler 1986).

Covens in England vary quite widely in their style and custom, but most seem to share a common core of practice. They meet on (or near) days dictated by the sky: the solstices and equinoxes and the "quarter" days between them—Beltane (May 1), Lammas (August 1), Halloween (October 31), and Candlemas (February 1). On these days the groups typically perform seasonal rituals to celebrate the passage of the earth around the sun. These are called "sabbats." Covens also gather on the full moons for "esbats," typically meetings at which spells are performed in order to attain some earthly end (curing an illness, getting a job, and so forth).

It is possible that Gardner was, in fact, initiated into a group that called its rituals "witchcraft," although even that is controversial. However, if he was, that group was almost certainly not a direct descendant of people practicing witchcraft in early modern England. Current historical scholarship has concluded that there were no people practicing witchcraft in early modern Europe (Thomas 1971). "Witch-

craft" was an accusation flung at people for a variety of political and social reasons, and those condemned had different characteristics in different geographical areas as the source of social tension shifted. Indeed, the association of a practice called witchcraft with goddess worship seems to be primarily the result of Margaret Murray's much discredited account of those early modern witch trials, called *The Witch Cult in Western Europe* and published in 1921. In that book, Murray argued that the witch trials were an attempt to stamp out a pre-Christian nature religion that does indeed resemble Gardner's witchcraft; it is thought that he took the idea from her.

At the same time, modern witchcraft often draws on the imagery associated with the early modern witch craze: the naked woman, the horned god, the broom, and the cauldron. To an even greater extent it draws on the English representation of nature in the nineteenth century (Hutton 1999). Around 1800 a sacred earth mother emerged in Romantic literature as the embodiment of nature and the moon. By the end of the nineteenth century, the "corn goddess" was established in British anthropology, classics, and the study of prehistory as the dominant religion in all early societies. Much folklore in modern societies was understood to be its misinterpreted remnant. This goddess was the fertility of the earth, and the corn was her son and lover, killed each year in the harvest and reborn every spring. By the early twentieth century, historians and archaeologists had taken this vision of Neolithic spirituality and turned it into a looking-glass reversal of Christianity: female instead of male, earth instead of sky, nature instead of civilization. Modern witches read their Frazer, Neumann, Childe, and others and try to create for themselves the tone and feeling of an early humanity as these scholars described it, worshipping a nature they understand to be powerful, female, and mysterious.

Because of these romantic roots, those who practice modern witchcraft also often see themselves as modern shamans. There are certainly contemporary groups of people who call themselves shamans and who do not consider themselves to be witches, and not all people who call themselves witches see themselves as shamans. However, there is often a sense of kinship with shamanism among witches. In particular, the word "shamanic" is often used to describe out-of-body experiences. Those who practice witchcraft speak as if their spirits or souls leave their bodies during ritual practice and either travel around the world or allow their bodies to be occupied by some divine being. The witch priestess is said to become the goddess (and the priest the god) in a ritual of "drawing down the moon" (or the god of the hunt). What is experienced as "inrushing power" in this context may be called "raw and shamanistic" (Luhrmann 1989).

More generally, modern witchcraft shares with the religious practice of shamanism the cultivation of altered states of consciousness. Most of those practicing modern witchcraft see themselves as involved with magic. They are likely to argue that mind and matter are interconnected and that the mind can be used to manipulate those connections and to alter the world in ways unpredicted by mainstream science. In magical rituals, magicians sink into meditative states and visualize images described by the leader. The central image usually represents the ritual's goal, and the assumption is that group concentration on the image makes the goal more likely to be realized. The theory behind this practice is that subtle "energies" pervade the universe and directly influence the way events unfold. These interconnections are sensed and affected by the nonrational in human psychology: feelings, intuitions, dreams, and so forth. In a ritual, magicians deliberately try to bypass their "rational minds" and stimulate these nonrational responses. In using imagery as a focus for concentration, magicians think that they can alter the flow of these energies and interconnections in the directions suggested by the image: a good job, a healthy relationship, world peace.

To learn to achieve these ends, and to experience the more complex reality they understand to exist, practitioners tend to use two kinds of techniques: meditation and visualization. In a loose sense, meditation involves a "stilling" of the mind, in which the meditator concentrates on an object, or a word, or an image, or on thoughts themselves. The practical goal of the technique is to inhibit responsiveness to external stimulation, to have the mind's attention focused inwardly. There are a variety of more or less complex religious systems that teach meditation. Many people think of these as primarily Asian in origin, and there are many such sys-

tems from East and South Asia, but the monastic Christian traditions and some Jewish traditions also involve intense concentration practices. Prayer is a meditative practice, and while some people in Sunday services compose grocery lists during the silent prayer, those more involved in devotional pursuits are attempting to focus their attention inwardly and in effect to shut down the response to external distraction.

The goal of most serious meditational practices in which the meditator sits, usually neither speaking nor moving, for some period of time, is a significantly altered state of mind during that period, with perceptible physiological changes and changes in mind and body alertness in the hours after the meditation. The most dramatic of these states is a mystical experience, which is a highly intense, short-lived experience in which one feels suspended in space and time, immortal, at one with the universe, and often surrounded by light and love. Serious meditators rarely elicit this state through deliberate practice, although some do. Nevertheless they do experience very real physiological changes and what, for want of a better term, are often called "changes in consciousness" in which time passes more slowly and the individual feels distinctly different. Those who are well trained in the magical practice of modern witchcraft may be able to induce states that are rare, and usually spontaneous, in the wider population.

The second category of practice is visualization. Visualization is the ability to "see" mental images. Individuals vary widely in the pictorial clarity of their mental imagery. Some people experience themselves as "seeing" their hand; others experience themselves as thinking of the idea of their hand. For most, or perhaps even all, of them, it is possible to develop the precision, clarity, and intensity of the image with practice. Visualization is frequently involved in powerful religious experiences around the world and particularly in religious enterprises whose aim is the conversion of the neophyte. The Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola, for example, are identical in structure to the magical rituals of modern witchcraft, down to the involvement of the five senses, the narrative structure, and the emotional involvement of the practitioner within the imaginative frame. These exercises are intended to create a permanent spiritual conversion and seem, at least in part, to do so for some individuals.

The vision quest of the Native Americans, which is an initiatory experience, or the initial experiences of the South American shaman, which again are initiatory experiences, are used to involve the neophyte in the religious undertaking with a kind of skill that is then used within the religious practice. In modern witchcraft the most powerful visualization sequences are called pathworkings: One goes away, one arrives somewhere else in the middle of some story, one does something for oneself in the course of the story that is emotionally powerful for one, and one returns. Throughout all this one aims to see the images in the narration. Typically, a pathworking ritual will include sentences like this: "The boat bumps against the shore. We disembark, feeling the grass beneath our feet. Day has just broken, and the birds trill from the trees. We walk up the path. The stones scrunch as we move . . . The goddess appears from behind the temple . . . She gives you something of your childhood which you hide within your heart."

Visualization may also be associated with the out-of-body experience, in which individuals experience themselves leaving their bodies and then see themselves from outside of the body. This kind of phenomenon is reported in near-death experiences in the West, during which surgical patients, or people on the brink of death, will find themselves up in a corner of the hospital room looking down on themselves. Out-of-body experience may also be associated with shamanic religion around the world. At least in ideology, shamans are often described as leaving their bodies to travel to another layer of the world to retrieve missing souls, and in these ideologies the representation is quite visual. In modern witchcraft, practitioners presume that people may be trained to have out-of-body experiences, and the training technique relies on visualization. Practitioners focus on some image—a tarot card, or a geometric form—imagine it as getting bigger and bigger, and then step through it as if stepping through a door, like Alice through the looking glass.

In the end, many practitioners of modern witchcraft may not experience unusual states of consciousness. Some however undoubtedly do, and they do so through the use of these two techniques, which are common in magico-religious traditions throughout the world. Whether they actually experience unusual

states of consciousness or not, many practitioners of modern witchcraft clearly share with those interested in Neo-Shamanism the belief that it is possible to communicate with different levels of reality in a way that can serve both the individual and the larger world.

T. M. Luhrmann

See also: Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Neo-Shamanism in Germany; Paganism in Europe; Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Adler, M. 1986. *Drawing Down the Moon.* Boston: Beacon.

Gardner, Gerald. 1982. Reprint. *Witchcraft Today.* New York: Magickal Childe. Original edition, 1954.

Hutton, R. 1999. *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Luhrmann, T. M. 1989. *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Murray, Margaret. 1921. *The Witch Cult in Western Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomas, Keith. 1971. *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* New York: Scribner's.

Overview

EURASIA

Although the term *Eurasia* literally means the entire continent of Europe and Asia, in this context Eurasia is generally used to refer to the northern and western part of Asia, mainly to the former USSR or present-day Russia and the northern part of China; thus this section includes shamanism in the Central Asian republics (Turkmenistan, Kirghizstan, Uzbekistan, Kazakstan, etc.), Siberia, Mongolia, and the Uyghur Autonomous Region in China. This vast landmass includes the frozen tundra of northern Siberia, forest and steppe regions stretching from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific, and the dry desert areas of Inner Eurasia. The northern forests were and still are inhabited by people who are hunters and gatherers, as well as reindeer herders of historically more recent development. The vast steppes—extensive grassland on the high plateaus from southern Russia to China—provide the most suitable terrain for a pastoral nomadic lifestyle, which developed when horses were domesticated in prehistoric times. Nomadism is a highly specialized economic and social system. Eurasian nomads live by herding, mainly sheep, horses, and reindeer, and move across the countryside according to the seasonal availability of fresh grass and water for their herds.

Eurasia consists of multiethnic regions, but widespread assimilation of different ethnic groups has not been fostered, due to their varied economies and specific geographical needs. Since antiquity, waves of constant migrations of various proto-Indo-Europeans, East Iranians, and Turko-Mongol peoples have constituted the most significant aspect of Eurasian history. Multiethnicity throughout Eurasia has resulted in a rich and diversified cultural heritage.

The Peoples in Eurasia

Most of the indigenous peoples in present-day Eurasia are Uralic and Altaic speakers. The shamanism of Uralic speakers such as the Finno-Ugrian peoples are covered under the section on Europe, but Uralic groups such as Samoyeds, Khanty, and Mansi are included in the "Siberian Shamanism" entry. Most of the people discussed under this section on Eurasia belong to the Altaic families: Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tungus branches. Originating from Mongolia, nomadic Turkic speakers, namely, Kazaks, Uyghur, Kirghiz, Turkmen, and Uzbeks, gradually became sedentary in Turkestan or Central Asia.

As Turkic domination began to decline in Mongolia, their power center moved westward; the Mongols reached the peak of their power in the thirteenth century under Chinggis (Genghis) Khan, who conquered most of Eurasia and established a world empire. Even after they conquered China in the thirteenth century, the Mongols largely maintained their nomadic lifestyle.

The most widespread language group in Eurasia consists of the Manchu-Tungus speakers, who are scattered in northern Siberia from the Pacific to the west of the Yenisey River and Lake Baikal in the south. The Evenki (formerly called Tungus) constitute one of the larger Manchu-Tungus groups who engage in hunting and reindeer raising in northern Eurasia. The Manchus, who origi-

nated from the northeast of China, later conquered China in the seventeenth century (the Qing dynasty), and their culture and language were eventually sinicized.

Historical and Religious Background

These Uralic and Altaic peoples are geographically dispersed in widespread regions of Eurasia, not only due to their nomadic lifestyle but also to a geopolitical impulse to gain or expand their new territories at various points in their history. The first such expansion of the Eurasian people to Europe was recorded in the fifth century. The Europeans were shocked by the invasion of the "Hun" people, as they were called, with high mobility and military skills, some of whom eventually established the Bulghar Khan Empire in the mid-Volga region of eastern Russia, an empire that lasted from the seventh to the thirteenth century. The Orkhon inscriptions (the earliest stone inscriptions in the Turkic language, found in the Orkhon River valley in Mongolia) and other Turkic inscriptions also attest to the historical presence of the early nomadic empires in Mongolia, which lasted from the seventh to the ninth century. These pastoral nomads formed great empires, which occasionally united the region and dominated neighboring territories. These Turkic inscriptions also recorded the spread of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, and Nestorian Christianity among these Turkic-Mongolian peoples.

The movement of the traders and goods along the Silk Road from early Roman times also brought Buddhism from India to East Asia through Central Asia. A complex history of conflicts and coexistence (or even mutual borrowings) resulted from the interaction between these major world religions and indigenous shamanism in Eurasia. The shamanism of the Turko-Mongol peoples was in general enriched by incorporating beliefs and symbolism of the imported world religions. Islam was also introduced in Central Asia around the eighth century and solidified much of Turkestan under Islam. Yet Islamic monotheism did not completely wipe out shamanism either, as indicated by some of the entries. (See "Sufism and Shamanism," for example.) In particular, the mystical experiences of Sufism can be associated with shamanic practices of trance. Most Mongols have adopted Tibetan Buddhism, a process that began in the seventeenth century. Russian Orthodox Christianity also spread, as Russian power began to penetrate into the region under czarism.

During the period when these regions were dominated by the former Soviet Union and China, shamanism, like other religions, was suppressed and persecuted by the Communist regimes. As some of the nations under the Soviets were granted independence in the 1990s after the fall of Soviet Communism, shamanism and Buddhism revived under the new governments, which have tended to promote their national solidarity by encouraging the traditional cultures of pre-Soviet times. As for the newly independent Central Asian republics, Islam is still suppressed by the Soviet-educated ruling class who fear Islamic resurgence, and shamanism continues to be buried as a countryside phenomenon under the disguise of Islamic veils.

Eurasian Shamanism

Although Eurasia is considered to be a prominent region for shamanism by most scholars, well-integrated studies based on extensive fieldwork only started to come out after World War II, and those mainly in Russian. This section includes entries regarding shamanism practiced by Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tungus peoples. The entries are based on the studies of indigenous Turkic or Mongolian scholars and Russian researchers who have conducted fieldwork in hard-to-access regions of northern Eurasia, as well as on the work of other Western and Japanese anthropologists or area specialists. These recent ethnological and archaeological studies bring out rather complex features of Eurasian shamanism, despite Eliade's narrow definition of North Asian shamanism based on his idea of ecstasy. Aspects of shamanism include the gender of shamans, use of specific musical instruments (drums or string instruments), collaboration of human or animal spirits, different cosmological considerations, and various types of ritual performances during the day or at night, as discussed in the following entries.

Mariko Namba Walter

Introduction to the Entries

The strength of shamanism documented in the modern period among Paleo-Siberian and Mongolic peoples has suggested to many observers that North Asian shamanism has ancient roots. Support for this position is drawn from rock art and, to a lesser extent, from mortuary archaeology of the Bronze and early Iron Ages across the Eurasian steppe and forest steppe. The entry "Ancient North Asian Shamanism," however, queries the context of relevant rock art imagery and the nature of mortuary finds and raises questions about whether they should be interpreted as evidence of shamanism.

Using archaeological evidence, the author of "Priestesses of Eurasia" discusses Bronze Age Eurasian priestesses; it has been noted that the earliest shamanistic figures were women, and rock art shows ritual dance and images that emphasize dominant female elements. Archaeological artifacts also show the transition from Bronze Age shamans to early Iron Age nomadic priestesses. The author points out that the Siberian Yakut worshipped Aiyysyt, the goddess of childbirth, and that the elements necessary for survival in a nomadic society, fertility, safe childbirth, and food procurement (animal hunting), were represented in this ritual to Aiyysyt.

The entry "Siberian Shamanism" gives a clear picture of the shamanic practices of the Siberians. Two distinct modes of life in Siberia—hunting in the forest and stockbreeding on the steppe—seem to be the key to understanding the different types of shamanism practiced in Siberia. Shamanic beliefs and practices are explained in this entry in terms of a reciprocal exchange relationship in these Siberian societies. Such symbolic partnerships exist between humans (as hunters and consumers of meat) and animal spirits in hunting societies. Similarly in pastoral stock-breeding societies in Siberia, the symbolic exchanges are to be made between humans (herders) and ancestral spirits who maintain the welfare of the herds. Siberian shamans mediate these exchange relationships through various rituals.

The entry "Evenki Shamanism" notes details of the Evenki shamanic complex, including items of costume, decorations, and drums. It includes descriptions of rituals, search for a lost soul, construction of a shaman's tent, and shamanic processes of sending off the souls of the dead. The Sakha (Yakut) people live in a similar environment and have been mainly horse and reindeer herders, as described in the entry "Sakha Shamanism." Their system of shamanism has been well described by various ethnographers; the entry here explores the initial stages of becoming a shaman, from the reception of the gift through the preparatory stage. It details the process of the initiation, including the disintegration ceremonial, when the spirits separate particular parts of the body from the bones. Body elevation and the initial *kamlanye* (often translated as "séance") ceremony are described as well as aspects of Yakut shamanic cosmology. The transformation of Sakha shamanism in the Soviet and post-Soviet period is also noted.

As for the entries "Manchu Shamanism" and "Sibe Shamanism (Manchuria)," *Manchu* was the term adopted indicating those Tungus tribes that were unified by Nurhachi (Qing Taizu), the founder of the Qing Dynasty, in the seventeenth century. The Sibe belong to the Manchu-Tungus branch of the Altaic peoples; they were conquered by Nurhachi and eventually recognized as an ethnic minority within the Manchu Qing Empire. As in other North Asian forms of shamanism, the Manchu had a concept of three worlds linked by a cosmic tree, and the shaman was seen as a healer, psychopomp (one who conducts spirits or souls to the Underworld), and mediator between the world of humans and the supernatural spheres. Associations with Chinese culture brought about "palace shamanism," notable for court shamanistic rites. Some aspects of this kind of shamanism are also known in the history of Mongolian shamanism, due to the historical and cultural contacts between the Han Chinese and the Mongols, who conquered and established foreign dynasties in China. More unique to Sibe shamanism is the fact that of the ten shamans known to have been practicing at the end of the twentieth century, the majority were women. The traditional initiation of the highest grade of shamans, described as passing the test of the "knife-ladder," has similarities to Mongolian shamanic initiation practices (the shaman had to climb a ladder of knives while in an altered state of consciousness) and also to Korean shamanism, where the female initiate dances on top of knives.

Siberian shamanic traditions are full of references to animal symbolism. The entry "Deer Imagery and Shamanism" outlines the use of deer imagery in shamanic belief and ritual in the Siber-

ian tundra and taiga zones. The deer referred to in the entry include the moose or elk, wild reindeer, and the Siberian *maras.* These animals provide strength to the shaman during his or her spirit journeys as helping spirits. The topic of animal symbolism in the whole of Eurasia is covered in some detail in "Animal Symbolism (Asia)." Throughout the area, animals and birds play a central role in shamanic beliefs and practices.

Many different aspects of Mongolian shamanism are covered by various entries in this Eurasia section. This is due to the fact there are more academic studies done on Mongolian shamanism than on other forms, especially by the Russians and Japanese, the former colonial rulers of the region. Both "Mongolian Shamanic Texts" and "Mongolian Shamanic Traditional Literature" draw on a body of literature produced by ethnographers in the field over the last century—documents that are readily available and that present a valuable picture of shamanism during the time period prior to the repression of shamanism in the twentieth century, specifically in the 1930s by the Soviets. Moreover, native Mongolian scholars who come from a shamanistic background, and thus are intimately acquainted with aspects of Mongolian shamanism, have been able to contribute entries ("Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia" and "Darkhad Shamanism").

Other entries under Mongolian shamanism explore the differences between kinds of shamans in "'Black' Shamans, 'White' Shamans" and "Yellow Shamans." These distinctions, based on the understanding of the Mongolian peoples as well as of scholars, can be somewhat confusing, and have in fact changed over the course of time. For this reason, it was considered to be helpful to the reader to have a separate entry on black and white shamans, although these color-coded terms do also occur in some of the other entries on Mongolia. The original distinctions between white shamans (related to the Upper World, good spirits) and black shamans (associated with the Lower World, powerful evil spirits) do not always hold, as will be seen in the entries. Some cultural groups consider black shamans more powerful because of their association with more powerful deities; others consider white shamans more efficacious, since they have contact with the spirits of the Upper World. In addition, although *yellow shamans* (a term only used in Mongolia, with its association with Lamaism) were considered to have Buddhist aspects in their practice, currently the term *white shaman* is used in Mongolia for such practitioners. Some argue that these categories of white and black or yellow shamans were initially created by the scholars in the field and are not used by the local people.

Since 1990, it has become possible for non-Russian anthropologists again to do fieldwork in Mongolia and Russia without stringent Soviet controls, a situation that has also brought rich data on current as well as historical shamanism to the fore. Two of the entries under the Mongolian category ("Buryat Shamanism" and "Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices") describe in detail the historical and current practices of shamanism in these areas. Buryat Mongolian shamans are found in the eastern Dornod province of Mongolia, as well as in the Buryat Republic of Russia, around the area of Lake Baikal. This particular entry focuses on the Buryat shamans who live in Mongolia. As the author notes, the shamanism of the Buryat in Mongolia contains a number of elements similar to that of the south-Siberian population—the mythological background, the world concept, the important role of the initiation process and the types of shamans. Currently, Buryat Mongolian shamans have become very prominent in the regeneration of shamanism among the Buryat in Russia, and many of the concepts and practices described in this entry, such as the initiation rites relating to fertility and rebirth (father, mother birch trees, nests with eggs in the trees, a grove of eighty-one birch trees in the ritual place), have become important components of Buryat shamanism in Russia.

The entry "Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices" offers a historical and contemporary view of the practices of shamanism among these people, Oirat Mongols who migrated in the seventeenth century to Russian lands between the Volga and the Don. Despite their great distance from their original homeland in western Mongolia, they have maintained connections to their shamanic past, although heavily overlaid with aspects of Buddhism, a process that had already taken place prior to their emigration from Mongolia. The materials on the political repression of shamanism among the Kalmyks can be compared to the situation among the Sakha people.

Another group of Eurasian entries concerns those peoples who are primarily Turkic speakers in North Asia. Foremost among these is the entry on "Tuvan Shamanism." As is the case with Mongolian shamanism, there is a wealth of information on Tuvan shamanism, both historical and cur-

rent, due to a large number of ethnographers who interested themselves in this topic in the twentieth century, and also to the fact that shamanism was relatively less suppressed in Tuva than in the other republics of the former USSR, and currently is undergoing a vibrant and active revitalization. The shamanistic complex in Tuva partakes of many Siberian and Mongolian elements.

Khakass shamanism (discussed in the entry of that name) is closely related to Tuvan shamanism, since the republic of Khakassia is adjacent to the northern border of Tuva (in southern Siberia), and in recent times, the regeneration of shamanism in Khakassia has been somewhat influenced by the revitalization of shamanism elsewhere in Russia, particularly Tuva. Neo-Shamanic influences from the United States also are evident among some of the new shamans. As this entry describes, however, there was a vital shamanic tradition in Khakassia prior to the Russian Revolution, and many of the cosmological beliefs and practices were very similar to northern Siberian shamanism. The Teleut (discussed in "Teleutian Shamanism (Siberia)"), a small Turkic population who live in villages in the Kemerovo area of western Siberia, are also a Turkic people with a highly developed shamanic cosmology, which to some extent still survives, though there are no longer any practicing shamans. They divide the universe into five worlds and have a celestial world consisting of sixteen spheres. They had typical Siberian concepts of the shamanic gift, the "shaman's sickness," and dismemberment during an initiation journey. The shamans coexisted in Teleutian society with a number of other ritual experts who healed, told fortunes, and had special knowledge. As the author notes, many features of the Teleut shamanic cosmology and attributes are quite similar to those of other neighboring Siberian and Central Asian groups.

The entries on Kazak, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Tajik, and Uyghur shamanism describe phenomena in some ways similar, since all of these cultural groups have a strong overlay of Islam, which has influenced their practice of shamanism, unlike the Mongolian and Tuvan groups, where Buddhism is the predominant religion and has coexisted with shamanism since the sixteenth century. According to Vladimir Basilov, these Central Asian Turkic people are cattle breeders, and their shamans traditionally tend to be male. Yet Olga Gorshunova found that shamanhood was primarily a women's occupation among the sedentary Central Asian peoples, although both men and women could perform as shamans. These Turkic shamans use stringed instruments for their rituals, and their helping spirits often have Islamic names such as *jinns* or *pari.* Their rituals takes place after dusk, and during the séance shamans sometimes climb up a hanging rope to the Upper World. Hence it seems that Turkic Central Asian shamanism has preserved some shamanistic traditions similar to those of Siberia and Mongolia. Some modern Turkic folk healers, on the other hand, draw more from the aura of the Islamic healing tradition and Russian parapsychology, or New Age spirituality. It is notable that Islamic prayers and blessings and recitation of the Quran are very much a part of Central Asian shamanistic practice.

Uyghur ritual practices, treated in the entry "Uyghur Healers," concentrate on healing and related rituals. These practices are indivisible from Islam and the Muslim way of life. The influence of Sufism, an ecstatic form of Islam, is important, as well as the influence of what may be called a domestic cult, focused on the spirits of dead relatives and close family. Exorcism ceremonies and healing rituals designated to persuade harmful spirits to leave the body of the ill person, known as "making the *päri* dance," employ, among other elements, incantations to Islamic saints, other exorcism formulae, and Arabic prayers consisting of verses from the Quran.

The Kirghiz people are a Turkic-speaking nomadic group living in the Tian-shan and Pamir mountain areas. Described in the entry "Kirghiz Shamanism," their ritual practices are made up of many elements: Siberian Turkic and Mongolian shamanism have made contributions, and there are also Central Asian pre-Islamic and Islamic features. Currently there are both male and female shamans among the Kirghiz; they heal patients with the aid of ancestral spirits and, while in trance, often use a stringed instrument to summon spirits or whips to chase away evil spirits.

In contrast to Turkic Central Asian Shamans, Tajik shamans show rather different features. The Tajik are an Iranian people with an agricultural background, in contrast to the nomadic pastoral Turkic peoples. Tajik shamans are mostly women, and their helping spirits are human in form, not animal. They perform various rituals in the daytime and use a tambourine without a drumstick for their séance.

In general, due to Islamic influences, Central Asian shamans do not wear colorful costumes, nor do they use painted images of the spirits. Basilov noted that shamanism had become peripheral and lost many original functions by the early twentieth century in Central Asia, after the spread of Islam.

Eurasians, whether they are Mongolian, Turkic, Iranian, or Siberian, tend to have essentially similar shamanistic cultures, as the above-mentioned entries indicate. These entries show not only the general features of the shamanism of a particular ethnic group but also more detailed accounts of various aspects of shamanism, such as deer symbolism. As part of the search for commonality in certain rituals, the entry "Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism" examines the nature and characteristics of death-related rituals among the Tuvan and Mongolian peoples—funerals of shamans among the Tuvan people are discussed, and Mongolian funeral procedures are described according to Russian archival and other sources. In Mongolia, the Buddhist lama seems to have largely replaced the shaman's functions; nonetheless, remnants of shamanistic beliefs and practices are still clearly evident in contemporary Mongolian and Siberian funeral rites.

Finally, as these entries demonstrate, not only is Eurasia an ancient and indeed seminal land for the development of shamanism, but also it is experiencing a revival and revitalization of shamanistic practices, adapted to modern times.

Eva Jane N. Fridman
Mariko Namba Walter

ANCIENT IRANIAN RELIGIONS AND SHAMANISM

In Iran, existing ethnological and archaeological sources do not permit the identification of tribes or population groups that actually engage in practices related to shamanism, or that have done so in the past. On the other hand, within the borders of countries speaking languages of the Iranian branch of Indo-European, there still are small tribes, in Nepal, Bhutan, and Tibet (Pommaret 1989), where shamanic culture persists. It is in any case undeniable that shamanic practices historically existed in Iran, concomitant with the Zoroastrian religion. This Iranian shamanism is evinced principally in legendary or historical literary data, in the accounts of extracorporeal journeys where the experience of the soul leaving the body occurs, both as the objective of the journey, as well as in its process of unfolding, as an authentic type of shamanic ritual.

Some traces in the Avesta (the book of the sacred writings of Zoroastrianism), as well as in the work of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, reveal the existence of shamanism at the height of the period when Zoroaster lived, which most specialists today believe was around the end of the second millennium B.C.E. Several words, such as the names for henbane (in Avestan, *bangha*) and the sacred drink *haoma,* which can probably be identified with ephedra, designate plants having sedative, analgesic, and narcotic properties. Likewise, urine (in Avestan, *MūΘra*) is mentioned as a sacred beverage drunk by the creatures of Ahriman, the leader of the forces of darkness in Zoroastrianism. (Urine is sacred when it refers to the urine of oxen, which is an agent used in the purification ritual in ancient Iranian religions).

More clearly related to shamanism is the noun *vifra* (corresponding to the Vedic *vipra*), which is explained by its root, which means "to tremble, to shake"; it designates a person who shakes as he prepares to enter into trance and shamanic ecstasy (Gignoux 2001, 74). This personage (*vifra,* or *vipra)* is not a shaman but an "inspired" poet who is able to have visions of a shamanic kind. For example, suggestions of shamanism occur in the following account. According to the Yasht 5.61–65, the vifra named Pāuruua was shipwrecked and cast into the air by *Θraētaona,* who was in the form of a vulture. Over three days and three nights—in other words, the same length of time as the period after death during which the soul remains near the body before embarking on its journey to heaven or hell—the vifra was unable to descend to earth, but at the end of the third night, the goddess Anāhitā brought him back to the ground. Described as the *daēnā* (soul) who guides the soul in its postmortem voyage, this goddess was summoned by the vulture, who is the agent of magic flight and symbolizes the shaman, who usually dons a bird costume in order to go save a soul in danger. It is noteworthy that the account in question does pertain to a rescue operation. One also sees that in this episode, elements of a magic flight and a soul's journey are intermingled. Since the same rescue account is found in Indian sources, it is possible to infer that this narrative dates back to the Indo-Iranian period.

The bird feather costume so often donned by the shaman also seems to be used during Zoroaster's journey (see below). According to the account in the Avesta (Yasht 14: *Bahrām Yasht*), Zoroaster asked the god Ahura Mazdā how he could be delivered from a curse. The god told him to take a vulture feather and rub his body with it, because "no one can kill the man who carries the bones or feathers of the powerful bird" (cited in Gignoux 2001, 75). This allusion to the invulnerability of the shaman is rather eloquent and is certainly not accidental.

Extracorporeal Journeys

Zoroaster's journey as recounted by Bahman Yasht in the Avesta, is indisputably a mythic, or legendary, voyage: According to Widengren, the prophet would have used a technique of intoxicating himself in order to enter a trance state that resulted in his sleeping for seven days and seven nights. But this incident has more

the aspect of a dream or vision, rather than a shamanic experience from which Zoroaster obtained wisdom (Gignoux 2001, 67). No matter which interpretation is attributed to this passage, the journey of Vištāspa, the first person to accept Zoroaster's message, truly appears to be a shamanic experience, even if it lacks historical value. He had to submit to a test in order to join the Mazdean religion (Molé 1967). According to the *Pahlavi Rivayat* (Zoroastrian texts from the ninth century), which draws on book 7 of the *Dēnkard* (a ninth-century encyclopedia of the Zoroastrian religion), Ahura Mazda sent his messenger god Nēryōsang to Ardvahišt to tell him to give Vištāspa a mixture of henbane *(mang)* and wine, a narcotic beverage that causes lethargy or loss of consciousness. Vištāspa fainted, his soul was conducted to heaven, and then he was revived. These are basically the three phases of a shamanic voyage: apparent death caused by ingesting a narcotic, visions of the beyond, and a return to an ordinary state of consciousness.

The following are historical examples of shamanic experience concerning two famous personages from the third century. The founder of Manichaeism, Mani, was suspected of pretending to be dead in an incident of this type. According to a passage from the Manichaean Homilies, King Vahrām II ordered a close examination of his body in order to verify that the imprisoned prophet was really dead, because he feared that Mani had taken a drug in order to kill himself or to undertake a journey to the afterlife (Russell 1990). More clearly identifiable as shamanic is the vision of the high priest Kirdīr, a reformer and promoter of Mazdean religion under numerous Sassanian kings in the third century who acquired a highly important position in the court. In three of the four rock inscriptions that he had engraved in Fārs, the Ancient province of the Persian Empire, he described visionary experiences of a shamanic kind, which he claimed the gods had bestowed on him. It is true that narcotic use is not noted here, but the *Sar Mašhad* inscription that relates the event is rather incomplete, and above all, as the experiences of the female shamans of Bhutan demonstrate, it is not necessary to take a narcotic in order to have visionary experiences. In any case, Kirdīr explicitly describes his journey, guided by his *daēnā* (i.e., his soul, which is both a reflection of his virtuous moral life and a guide to the other world), which allows him to visit the afterlife, as he had requested from the gods as a reward for his piety and his efforts to spread Mazdaism. These motifs are but a literary manner of concealing what is a genuine shamanic voyage. The voyage itself might be a response to a legitimate desire to understand what happens after death, which could not be publicly admitted by a religious leader.

Another typically shamanic journey is recounted in the *Book of Ardā Vīrāz* (Vīrāz the Just), an account that perhaps is not legendary, but the historicity of which cannot be demonstrated either. This work, very popular in Iran, relates the visions of heaven and hell seen by a pious man sent to the afterlife. The entire ceremonial that is associated with shamanic journeys, and that is notably present in the narratives of Bhutanese shamans (Gignoux 1990), is described here in detail. One person was chosen among others, and his election was confirmed by an ordeal, which consisted of throwing a spear three times to verify that he respected the fundamental rule of Mazdean ethics: knowing how to conform to Good Thought, Good Speech, and Good Action. Vīrāz basically had to prove that he had the ability of a shaman. The man's seven sisters, informed of the dangers of the experience, were sure that their brother, who was also their husband, would return safely from the journey.

Then the location for the journey was determined according to religious and shamanic criteria: a place removed by thirty steps from everything pure, because even Vīrāz in his state of unconsciousness would inevitably become impure, permeated by the most serious kind of pollution, that of corpses. In addition, he had to wear new clothes, lie on a pure bed, and so on. All of these precautions are evidently prescriptions of the Mazdean religion and could be a way for the narrator to mask the authentically shamanic experience. Vīrāz drank a mixture of henbane and wine in three different cups, to conform to good thoughts, speech, and actions (Piras 2000). These three cups might also represent a triple dose of the narcotic that had to be absorbed. From that moment, having become unconscious, the soul of Vīrāz could leave his body and embark on its journey to the other world.

What he saw there might seem rather uninteresting insofar as the book for the most part describes the tortures and punishments of the damned. But how does the soul leave the body without leading to actual death? This is not possible unless, as in a shamanic worldview, the human being is constituted of many souls. This is certainly the case in Iran, where since ancient times, lists of many terms appearing in the Avesta reveal the multiplicity of souls and faculties within human beings. There are notably three immortal souls, which each have their role in the destiny of humans: the pre-existent soul (the *fravashi*), which, after death, rejoins the soul destined to immortality *(ruwān),* and the peregrinating (journeying) soul *(daēnā),* which is the mirror of the good or evil behavior of a human being during that being's life on earth and which guides the ruwān on the path to the next world. Acoording to some scholars, the daēnā is the feminine element given to the ruwān in "marriage" for life in the other world (Kellens 1995).

This multiplicity of souls in Iranian anthropology is attested to not only by modern scholars, but also in a literary text from the ninth century, *Anthologie de Zādspram* (Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993). In a medical chapter of the work that analyzes the composition of the human being, the author twice asserts the existence of three souls: the soul in the body; the exterior soul, which, for Zādspram, explains dreams during sleep; and the soul in the world of spiritual beings *(mēnōg).* This tripartite division connects with the one articulated above: The soul in the body is the ruwān, the journeying soul is the daēnā, and the soul in the world beyond is the fravashi. If this theory principally serves to account for the fate of the soul after death and its voyage into the hereafter, it is reasonable to think that it might implicitly (since it would not have been acceptable to speak openly of shamanic experience in the ninth century) explain the mechanism of the shamanic journey into the afterlife. To further support this interpretation of literary information, it must be added that the human being also consists of a body *(tan)* and a vital soul *(gyān),* which leads to the conclusion that if the ruwān can leave the body without dying, it is because the soul or the breath of life remains in the body and supports it in life, although in an unconscious state.

It is well known that bones have great importance in shamanic ideology. They also have considerable significance in Iran, first because they are the seat of life, rather than the blood, which has that meaning for Semites. The seer Kirdīr speaks of a "bony soul," which is also understood in a gnostic context, as with the Manicheans (Gignoux 2001, 91). In Iranophone Central Asia, a bond between the bones and the soul is explicitly marked on the ossuaries. In addition, an ancient prescription exists in one of the six books of the Avesta, the *Vendidad* for preserving bones, so that at the resurrection the god Ahura Mazdā will be able to reconstitute the body of each person, which, in the strictest sense, is a "re-ossification." This evokes the initiation of the shaman, whose every bone must be carefully accounted for after he has been symbolically broken into pieces and then reconstituted.

If these Iranian accounts of journeys in the afterlife cannot convince the reader of the existence of shamanism in ancient Iran, it is nonetheless reasonable to ask oneself why this great country would have escaped this ideology, given that Iran was surrounded on all sides by cultures where the existence of shamanism has been confirmed: in Greece (Gignoux 2001, 80–82), in Scythia (Gignoux 2001, 78–80), in Nepal (Gignoux 2001, 76), in Bhutan and Tibet (Gignoux 2001, 76–78), and in India (Gignoux 2001, 74–76). An iconography of Iranian shamanism could exist, as John Russell believed, who suggested interpreting the bas-relief of Sar Mašhad as a scene from the journey into the afterlife of the seer Kirdīr, (Russell 1990). Representations of sorcerers on the Sassanian seals might also evoke the figure of shamans (Gignoux 2001, 86–88). In short, shamanism, which during thirty thousand years has impregnated so many cultures, and especially Siberian and Euro-Asiatic peoples up to modern times, despite Soviet efforts to eradicate it, logically cannot have been absent in Iran and Iranophone countries.

Philippe Gignoux

Translated by Karna Hughes

See also: Classical World Shamanism (Ancient Greece and Rome); Tajik Shamanism (Central Asia); Tibetan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Gignoux, Philippe. 1981. "Les voyages chamaniques dans le monde iranien"

[Shamanic journeys in the Iranian world]. Pp. 244–265 in *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne,* vol. 1. Acta Iranica 21–22. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
———. 1990. *Les inscriptions de Kirdīr et sa vision de l'au-delà* [The inscriptions of Kirdīr and his vision of the afterlife] Roma: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente.
———. 1991. *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdīr, Textes et Concordances* [The four inscriptions of mage Kirdīr, Texts and Concordances]. Studia Iranica. Cahier 9. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études irannienes.
———. 2001. *Man and Cosmos in Ancient Iran.* Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.
Gignoux, Philippe, and A. Tafazzoli, ed. and trans. 1993. *Anthologie de Zādspram* [*Anthology of Zadspram*]. Studia Iranica, Cahier 13. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études irannienes.
Kellens, Jean.1995. "L'âme entre le cadavre et le paradis" [The soul between corpse and paradise]. *Journal Asiatique* 283: 19–56.
Molé, Marijan. 1967. *La Légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis* [The Legend of Zoroaster according to pahlavi texts]. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
Piras, Andrea. 2000. "Le tre lance del giusto Wīrāz e la frescia di Abaris. Ordalia e volo estatico tra iranismo ed ellenismo" [The three spears of the right Viraz and the arrow of Abaris. Ordeal and ecstatic flight between Iranism and Hellenism]. *Studi Orientali e Linguistica* 7: 95–109.
Pommaret, Françoise. 1989. *Les revenants de l'au-delà dans le monde tibétain.* [Ghosts from the afterlife in the Tibetan world.] Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
Rozwadowski, Andrzej. 2002. "Disappearing into the Rock: Shamanistic Aspects of Indo-Iranian Mythology as a Context for Interpreting Central Asian Petroglyphs." Pp. 49–79 in *Spirits and Stones.* Edited by Andrzej Rozwadowski and Maria M. Kosko. Poznan: Instytut Wscliodin UAM.
Russell, John R. 1990. "Kartīr and Mānī: A Shamanistic Model of Their Conflict." Pp. 180–193 in *Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater.* Acta Iranica 30. Leiden: Brill.

ANCIENT NORTH ASIAN SHAMANISM

Arguments for the existence of a prehistoric shamanism in the forest steppe, taiga, and tundra zones north of China have been overwhelmingly dependent on the interpretation of visual imagery derived from rock art found in open-air sites and burials. The Soviet archaeologist A. P. Okladnikov is unquestionably the single individual most responsible for establishing the interconnections between ancient North Asian art and shamanism. In an essay first published in 1964, Okladnikov used analogies between prehistoric rock art and ethnographically documented Siberian shamanic practices to conclude that Siberian shamanism emerged in the late Stone Age and came into full development in the Bronze Age (Okladnikov 1986). Okladnikov found shamanic significance in images of moose, horned figures, figures in boats, birds, and solar elements; he argued, moreover, that these images indicated the genetic relationship of ancient Siberian cults to those documented in Bronze Age Scandinavia and known more anciently in the Near East. Since Okladnikov's assertion of these connections, virtually every commentator has accepted his ideas and continued their elaboration. Analogical argument joining ancient imagery to modern ethnography has been almost universally accepted, without demur, among observers of the ancient art of North Asia (Rozwadowski and Kosko 2002).

Prehistoric rock art materials of a "shamanic" character may be divided into two categories. The first includes images understood to represent the shaman or one of his or her transformations. The second includes images that appear to refer to cults associated with shamanic traditions, for example, a cult of the dead and of tribal ancestors, or beliefs relating to the invocation of animal fertility, or related cults such as that of the sun.

Figures with animal or bird characteristics are generally associated with the late Stone and early Bronze Ages; they are interpreted as being images of shamans, or as "protoshamanic," (Devlet and Devlet 2000, 371). Frontal horned figures without delineated faces, with arms sometimes raised and knees bent, have been documented at Balya Sukhaya and Bol'shaya Kada on the Angara River (Okladnikov 1966)

and at Nizhe Tinnoi and At-Daban, on the Lena River (Okladnikov 1972). Some of the earliest such images are those from the badly damaged Baikal site of Sagan-Zaba, where frontal figures with triangular bodies, small, horned heads, and raised arms are interspersed with images of elk and birds (Okladnikov 1974). Similar figures are frequently represented in the rock art of Shalabolin, on the Upper Yenisey River (Pyatkin and Martynov 1985). At Bol'shaya Kada on the Angara, similar figures are treated in a skeletal, or X-ray, form (Martynov 1991, fig. 36). In such instances, the images are understood to refer to the process of a shaman's initiation, during which the shaman is dismembered by spirits, and his or her bones cleaned and reassembled (Devlet and Devlet 2000, 383).

A series of frontal, horned images from the Altai Mountains of Mongolia, tentatively dated to the early second millennium B.C.E., have been referred to as images of shamans. Like those from the Angara and Tom' Rivers, the images from the Mongolian site of Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor are faceless, their arms—where they exist—are raised, and their bodies are either in the form of large bell-shapes or bodies within bell-shapes. Several of these figures, however, are associated with female deer, and at least one appears to be a birthing figure (Jacobson, Kubarev, and Tseevendorj 2001, vol. 2, plates 77, 105, 106, 207, 208). Other horned, frontal figures suggesting ancient shamanic figures are well known from painted and engraved slabs found in early Bronze Age burials at Karakol, in the Altai Republic (Kubarev 1988). Animal headed figures, both frontal and profile, from Upper Buret' on the Angara, Karakol, and Tsagaan Salaa IV suggest the merging of the shaman and his animal helper during the shamanic flight. "Feather-headed" figures from Karakol have been related to images known from late Neolithic stone slabs associated with the Okunev culture of the Minusinsk Basin, with feathered heads recorded at the Siberian site of Shalabolin, and even with images from the site of Tamgaly in eastern Kazakhstan. The rich imagery from the Karakol slabs includes frontal figures with large "wings"; at least one similar figure, which has been called a shaman, has been documented at Elanka, on the middle Lena River (Okladnikov 1972), but the antiquity of that image is debatable.

Masks are found at a number of rock art sites in North Asia, most notably along the Amur River (Okladnikov 1981), within the Tom' River sites (Okladnikov and Martynov 1972), and, in abundance, in Upper Yenisey sites such as Mugur-Sargol (Devlet 1980). Dated generally to the early Bronze Age, the masks from Murgur-Sargol are characterized by the rendering of "faces" and horns with unusual appendages. Some scholars see here ancient versions of ethnographically known shamans' masks (Devlet 1980, 244–259). A significant number of masks have been recorded in the Mongolian Altai sites of Khar Yamaa, Tsagaan Salaa, and Baga Oigor (Rozwadowski and Kosko 2002, 99–119). The dates of these images, as well as whether they are truly masks—and if so, what the term *mask* would mean in this context—or whether they refer directly to a spirit world remain open questions (Rozwadowski and Kosko 2002, 103, 104, 105).

Another type of figure, firmly dated to the Bronze Age, has also been referred to as representing a shaman or "shamanic elements" (Devlet and Devlet 2000, 294–306). These figures are found at rock art sites throughout the Altai and Sayan region; they are characterized by mushroom-shaped headdresses and long "tails" terminating in round forms. These figures are usually shown holding spears, staffs, or bows, engaged in a hunt, or—at Kalbak Tash and Baga Oigor IV—posed as if dancing (Kubarev and Jacobson 1996, figs. 429, 452). The mushroom-shaped headdress has been related to the use of the narcotic mushroom, the fly agaric *(Amanita muscaria),* in shamanic ceremonies; what has been seen as a "bull-tail" has been interpreted as indicative of the shaman's animal double or merged animal helper. Dancing figures have been understood as indicators of a shamanic ritual, and hunting scenes are considered to refer to rituals intended to assure the replenishment of the game on which the lives of the tribes depended (Devlet and Devlet 2000, 294–306).

A number of image types are seen as referring to cults associated with the emergence of shamanism—that is, as contingent indicators of either "proto-shamanism" or early shamanism in North Asia. These images include rows of "dancing" figures at such sites as Sagan-Zaba on Lake Baikal, Tiit-Ary on the Lena River, and the Second Stone Island on the Angara

River, with many examples from the Selenga drainage in the Transbaikal and northern Mongolia (Okladnikov and Zaparozhskaia 1970). Other images usually considered to be associated with shamanic traditions are those of profile, ithyphallic figures (Karakol, Kalbak-Tash, Tom' River) and figures in boats (sites on the Tom', Angara, and Lena Rivers and Shalabolin). These last are understood to refer to the journey of the dead to the Underworld (Martynov 1991, 36–38).

Images of water birds are integrated with horned "shamans" at Sagan-Zaba. Painted images of spread-winged raptors, dated to the Bronze or early Iron Age and associated with shamanic traditions are found ubiquitously on rock surfaces from the Selenga drainage (Martynov 1991, 36). Earlier examples of bird imagery that have been held to reflect shamanic traditions include those of a "bird-woman" with feathered body, exposed pubis, claw-like hands and bird-like head, found in late Stone Age or early Bronze Age imagery of Kalbak Tash and Chuluutyn-gol (north-central Mongolia) (Jacobson 1997). The association of the bird-woman at Kalbak-Tash with feathered figures, loop-headed anthropomorphs, and elk, and with bulls at Chuluutyn-gol, have suggested to some scholars a relationship to fertility cults and processes of life and death and, to others, patterns associated with shamanism.

Giants and monstrous images—at, for example, Shishkin (upper Lena River), Cheremyshnyi Log (Minusinsk Basin), and Kalbak-Tash––have also been understood as referring to the Underworld––the third world of the universal shamanic universe (Rozwadowski and Kosko 2002, 110–113). Images of great moose (usually female) have been attested throughout South Siberia, the most splendid examples being from sites along the Angara and Tom' Rivers, and at Shalabolin on the Upper Yenisey. These are generally dated to the late Stone Age and are associated with "protoshamanic" concerns for animal fertility (Okladnikov 1986, 45–55). Later images of elk from petroglyphic sites such as Kalbak-Tash and Shalabolin, or stylized elk with huge antlers—as on the Mongolian "deer stones"––continue that tradition down into the Bronze and late Bronze Age. They indicate to many scholars a shift in significance from a concern with animal fertility to one focused on solar cults associated with shamanic traditions (Martynov 1991, chapter 4). Images of large-antlered deer, rendered in bronze, gold, wood, and felt, indicate that the tradition of the "golden reindeer" associated with the prehistoric emergence of shamanism (Okladnikov 1986) continued down into the early Iron Age.

Shamanic traditions are often traced through the Early Nomads of the Scythian period by reference to the account by Herodotus of the Scythians' use of intoxicants in association with funerary rites (Herodotus, book 4). This account is of questionable value, however: Herodotus did not observe such ceremonies firsthand, and archaeological excavations of intact Central and North Asian Early Nomadic burials indicate that the so-called intoxicants were actually coriander—probably burned to disguise the smell of death. There is little else within Early Nomadic burials to assert or deny a shamanic element within their belief system (Jacobson 1993, 204–211). More certainly indicative of the emergence of a modern shamanic tradition are the bronze plaques associated with early medieval forest cultures of western and central Siberia (Martynov 1991, 90–94). Bronze plaques recovered from hoards found in the regions of the Irtysh and Tom' Rivers include moose, elk, birds, and syncretic and anthropomorphic creatures with horns, antlers, and wings. These images appear to prefigure some of the material culture of shamanism documented in the modern period.

The material evidence that has been and can be marshaled to support shamanism in prehistoric North Asia is extremely rich and varied. The "shamanic" conclusion, first asserted by Okladnikov, is not, however, without appropriate challengers (Francfort 2001). In the case of the earliest anthropomorphic representations, it is not possible to say with certainty what represents a shaman or a spirit, or where a true shamanism replaces a pre- or protoshamanic environment of belief. The mushroom-shaped headdresses worn by images from Pegtymel', Chukotka (Devlet and Devlet 2000, 300–301) have never been satisfactorily dated, nor has their context been explained. The much smaller "mushroom-shaped" headdresses found on human images of the Altai-Sayan uplands were probably fur hats worn by the people in this cold region of Eurasia rather than references to

the fly agaric mushroom. The "tails" worn by these images are likely to have been an early form of long tufted stick still used by native hunters in the Altai Mountains to hypnotize their prey. The "horns" one sees on the heads of many figures in late Bronze Age rock art probably reflect the animal heads still used by hunters to disguise their appearance and smell. Throughout the Altai and Sayan region, the many representations of such figures as hunters could as easily reflect lived reality or early heroic tales as shamanic references.

Images of great moose and elk, like those of bird-women, probably refer to cults of fertility and rebirth earlier than, and unrelated to, shamanism. The very association of bell-shaped figures from the Mongolian site of Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor with female cervids (deer) or with birth-giving suggests that these images reflect a concern for the replenishment of game that does not require shamanism (Jacobson 2001). The representations of boats with figures and of birds may also refer to preshamanic cults of the dead and of the ancestors; or, more simply, these images may reflect the significant phenomenal world of their makers. Within prehistoric North Asian rock art, there are no clear representations of drums or "shaman rattles," arguments to the contrary notwithstanding.

The presumption of a prehistoric basis for North Siberian shamanism requires a careful dating of imagery; unfortunately, many of the most important sites (e.g., those on the Angara and Upper Yenisey Rivers) have been destroyed and can be studied today only through inadequate, drawn reproductions or poor photographs. Others, like Sagan-Zaba, are damaged beyond further scientific use. These several facts recommend caution in accepting established strategies for interpreting prehistoric North Asian art. At the least, the images and their pictorial contexts indicate that there may have been a much longer and more complex development of "preshamanic" and "protoshamanic" traditions than has generally been acknowledged, and that shamanism, as understood today, may be a later development than the materials it is used to explain.

Esther Jacobson-Tepfer

See also: Priestesses of Eurasia; Rock Art and Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Devlet, M. A. 1980. *Petroglify Murgur-Sargola* [Petroglyphs of Murgur-Sargol]. Moscow: Nauka.

Devlet, M., and E. Devlet. 2000. *Dukhovnaya kul'tura drevnikh narodov severnoy i tsentral'noy Azii.* [The spiritual life of the ancient peoples of North and Central Asia]. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen.

Francfort, H.-P. 2001. "Art, Archaeology, and the Prehistories of Shamanism in Inner Asia." Pp. 243–276 in H.-P. Francfort and R. N. Hamayon, *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses.* Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 10. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Jacobson, Esther. 1993. *The Deer-Goddess of Ancient Siberia: A Study in the Ecology of Belief.* Leiden, Holland: E. J. Brill.

———. 1997. "The 'Bird-Woman,' the 'Birthing Woman,' and the 'Woman of the Animals': A Consideration of the Female Image in Petroglyphs of Ancient Central Asia." *Arts Asiatiques* 52: 37–59.

———. 2001. "Shamans, Shamanism, and Anthropomorphizing Imagery in Prehistoric Rock Art of the Mongolian Altai." Pp. 277–294 in *The Concept of Shamanism. Uses and Abuses.* Edited by Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte N. Hamayon. Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 10. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

Jacobson, E., V. D. Kubarev, and D. Tseevendorj. 2001. *Mongolie du Nord-Ouest: Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor* [Northwest Mongolia: Tsagaan-Salaa/Baga Oigor]. Répertoire des Pétroglyphes d'Asie Centrale, fasc. no. 6. Paris: De Boccard.

Kubarev, V. D. 1988. *Drevnie rospisi Karakola* [Ancient rock art of Karakol]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Kubarev, V. D., and E. Jacobson. 1996. *Sibérie du Sud 3: Kalbak-Tash I (République de l'Altai)* [South Siberia 3: Kalbak-Tash I (Altai Republic)]. Répertoire des Pétroglyphes d'Asie centrale, fasc. no. 3. Paris: De Boccard.

Martynov, A. I. 1991. *The Ancient Art of Northern Asia.* Translated by Demitri B. Shimkin and Edith M. Shimkin. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Okladnikov, Aleksei P. 1966. *Petroglify Angary* [Petroglyphs of the Angara River]. Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka.

———. 1972. *Petroglify Sredney Leny* [Petroglyphs of the middle Lena River]. Leningrad: Nauka.

———. 1974. *Petroglify Baykala* [Petroglyphs of Lake Baikal]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

———. 1981. *Ancient Art of the Amur Region.* Leningrad: Aurora Publishers.

———. 1986. *Olen' zolotye roga* [The deer with golden antlers]. Khabarovsk: Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo.

Okladnikov, A. P., and A. I. Martynov. 1972. *Sokrovishcha tomskikh pisanits* [The treasure of the Tom River petroglyphs]. Moscow: Iskusstvo.

Okladinikov, Aleksei P., and V. D. Zaporozhskaia. 1970. *Petroglify zabaikal'ia Chasti* [Petroglyphs of eastern Baikal]. Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Nauka.

Pyatkin, B. N., and A. I. Martynov. 1985. *Shalabolinskie Petroglify* [Petroglyphs of Shalabolino]. Krasnoyarsk: Izd-vo Krasnoyarskogo Universiteta.

Rozwadowski, A., and M. M. Kosko, eds. 2002. *Spirits and Stones: Shamanism and Rock Art in Central Asia and Siberia.* Poznan: Adam Mickiewicz University.

"BLACK" SHAMANS, "WHITE" SHAMANS

The division of shamans into "black" and "white" is a creation of Mongolian and Russian scholars of shamanism, not a distinction clearly found among native peoples. The issue is controversial because there is insufficient data and no agreement among scholars; moreover, there is a category of black-and-white shamans. The distinction has nevertheless been applied to Buryat, Sakha (Yakut), Khakass, Tuvan, and Altai peoples in Siberian Russia (Anokhin 1924).

The most widely accepted current distinction is based on the ability of white shamans to travel to the Upper World while being prohibited from communicating with the Lower World. Not all black shamans travel to the Lower Worlds, however. While those among Yakut and Altai people do, Buryats go to the east for their *kamlanye* (shaman ritual).

In most respects, black shamans resemble white shamans, but they have been categorized according to the mythical cosmological duality of the universe, seen as divided into distinct moral realms of "good" and "evil." Thus black shamans receive their powers from demonic spirits, have considerable magical power to penetrate far into the Lower Worlds, and use sorcery. They are sometimes identified as sorcerers rather than shamans. They have often been described as acting in immoral ways, having a predilection for associating with evil spirits, and doing harm. For example, among the Nganasan, Tuvan, and Khakass peoples, black shamans may steal a healthy person's soul, killing him, to replace the soul of their patient. When treating sterility they do not appeal to deities but, instead, steal the soul of a child from a big family, killing a living child to allow another to be born (Tuvan and Khakass *chek kham,* "soul eaters"). Black shamans also initiate shamans' wars (*chek kham*), in which one shaman "eats" an enemy shaman's soul, killing him. In comparison, white shamans are comparatively weak and are unable to do harm.

Groups that do not categorize shamans into white and black may nevertheless distinguish them according to the worlds they communicated with, as reflected in the shaman's costume. For example, prior to the Soviet period, Urmiysk Evenki shamans who are *uginik tekechi* (having roots from above) performed kamlanye in a processed elk skin, while those having their origin in the Lower World (*harginik tekechi*) performed kamlanye in a bear skin dress. Transbaikal Evenki shamans had different types of breastplates: In contrast to the bare breastplate of a white shaman, a "dark" shaman's breastplate included metal anthropomorphic and zoomorphic effigies that represented the shaman's clan and animal helping spirits. However, a shaman could also have two dresses: one worn to travel to the Lower World, the other one for the Upper World, the choice depending on which ritual was to be performed.

Black shamans of these Siberian groups have assistant spirits, perform their kamlanye at night, use altered states of consciousness frequently, have a drum, and wear a specific costume, which shows their powers and protects them from harm. Most black shaman rites are propitiatory appeals to heavenly deities. These include animal sacrifice and publicly performed *algys* (shamanic hymn) accompanied by out-

door feasts. These most often take place in the spring and summer, usually in July. Vodka and *araky* (a mildly fermented drink) are prohibited; only milk from a white mare or from a cow milked by a virgin can be used, and a sacrifice of a white-colored animal, either a goat or sheep, is made. Sociologically, black shamans tend to be poorer and have lower social status. Since women were in the past considered impure, and could not appeal to heavenly deities, they were unable to be white shamans and became black shamans. This restriction no longer holds among contemporary female shamans in these areas.

By the early twentieth century, Buryat shamans connected their origins with either a "white" or a "black" root *(utkha),* a distinction whose meaning is now lost. The distinction might have been due to higher levels of society adopting monotheistic religions, or the black root might have implied kinship with ignoble clans. Buryat shamans with a white root (*sagaan utkha*) addressed themselves to the western *tengerin* (heavenly deities) during their rituals. Among the Buryats, white shamans could either be those with white shaman ancestors, or those who obtained a "sky root" directly from the power of gods: for example, when a near blood relative was struck by lightning, or when a "heavenly shell" (a Paleolithic or Bronze Age artifact) was found. Gradually shamans inheriting both black and white utkha appeared. Currently, in some areas, such as the Aginsk region, shamans receive black initiations as well as white ones, with one initiation conducted immediately after the other.

According to Buryat folklore, the first shaman was an eagle who sent good spirits to protect people from bad spirits. Since people did not understand his speech, they mistrusted him, so the eagle asked the spirits either to lend him human speech or to give his mission to a Buryat. The good spirits granted him his second request, and upon their command, the first shaman sprang from the union of the eagle with a Buryat woman (Nioradze 1925).

Buryat black shamans addressed their entreaties to eastern *tengrin* (deities) and maintained traditional techniques of rites and rituals, wherein magic, sorcerer's rituals, and illegal sacrifice were of major importance. For example, the black ritual, *khara khereg,* was a sacrifice to a spirit named Azharaj-bukhe, performed with a black sheep and factory-produced vodka on a moonless night. Azhiraj (literally, "devil") was a real person in the seventeenth century, a strong man who later became a protecting spirit of Buryat warriors. According to some sources, voluntary conversions of white shamans into black shamans took place, but Berngard Petri (1923) stated that the reverse conversion was impossible. Black shamans customarily wore a complex blue-colored dress and were buried in a blue fur coat *(orgoj),* whereas white shamans were buried in a white one.

In the case of the Sakha (Yakut), the situation was complicated by the so-called blacksmith shamans *(darkhan).* They were considered by some informants and scholars to be black shamans, connected with sorcery and evil spirits, wheras others subdivided them into black and white categories. Sakha black shamans *(abasy ojuna)* are contrasted with *algyschi* and *ajy ojuna* (white shamans). Their souls were milk-fed from nursing bottles in special cradles by Lower World spirits. Similar to Buryat black shamans, they had hypnotic abilities and did extraordinary feats while in altered states of consciousness—for example, they licked hard steel, inflicted and healed injuries, and levitated.

Among the Altai people, black shamans *(kara kam)* appealed to all the *töstör*-spirits, primarily to the spirits of the earth and to the master of the Lower World, Erlik. Kara kam dealt with the spirits of the west and sacrificed black animals, whereas white shamans *(ak kam)* did not appeal to Erlik.

The Kirghiz people did not make a clear distinction between black and white shamans. Distinguished *kara bakshi* (black shamans) were considered to be strong, yet weak by comparison to *ak bakshi* (white shamans). According to some references, Kazaks had *kara baksy* (black healers) who were considered to be weaker than *ak shajtandy baksy* (healers with a white devil), yet who performed as both shamans and *duagej baksy* (conjurers).

Tuvans have a complicated cosmology with a Black Sky *(kara deer)* situated beyond the upper sky strata, which controls global cataclysms. Only outstanding shamans can reach kara deer during kamlanye; both these shamans and the shamans who received their power from kara deer were considered as the strongest.

White shamans are not clearly distinguished from black shamans even among the Buryat and Sakha people, and there are differences between types of white shamans within these two groups. Sakha white shamans are connected with the cattle-breeding cult of heavenly deities *(aiyy).* White shamans *(yuryung ai oyuna)*—also called "summer" *(saingy)* since their rite was (and still is) held in the summer—were priests of the fertility cult *yysakh.* They appealed to the deities inhabiting the east: the protector of horse-breeding, Uordakh-Dzhesegei-Aiyy; the protectress of cattle, Isegei Aiyysyt; the master of the sun and fire, Ynakhsyt Khotun; the forefather of shamans, Khotoi-Aiyy (the eagle *khotoi*); and the protectress of procreation, Aiyysyt.

It has been suggested that Buryat white shamans originally were either shamans who belonged to, or worked for, aristocratic clans and the ruling clique, and that they emerged during social stratification to supplant previously existing shamans. Alternatively, they may have been priests of ancient tribal cults who appeared as the result of an earlier tribal system's disintegration and absorption by the Buryats. Among the Sakha (Yakuts) the process developed more slowly, and the original cult has elements that still exist separately from more recent shamanism. One example of this is the Yakut rite of obtaining children's souls *(Aiyyhye tardar).* Evidence of white shamans as representatives of aristocratic clans and priests of high standing comes from Chinese historians concerning the existence of court shamans among the Kidans and Mongols. They also wrote about shamans in the Chinggis (Genghis) Khan epoch, the early thirteenth century, called *beki,* or *zaarin,* who served the higher classes wearing white dresses and riding white horses (Cleaves 1982).

Among the tribal groups discussed above, it was customary that white shamans addressed heavenly deities in their rites. Most were men and wore light-colored or white dress or costume. By tradition, they were not allowed to come to patrimonial clan rites; for example, they could not attend prayers on the clan's mountains among the Khakass. When performing rituals the white shaman often did not use a drum, nor did they wear a shaman's costume or headdress. They did not need to enter altered states of consciousness. Moreover, experiencing "shaman's sickness" was not a necessary prerequisite to becoming a priest of the heavenly deities. When communicating with deities and spirits during a ritual, a white shaman did not travel himself but instead invited those beings to be present, a technique thought to be a recent development.

White shamans were highly respected and could make changes in the ritual practices and in the pantheon. The origin of white shamans *(algyschy)* is sometimes traced to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at a time when a "white faith"—*Akh Chayan*—was known among the Khakass people. In the early twentieth century a nativistic movement known as Burkhanism arose in the nearby Altai region; it promulgated a cult of a white horse carrying a rider dressed in white. This movement, however, had nothing to do with white shamans; rather it struggled against shamanism, which it denounced as a "black faith."

Analogies have been drawn to some originally pagan cultures influenced by monotheism and now characterized by syncretism: In Slavic cultures, for example, there are healers and sorcerers whose practices are distinguished as either white magic (praying to God), or as black (communicating with Satan and pagan deities). Another parallel can be found in Sumatra, where *sibaso* and *datu* among the Bataks can be referred to as black and white shamans.

Valentina Kharitonova

See also: Buryat Shamanism; Central and South American Shamanism; Darkhad Shamanism; Evenki Shamanism; Finno-Ugric Shamanism; Kanaimà Shamanism; Khakass Shamanism; Sakha Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism; Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Alekseev, Nikolai A. 1959. "Kult ajyy—plemennyh bozhestv, pokrowitelej jakutov" [Cult of Spirits—The clan gods, patrons of the Yakuts]. *Etnograficheskij sbornik* 5: 145–170.

Anokhin, Andrei V. 1924. *Materialy po shamanstvu u altaitsev* [Materials on shamanism among the Altai]. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo RAN.

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1992. *Shamanstvo u narodov Srednej Azii i Kazakhstana* [Shamanhood among the people of Middle Asia and Kazakhstan]. Moskva: Nauka.

Cleaves, Francis Woodman. 1982. *The Secret History of the Mongols.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Czaplicka, M. A. 1914. *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology.* Oxford.

Dugarov, Dashinima S. 1991. *Istoricheskie korni belogo shamanstva (na materiale obriadovogo fol'klora buriat* [Historical roots of white shamanhood (based on materials of ritual folklore of the Buryats)]. Moskva: Nauka.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Holmber-Harva, Uno. 1938. "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker" [Religious Performances of the Altai Folk]. *Folklore Fellows Communications* 52: 125.

Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush B. 1995. *Algyshy tuvinskih shamanov* [Algish of Tuvan Shamans]. Kyzyl: Novosti Tuvy.

Krader, Lawrence. 1956. "A Nativistic Movement in Western Siberia." *American Anthropologist* 58: 282–292.

Ksenofontov, Gavriil V. 1992. *Shamanism. Izbrannye trudy* [Shamanism. Selected works]. Jakutsk: Sever—Jug.

Mikhailowski, V. M. 1894. "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 24: 62–100, 126–158.

Mikhajlov, Taras M. 1987. *Buriyatskii shamanizm: istoriya, struktura i socialniye funkcii* [Buryat shamanism: History, structure, and social functions]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Nioradze, Georg. 1925. *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern* [Shamanism among the Siberian Peoples]. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder.

Petri, Berngard E. 1923 "Shkola shamanov u severnykh buriat" [Shamans' school among Northern Buryats]. *Sbornik trudov professorov i prepodavatelej Gosudarstvennogo Irkutskogo Universiteta* 5: 404–424.

Sandschejew, Garma. 1927, 1928. "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten" [Worldview and Shamanism of the Alar Buryat]. *Anthropos* 22: 576–614, 933–956; 23: 538–561, 967–987.

Schmidt, Wilhelm. 1931, 1949, 1955. *Die Ursprung der Gottesidee* [The origin of the Idea of God], vols. 3, 9, 11. München.

Zelenin, Dmitrii K. 1936. *Kult ongonov v Sibiri* [Cult of Ongon in Siberia]. Moskva and Leningrad: Nauka.

Zolotariov, Aleksandr M. 1964. *Rodovoi stroi i pervobytnaya mifologiya* [Clan organization and primitive mythology]. Moskva: Nauka.

BURYAT SHAMANISM (MONGOLIA)

The Buryats are a Mongolian people who have lived in Outer Mongolia, primarily in several northeastern provinces and in the Buryat Republic of the Russian Federation. Although a somewhat larger majority of Buryats (about 300,000 people) live in the Buryat Republic, east and west of Lake Baikal, this entry focuses on Buryat shamanism as practiced in Mongolia presently. There is a close relationship between the Buryat Mongolians and the Buryat Russians, since prior to the establishment of the USSR there was free movement of these pastoral, herding peoples between Russia and Mongolia. The history of the area around Lake Baikal shows that by the eleventh century Mongol-speaking tribes were inhabitants of that area (Fridman 2004, 100). There has, however, been a lot of nomadizing back and forth from the southern areas of the Buryat republic to nearby lands in Mongolia. By the early twenty-first century, three larger Buryat groups (numbering in the tens of thousands all together), namely, the Aga, Khori, and Tunka, live in the following districts (*aimag*) of Mongolia: Khentei, Dornod, Selenge, Bulgan, and Hövsgöl. Some scattered families live in Töv, and of course there are Buryat Mongols who live outside these areas, in Ulaanbaatar, the capital, and other areas.

Subsequent to the collapse of the USSR in December 1991 and the opening up of Mongolia at that time, shamanism has regenerated and flourished in Mongolia, and the Buryat Mongolian shamans have been very active, starting with a conference at Lake Baikal in June 1996, in bringing shamanic traditions and ceremonial rituals to the Buryat shamans in Russia, who lost more of their traditional shamanic knowledge during the Soviet period. Although repression of religion and shamanism

Buryat Mongolian shaman at initiation at Lake Baikal, Buryatia, Siberia, Russia (1996). (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman)

was also very strong in Mongolia during this period (known as the Socialist period), because it was somewhat further from the centers of power, Mongolian shamanism has kept a more pure and traditional form. For further information on the regeneration of shamanism in the Buryat republic of Russia, see Fridman 2004, 89–209.

The Buryats were originally called forest people since their basic source of living was hunting, but at least since the beginning of the twentieth century, they have become cattle breeders. They have preserved numerous features of their hunting way of life even up to the present, among them hunting rituals, folklore, and a special kind of shamanism. Although the Buryats live in a Khalkh-dominated language and cultural environment and their own language and culture are strongly influenced by the Khalkh (eastern Mongolians who form the majority of the population of Outer Mongolia), their belief system still retains several original Buryat features.

The shamanism of the Buryats in Mongolia contains several elements similar to that of the population in the Buryat Republic, such as the strongly dualistic character of the mythology and of the world concept embodied in that mythology, and the important role of the initiation process, called *šanar.*

Types of Shamans

According to recent accounts, both types of shamans, the *xariin böö,* "black shaman," and *sagaan böö,* "white shaman," exist among the Mongolian Buryats. J̌. Coloo, who carried out fieldwork among the Buryat in the 1970s and 1980s, informed the author that there are also traces of the so-called *šariin böö,* "yellow shaman," or "shaman-lama" among the Buryats (personal communication). Beatrice Kümin mentioned in a recent article that most of the shamans are not pure black or pure white, but black-white or white-black, depending on their main protectors (Kümin 2001, 4–5).

White and black shamans use different paraphernalia (see Table 1). The black shamans have preserved the traditional type of garment, whereas the costume of the white shamans is similar to the Buryat traditional national costume and contains several parts of Buddhist origin. The headgear (*buumal cagaan orgoi,* "white headgear of the descended [god or spirit]") is similar to that worn by lamas during the performance of tantric rituals. Black shamans (or black-white shamans) use both drum *(xese)* and staff *(horibo)* during rituals, whereas white shamans use only the staff, which is different from that of the black shaman.

Mythical Background

The mythical background of shamanism among the Buryats in Mongolia is similar to the Buryat mythology, as noted by Taras Mikhailov (1987), with the opposition of the fifty-five benevolent Western deities under the guidance of Esege Malaan and Xaan Tyurmas, and forty-four harmful Eastern deities under the guidance of Ataa Ulaan (Birtalan 2001, 901–903). The deities are called *tenger,* a well-

TABLE I

Costume and Headgear	Black Shaman	White Shaman
headgear	(*maixabši*) mask with fringe; later: (*orgoi, duulga*) "helmet" or metal crown with antlers	(*buumal cagaan orgoi*) "white headgear of the descended god"
garment (degel)	made of skin of red-deer, with the imitation of skeleton, and heart, made of metal	made of blue silk (similar to the Buriat national garment),
Parts of Garment		
mirror	(*toli*) fixed to the bust of the garment	
a kind of cape	(*arxaali*) with lot of ribbons, bells, and two snake-shaped parts on the shoulders	
belt		(*büs*) silk belt
ribbon	(*jawdar*) ribbons made of brocade attached to the headgear (four pieces), to the backside of the garment (four pieces) etc.	
feathers	(*söd*) attached to the garment of shamans who completed twelve šanar-s	
idols	(*šagnuul*) lit.: "observer" a metal figure of a wild boar, worn on the right hip in order to observe the earth; (*turšuul*) lit.: "patrol" a textile figure of raven, attached to the garment in order to send ravens as messengers	
bell	(*belbegnüür xonx*) small bells of lion shape, attached to the garment, headgear, and knife	
Some Important Objects		
whip	(*bardag*) its handle is made of tamarisk and of horn of a three-years-old elk, and its thongs are made of skin of burbot fish, 9 or 10 symbolical weapons (such as arrow and bow, sword, pincers, hammer, anvil, etc.)	
drum	(*xese*) a round drum, covered with the skin of yellow goat, with nine metal pieces, and attached to it silk offerings (*xadag*)	
drumstick	(*toibuur*) made of birch tree and covered with the skin of matar (*sic!*) fish	
string of oval metal pieces	(*xolbogo*) is attached to the whip and the drumstick	
knife	(*hülder*)	
staff	(*horibo*) a pair of horse staffs, with metal pieces, ribbons, symbolical boat, paddle, tether, hobble	(*tayag*)
bell		(*xonx*) of different size
Jew's harp		(*aman xuur*)
rosary		(*erx*)
sabre		(*maxir selem or hülder*) for rituals, when the shaman demonstrates his deep trance with the licking of its edge

SOURCES: Gantogtox 1996: 79–80; Gantogtox, Kara, and Coloo 1998: 95–140.

known Central Asian designation among Mongolian and Turkic people. The division between good and bad deities in the sphere of the gods, the upper world, or sky, is reflected also in the sphere of the spirits, the middle (human) world. The Buryats, like other Mongolian groups, worship the so-called lords *(xan, noyon),* owner spirits *(ežen)* of the earth. Although the world of these spirits is divided, like the sky, the world of the gods, into benevolent Western and harmful Eastern parts, most of the spirits could be considered as ambivalent beings, in the sense that they can be offended by careless people and so made harmful. The world concept of the Mongols differentiates a third world layer (the Underworld) as well, under the guidance of Erlen Khan, but the phenomenon is strongly influenced by the Buddhist concept of hell.

One of the most important zoomorphic ancestor spirits of the Siberian Buryats is Buxa Noyon Baabai, the "Respected Bull Lord"; his worship can be found among the Buryats and also other Mongolian groups. The worship of the swan *(xun šubuun)* is important in the southern regions of the Buryat Republic and also among other neighbouring peoples (Manchu, Chinese), and it also plays a distinguished role among the Mongolian Buryats. Some shamans connect their šanar ritual with the return of the swans (Kümin 2001, 7). The world of spirits of the middle sphere is the central focus of worship, and the types of spirits mentioned above, along with the protectors, ancestors of the shamans, the *ongod* (plural of *ongon*), are also mediators between the shaman and the upper world of deities.

One of the main tasks of Mongolian and Buryat shamans is to pacify the angry spirits, and therefore all other activities, such as divination (including the finding of lost properties), healing, sending off the soul, and carrying out offerings for different purposes, are organized around this function (Birtalan 1993, 1–10). The numerous deities, especially the protector spirits, play important roles in the invocations used in rituals. The worship of a malevolent Eastern deity, Xisaan Ulaan Tenger (Red Khisan deity), is connected with a consecration ritual used for family purposes. This ritual does not require a bloody sacrifice; the chosen domestic animal, a red bausond (a piebald animal with white spots) ram, is marked with a piece of blue silk, a *xadag,* and is no longer used for work. It is forbidden to slaughter a consecrated *(heterlehen)* animal.

The Šanar

One of the most important rituals for Buryat black shamans is the šanar, which means not only "system (or chain) of initiations" (well described in the literature), but also a kind of purification ritual in a wider sense. (The initiation process of white or white-black shamans is called *šandruu.*) Thus the purpose of the ritual is double: The shaman receives a higher rank of initiation, and the members of the shaman's community can order purification rituals (usually on the third day of the šanar), in order to banish bad luck, illness, and the like. The Buryat term *čanar* (in written Mongolian *šinar,* in Khalkh Mongolian *čanar*) means "quality" in the written and spoken Mongolian languages; in this case it refers to improving the quality of the power and skills of the shaman. During the series of initiation rituals, the ability and the skills of the shaman continue to improve. Byambiin Rinčen, one of the foremost researchers in the area of Mongolian shamanism, was the first to describe the šanar initiation of the Mongolian Buryats (Rinčen 1961, 128–137), followed by G. Gantogtox (1996, 1997) and Kümin (2001), who have described the current form of the ritual. The following outline of the most important steps and the objects used in the ritual is based on the accounts of Rinčen and Gantogtox. Since there are of course many differences between the rituals in different territories, and even those done by different shamans in the same territory, this outline contains only the general features. (See also Tkacz, Zhambalov, Phipps and Khantaev 2002.)

The Ritual Place

The ritual place *(derbelge)* symbolically becomes a place for the rebirth of the shaman, a process that will be repeated twelve or thirteen times to complete a whole initiation, so that the shaman may become a *zairan* (highest degree of shaman). The ritual aims to keep and foster the shaman's agnation (clan lineage), the *udxa* (root). The dualistic principles associated

with the mythical background of Buryat shamanism appear in the ritual place, such as the cosmic principles and phenomena of ancestorship: the Sun and the Moon, the father and the mother, the old and the young, the animal and the human being. An important phenomenon is fertility and rebirth (father, mother, nests with eggs). Eighty-one (nine times nine) or twenty-seven or sixty-three birch trees *(xuhu)* constitute the frame of the ritual place, which is called *exe derbelge.* There are two more trees of larger size with roots in the ground (the rest are only put in the soil without roots) called father tree *(esege modon)* and mother tree *(exe modon).* One tree is set up to the west of the eighty-one trees, for the purpose of tying the horses of the invited spirits to it; it is called *serge,* "post tree." Although most of the symbolical paraphernalia is attached to the father and mother trees, in some cases there is a special tree for the nests called *üür modon,* "nest tree." The trees and the tent, a yurt *(ger),* are connected with a golden (or yellow) rope. Pelts and skins of different wild animals (squirrel, ermine, sable) and small axes *(tamruur)* shaped of birch bark hang on the trees. All the trees will be respectfully carried *(zalax)* to a distant place after the ritual, and will be put on a pure place such as the edge of a riverbed.

Behind the mother tree there is a tent (*xürž*) covered with felt, which is the place of the descending ongons. Between the tent and the temporary yurt built at the Northern edge of the ritual place there is a line of nine more birch trees. The yurt is built for the offerings; the nine trees are set up for nine children who are assistants *(yühenšin)* of the shaman.

Objects and Paraphernalia

Further objects and paraphernalia on the ritual place symbolize the cosmic background of the šanar; there is a red sun (on the father tree) and a white moon (on the mother tree) made of textile or silk. Three nests *(üür)* are set on the mother tree with three eggs made of wool in each nest (nine altogether), and four wedges *(šaantag)* are stuck at its roots (symbols of the four cardinal points of the world). There are some symbolic objects on the father tree too, representing the mount of the shaman: reins, made of elk's skin *(sumnaar).*

Dedushka Gavril, Buryat Mongolian shaman, Dornod province, Mongolia, 2000. (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman)

Time and Participants

The šanar is carried out in the first summer month and continues for three days.

The šanar, performed for the promotion of the shaman candidate, is conducted by another shaman of higher rank. Members of the shaman's community represent the clan ancestors and the shaman protectors: Two elderly people act as the spiritual mother and father *(exe, esege)* of the shaman, and nine children, three girls and six boys *(yühenšin),* represent nine protector spirits.

Offerings on the Occasion of the Šanar and the Process of the Ritual

Both bloody and bloodless offerings are performed during the šanar. A sheep of a blue-gray color will be offered for the šanar, and particular parts of the meat will be offered to the on-

Fragment of a Buriat Shaman Invocation to the Lord of the Drum

Xüügen n´üden	The pupil of (his) eye (is) told
Xüren er´een bürged güülen	to be (the) brown stripped (eagle)
Daiban xara xesiim	he descended governing
Ezeleže buuhan la.	my huge black drum.
Dalan želde daxahan la	Governing my seventy tongued
Dalan xeletei	drumstick
Toibuuriiyiim ezelže	that obeyed me for seventy years
Danžinai xübüün Bolod …	(you) Bolod, Danžin's son …

SOURCE: Gantogtox, Kara, and Coloo 1998: 124, translated by G. Kara

gons, and then consumed by the participants during the three days of the ritual. Apart from the meat, sacred white food *(sagaan idee),* consisting of some sugar, fruits, and homemade pastry, are part of the food offering. The guests and those who order a purification ritual also bring sacred pieces of blue or white silk, the *xadag,* as a kind of offering.

The ritual begins, as other shamanic rituals do, with the purification of the ritual place (with juniper, *arsa*) and the clothing of the shaman. The shaman puts on ritual garments (see Table 1) and starts a drumming invocation. In the meantime the nine child assistants also put on their special clothes and start the purification ritual, circumambulating the fire in the yurt. The šanar must start before sunset. The shaman and the nine children offer xadag to the spiritual father and mother, and the shaman continues the ritual, namely, invoking different deities and spirits. During the ritual the shaman and the nine children walk around the ritual place. Invocations and walking continue for three days. A fragment of one of the invocations used gives the flavor of this central ritual.

Ágnes Birtalan

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Colonialism and Shamanism; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Horses; Initiation; Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices; Khakass Shamanism; Kirghiz Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Texts; Siberian Shamanism; Transformation; Trees; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Birtalan, Ágnes. 1993. "Scapulimancy and Purifying Ceremony (New Data on the Darqad Shamanism on the Basis of Materials Collected in 1992)." *Proceedings of the 35th PIAC* (Taipei, Taiwan): 1–10.

———. 2001. "Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion." *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* 34. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag: 879–1097.

Even, Marie-Dominique. 1988–1989. *Chants de chamanes mongols.* Études mongoles . . . et sibériennes 19–20. Nanterre: Centre d'études Mongoles.

Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann. 2004. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism among the Buddhist Peoples of Russia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Gantogtox, G. 1994a. "Rituel de consécration du bélier à Ciel-Rouge-de-Vengeance." *Variations chamaniques* 1: 101–110.

———. 1994b. "Fragments de cérémonies chamaniques des Bouriates de Mongolie." *Variations chamaniques* 1: 111–129.

———. 1996. "Böö mörgöl" [Shamanism]. *Mongol Ulsiin ugsaatnii jüi* [Ethnography of Mongolia] 3: 78–85.

———. 1997. "Derwelge modnii üg xelleg" [The terminology of Derwelge trees]. *Erdem šinǰilgeenii bičig* [Academic Writings] 9: 45–55.

Gantogtox, G., G. Kara, and J̌. Coloo. 1998. "Buryat Shaman Songs and Rites." *Uran joxiol sudlal* [Studies on Literature]5: 95–140.

Kümin, Beatrice. 2001. "Climbing Trees: The Transmission of Knowledge in Buryat Shamanism." *Shaman* 9, no. 1 (spring): 3–18.

Mikhailov, Taras M. 1987. *Buryatskii Shamanizm* [Buryat Shamanism]. Novosibirsk: Izdabelstvo Nauka Siberskoe ordelenie.

Rinčen, Byambiin. 1961. *Matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol II. Textes chamanistes bouriates.* Asiatische Forschungen 8. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Sarangerel (Stewart, Julie Ann). 2000. *Riding Windhorses.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

Schenk, Amélie. 2000. *Herr des schwarzen Himmels. Zeren Baawai—Schamane der Mongolei.* Bern, München, Wien: O. W. Barth.

Tkacz, Virlana, Sayan Zhambalov, Wanda Phipps, and Alexander Khantaev. 2002. *Shanar.* New York: Parabola.

DARKHAD SHAMANISM (MONGOLIA)

Darkhads are an ethnic minority living in the northwestern part of the Mongolian Republic. The group is thought to have originated from Darhan tribes who lived in Barguujin, on the western banks of Lake Baikal. According to Khodöögiin Perlee, they moved to the banks of the Onon River in the second half of the twelfth century. Since the beginning of the thirteenth century, Black *(Uhaa)* Darkhads have lived on the eastern side of Lake Hubsugul, within the basin of the Chishged and Beltes Rivers. Darkhads retain a very strong tradition of shamanism, closely connected with their history and geography. Shamans treat the soul and mind and eliminate all obstacles by different types of tools and techniques. Since ancient times they have been healers and have helped people overcome bad luck and obstacles. Throughout Mongolia, shamans are divided into black and yellow. Traditional shamans, who retain the original shamanic worldview and traditions, are called black shamans. Shamans who have adopted Buddhist ideas and shamanize under the auspices of Buddhist monasteries are yellow shamans. Darkhad shamans have remained essentially black throughout the past 600 years and still have a leading position in Mongolian shamanism.

As noted in *The Secret History of the Mongols,* a classical work on Mongol history (Manlajav 1990), Darkhads were trusted servants of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan (120, 124, 219). When the Mongolian administrative organization was established, Darkhads were placed under the authority of two feudal lords close to Chinggis Khan, Boorchi and Muhulai. At the end of the seventeenth century, attempts were made to found Buddhist monasteries in the Darkhad region, but faced with the opposition of shamans, the monasteries were destroyed, and the lamas were chased away. In 1750 large Buddhist monasteries were rebuilt. Nevertheless, the isolated location of the Darkhads near the border and their privileged status as subjects liable directly to Bogdokhan (the Holy Grand Lama, ruler of autonomous Mongolia), a status that caused them to have a special "Darkhad Road" to the capital, became obstacles to Buddhist expansion. To increase Buddhist influence, Buddhists developed syncretic modalities rare in other areas of Mongolia, such as the initiation and worship of shaman *ongons* (spirits of deceased shamans) in a Buddhist manner by lamas, and the discovery of emerging lamas among shaman lineages. Simultaneously, Buddhist doctrine was propagated. Although the Buddhist monasteries were again destroyed in the twentieth century during the Communist period, shamanism remained alive among the Darkhad people. It is now limited to shamanizing on an individual basis, by invitation of a family or a sick person, but new shamans have again begun to study under older shamans.

Depending on the source of their power, Darkhads have traditionally divided shamans into three categories, depending on whether they used the power of human souls, in the form of ongons, water and nature spirits *(Lu),* or the Sky. At present, shamans who use the power of the Sky are absent, and shamans who are powered by Lu, or nature spirits, have become rare. Most contemporary shamans derive their power from the souls of deceased shamans, ongons.

In the cosmology of Darkhad shamanism, the world emerged as chaos. It collapsed, and was divided into Sky and Earth. Sky is the Creative Father, and Earth is the Mother. Together Sky and Earth formed all created substances. During the world collapse, fire emerged, surrounded by living forms. Fire is the father of light, acme of purity and symbol of power and regeneration. As do other Mongolians, Darkhads interpret the family hearth (*gal golomt,* which is both an actual location and a key symbol) as a part of the state hearth; that is, the fire-hearth of the state consists of the total of the hearths of all the families. Darkhad shamans have traditionally considered that every religion should be under the rule of the state; they respect the state to such a high de-

gree that they refer to it as the "High State." Darkhads worship the state standard (home of its tutelary genius), the white and black banners, and other emblems of the state, practices that developed among the Mongols at the time of the early formation of the state under Chinggis Khan.

Darkhad shamans perceive the world as divided into three strata, upper, middle, and lower. Human beings and animals live in the Middle World. In the Lower World, or Hell, are devils and demons, who spread evil and serious illness (Purev 2002, 79). The crown of the Sacred Tree (*axis mundi,* "the axis of the world") is located in the Upper World. The Upper World, also known as the High Continent, is the most sacred, and constantly struggles with the Lower World to protect the Middle World from misfortune and trouble.

As it was originally considered that Heaven had nine strata (nine being a sacred number), Darkhad shamanism has nine skies (sacred locations also considered deities). These consist of the State Tutelary genius, Heath, People, Father, Mother, Children, Cattle, Chattels (Goods/Materials), and Food. In common with skies of ongons, Lu, and other spirits, later concepts of Heaven stated that there were altogether ninety-nine skies, fifty-five of the west and forty-four in the east. Darkhads made libations of nine ritual sprinklings of milk by spoons with nine holes for those skies.

Black shamans also divide the universe into light and dark worlds. Our world is the Light World, whereas the Dark World is inhabited by spirits and souls. The Dark World is an empty space without destiny, attractiveness, or life. Shamans share a concept that ongons exist in the Dark World by radiating special light from their own bodies. The Dark World is understood as a lower stratum of Heaven, a space for both ongons and for human spirits. The shamans interact widely during their travel through the Dark World, meeting and talking with ongons, other spirits, and lords of that world, transmitting people's requests, desires, and wishes from the Light World to them and returning with replies and advice (Purev 2002, 127–129).

Mongolian shamans consider that people and animals have three kinds of souls. Two of these souls are mortal, but one is immortal. According to shamans, one soul comes from the maternal side (the soul that governs flesh and blood), a second is a bone soul from the paternal side, and the third soul comes from the spirits of Heaven. This third soul, transmigrated from other humans, is the vital soul. The flesh and blood soul is located in the muscles, migrating from one to another. It remains in the heart at the time of death. When the heart stops, this body soul vanishes. The bone soul is mortal, too, moving through skeleton bones. Its final location is in the pelvic bones, and it disappears when all the pelvic bones have decayed (Purev 2002, 138). The vital soul transmigrates from the Dark World to a baby in the womb, traveling through the ring finger of the infant's left hand to its spinal cord, and then migrates into the brain, spinal column, veins, and arteries. After death, it stays for a time between the first and second spinal cervical vertebra; later, seeing the light, it moves away to the Dark World and, eventually, to another fetus. Sometimes, because of fear or fright, a vital soul leaves the body or becomes lost after death, unable to find a person into whom it can transmigrate. Ordinarily, people cannot see the light of the vital soul, but some remarkable persons are able to see it. For example, in *The Secret History of Mongols,* Mother Alun-goo saw the soul of a being called the yellow lightning person (Manlajav 1990, 21).

Darkhad shamans believe that the Sky, Earth, Land, and Water each have their own master spirits. People are connected with Spirit-Lords, as well as with Khormusda (the chief of the thirty-three gods) and Lus (water spirits). After death shamans become ongons and are worshipped. Ongons are divided into home and field ongons. If within three years of his death, descendants of a shaman have enlivened his soul into an ongon by consecrating an idol and placing it for worship in the home, it is a home ongon. If, following the instructions of the dead shaman, the descendants build a special shelter in an open space and place there the artifacts of the dead shaman and there enliven the idol and worship it, those ongons are field ongons. Darkhads named such a shelter Ongon's Pavilion or called it Ongons with Pavilion. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were approximately 600 pavilions on the eastern banks of Lake Hubsugul. During Communism most of them were burned, but some traces still exist. Peculiarities of location and

construction of the pavilions reflect differences of social organization of different Darkhad groups.

Otgonu Purev

See also: Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Banzarov, Dorji. 1997. *Collected Works.* Ulan-Ude: Izdatelstvo BNT "S".

Buyanbat, H. 1985. *About Mongolian Shamanic Religion.* Hoh Hot, Inner Mongolia.

Dalay, Ch. 1959. *The Short History of Mongolian Shamanism.* Ulaanbaatar: Shuakh.

Manlajav, Ts. Shagdarsuren, ed. 1990. *The Secret History of the Mongols.* 4th ed. Transcribed by B. Sumyaabaaatar. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsyn Khevleliin Gazar.

Perlee, Khodoogiin. 2002. *Khövsgöliin Darkhad iastan.* Ulaanbaatar: Soëmboprinting KhKhK.

Purev, Otgonu. 2002. *The Religion of Mongolian Shamanism.* 2d ed. Ulaanbaatar: Genco University College, Admon Co.

Rinchen, Biambyn. 1962. *Doma dukhov i shamanov Prikosogoliya.* (Spirit Houses of Shamans of Hubsugul). Budapest.

DEER IMAGERY AND SHAMANISM (SIBERIA)

Shamanic traditions of the Siberian taiga and tundra zones are rich in visual and symbolic references to deer, but the interpretation of those references faces several methodological problems. Information regarding Siberian shamanism is fragmentary or contaminated by other ideologies (i.e., Christianity, Buddhism, Marxist-Leninism); moreover, our knowledge of those traditions is necessarily dependent on the subjectivity of modern ethnographic research. Nonetheless, it is clear that references to deer, as well as to a variety of birds and to bear, were fundamental to the worldview that gave rise to Siberian shamanism. This discussion will offer the outlines of the use of deer imagery in shamanic traditions of belief and ritual within the Siberian tundra and taiga zones, using specific instances to illuminate what were certainly more general patterns.

The deer referred to here include, primarily, the moose (Old World elk; *Alces alces*) and wild reindeer (*Cervus Rangifer tarandus),* and secondarily, the Siberian maral (New World elk; *Cervus elaphus sibiricus*). Their significance within the shamanic tradition directly reflected the economic importance of moose and reindeer, both wild and tame, within the lifeways of peoples of the northern tundra and taiga zones. In areas bordering on open taiga and steppe, such as the Sayan-Altai uplands and Mongolia, the maral was also significant.

Whether in the course of his spirit journeys or within battles between shamans, the strength of the shaman and his success were directly related to the strength of his animal helping spirits (shamans could be either male or female). Powerful shaman spirits included wild reindeer, bull moose, and bear (Diószegi 1952). Ceremonies attending the tribal initiation of the shaman or the consecration of a shaman's costume and implements frequently involved the sacrifice of a deer. Among the reindeer-breeding Tofa of the eastern Sayan Mountains, the desire to drink reindeer blood was considered a sign of that individual's potential to become a shaman. The ceremonies for dedication of the shamans' implements would also involve the killing of a white reindeer and the drinking of its blood (Diószegi 1968, 247, 294).

The shaman's costume, including the gown with all its ornaments, boots, gloves, and headdress, was intended to recreate the shaman's protective animal, or the shaman as animal. In most cases, the primary animal referred to was a deer. Among the Nganasan and Ket, for example, by donning his costume the shaman was transformed into his spirit (deer) helper (Prokofyeva 1971, 15–23). The Ket believed that the deer was the embodiment of speed and lightness of flight; in this respect, the deer of the shaman was understood to be winged, like a swan (Anuchin 1914, 82). Among the Tofa, the gown of the shaman would be made from the skin of tame reindeer (stag or doe) killed in the summer, and most of the hangings, threads, and straps would also be taken from the skin or the hair of the reindeer (Diószegi 1968, 248–263, 289). The use of white reindeer hair for ornamental stitching was a frequent requirement in the ornamentation of the shaman's gown. Deer-

skin boots ornamented with visual evocations of the deer's skeleton also ensured that the shaman would assume the deer steed's speed and strength of flight (Graceva 1978, 323; Prokofyeva 1963, 143–145).

Another part of the shaman's costume, the breast cover, was often made of cloth decorated with stripes, straps, and other ornaments made from reindeer skin and sewn with reindeer hair (Diószegi 1968, 288). The Ket would use the whole skin of a bull reindeer, killed by the shaman, for the shaman's gown. The hot blood of the deer was used to enliven the iron hangings to be attached to the gown (Prokofyeva 1971, 18). Among a number of peoples of the Altai region, gowns, breast covers, gloves, and boots were frequently ornamented with sewn bands replicating a skeleton and with visual references to breasts or vulva. Some observers believe that these were references to the shaman's own skeleton (Ivanov 1955, 250; Diószegi 1968, 293), but it is more likely that the applied anatomical references reflected the shaman's animal spirit, or the animal itself.

On all parts of shaman costumes, references to deer were usually combined with indications of other animal helpers. Among the Selkup, visual references to the deer were combined with references to birds (Prokofyeva 1971, 22). The gowns of the Iukagir shamans referred to both deer and birds (59). Long strips of deer skin were often sewn on shaman gowns; these referred to the feathers or wings by which the shaman-deer was assisted in his flight (Ivanov 1955, 250–253; Diószegi 1968, 293). Strips and ornaments on the breast cover would refer back to the body of the deer as well as to birds, snakes, bear, and so forth (Dolgikh 1978, 343).

The shaman's headdress was a complex reflection of his or her protective animal spirits. In many cases, the clearest references would be to birds (e.g., Tofa headdresses, Diószegi 1968, figs. 59, 63, 70); in other cases, the headdress would be crowned by deer antlers, often in combination with bird feathers (e.g., Prokofyeva 1971, figs. 11, 13, 29; Djakonova 1978, 330–332). Among the Goldi and the Buryat, the shaman's headdresses were also crowned with antlers (Potapov 1935, 147). The front of some shamans' headdresses would be ornamented with stylized deer antlers, or a miniature saber, or even bear claws; these were the weapons with which the shaman would do battle with hostile forces (Prokofyeva 1963, 140–141; Anuchin 1914, 82–83). Such elements support the understanding that the shaman impersonated, or even became, his animal spirit in the process of the shamanic *kamlanye* (séance). The fusion of animals within the symbolism of the shaman's costume reflects the complexity of underlying mythology. Among the Yenisey Ket, for example, the deer was the embodiment of speed; during an earlier time period it was believed that the deer was winged like a swan (Anuchin 1914, 82). A Nganasan shaman's cloak collected by A. A. Popov combined deer, bird, and bear symbolic references; it thus endowed the shaman with those animals' strength (Graceva 1978).

The drum was the most important part of the Siberian shaman's equipment, since it represented the animal steed of the shaman, the means by which he or she would effect the journey to the ancestral spirits or to the Underworld (see Potapov 1968). In shamans' songs, the drum steed is referred to as a deer or a horse (Diószegi 1968, 302), although it appears that the deer reference is more archaic than that to the horse (Potapov 1935). Although the symbolic references carried by the drum and its ornamentation are multilayered and complex, the overriding reference, in most cases, is to a deer. Among the Tofa, for example, the drum would be covered with the skin of a specially hunted and consecrated deer, and its enlivening would also require the sacrifice of a special deer—often white and wild. In the course of the ceremonies of enlivening, the shaman would recount at length the life of the deer that became the drum steed (e.g., Diószegi 1968, 294–298). In the ceremony for the enlivening of Shor shamans' drums, the deer drum itself was said to whisper its story into the ear of the shaman; as the shaman recounted the deer's story, he acted it out with movement and songs (Potapov 1935, 141–142). The age of the drum was reckoned as the age of the deer, had it lived. Thus, among the Tofa, when the drum was considered to be fourteen or fifteen years old, the shaman would hang the drum skin on a cedar tree in the forest and have a new drum skin prepared (Diószegi 1968, 305, 321). The drums of Dogan, Vogul, Selkup, and Oroch shamans were also stretched with reindeer skin (Potapov 1935, 141).

Protuberances on the upper frame of the Khakass drum refer to the nipples of the deer steed, by which the shaman would be nourished on his long journey. Among the Shors and Yakut, these protuberances were understood as antlers, while the Selkup referred to them as "ears' (Potapov 1935, 141). The frame of the drum was no less important than the deer skin and was always taken from a specially selected and consecrated tree (Diószegi 1968, 268–281). As in the case of the drum skin itself, the life of the tree was understood to be transformed into the life of the drum. In the interconnection of deer (skin) and tree (drum frame) is glimpsed an intertwining of significant motifs that recur frequently within shamanic imagery and representations and that refer back to more archaic beliefs regarding the tree of life and its animal source. Trees bracketed by deer, often in combination with representations of the sun and moon, occur frequently on the backboards of Ket sleds (Anuchin 1914, 65–69). On a frequently represented shaman drum collected by A. V. Anokhin from the Altai, eagles are represented at the tops of deer antlers, or antler-trees (Potapov 1935, fig. 1). In this combination are joined three of the most important elements in Siberian shamanic and mythic traditions: the bird, the tree, and the deer.

The shaman's drumstick also often referred back to the deer. Among the Tofa, for example, the sticks would be made from the antlers of reindeer or maral, or the horns of wild goat or specially consecrated wood (Diószegi 1968, 281). Among the Oroch, the drumstick would be made from an elk's leg bone (Potapov 1935, 140–141), and among the Tuvan Soyot, the drumstick would be made from the antlers of the moose whose skin had been used to cover the drum (Vajnstejn 1968, 334). The shaman would also carry a staff or an iron wand; the wand was used in his spirit journey, in crossing icy or rocky paths, or to stave off demonic forces. The shaman's staff was also frequently ornamented with treelike projections, or with birds or bird claws, as well as with deer antlers (Anuchin 1914). Among the Enets, the staffs of the highest ranking shamans would end in a symbolic deer hoof, undoubtedly referring to the steadiness of the reindeer over ice (Prokofyeva 1963, 152–154).

Although the shaman's animal double was usually referred to as a male of the species, the same animal was also considered the mother, or animal source, of the shaman. This is reflected in the term, *grandmother,* used by Soyot shamans in speaking of their deer spirits (Potapov 1935, 139), and in the vital sustenance provided to the shaman by his deer steed in the course of his journeys to the land of the dead. The essential relationship between the shaman and his animal-double underpins the common belief that should the shaman's animal double be killed in battle with the animal double of another shaman, that first shaman will die (Potapov 1935, 150). The same intimate and vital relationship between shaman and animal double is reflected in the intertwining of the life of the shaman's drum (wood and deer skin) and the life of the shaman.

While modern observations indicate that in recent times the deer was simply the shaman's personal animal helper, such a conception must rest upon previous layers of significance, looking back to a time when the deer was first the spirit-ancestor of the shaman, and before that, the clan totem and source (Potapov 1935, 147, 149). Among the Yakut, even the moose spirits that would battle in the place of their shamans were considered to be mother animals; similar representations among other peoples of the Siberian taiga indicate that the shaman's protectors were conceived as the mother of the shaman (Diószegi 1952, 304–305). This relationship is, of course, symbolically reflected in the protuberances on the shaman's drum being seen as the nipples from which he drew sustenance during his journey.

Such a complex interweaving of the themes of impersonation and vital dependency reflects the many-layered cultural traditions underlying shamanic materials gathered in the last hundred years. Within the conception of the shamans' animal helpers may be glimpsed a progressive transformation of traditions: the most ancient formulation of the animal as clan progenitor, its evolution into a clan totem, and its reformulation as the mother source of the shaman. The most recent manifestation of this transformed animal source was embodied in the animal as helping spirit, or shaman protector (see Anisimov 1958, 1963; Diószegi 1952; Potapov 1935). In almost all cases, the constant elements in this evolving tradition are the deer (primarily moose but also reindeer), the bear, and a variety of birds. Among some Siberian peoples, the

power of the shaman's drum reflected this evolving role: The wood of the drum referred back to the tree that grew at the center of clan lands and at the place where the shaman's deer-source was born (Anisimov 1958, 156, 161–166). In its association with clan origins and conceived as both the shaman's steed and as the source of the shaman's nourishment, the drum suggests the existence of a deer of cosmogonic significance for both the clan and the shaman (Anisimov 1958, 156; Potapov 1935). The animal combinations—deer, moose, bear, and bird—reflected in the design and ornamentation of the shaman's gown, headdress, and implements doubtless reflect much more archaic levels of myth.

In surviving mythic oral fragments from the Evenk, for example, the beginning and end of life and the passage of time marked by the succession of day and night and the four seasons was held to be acted out nightly in the heavens. The movement of the Large and Small Dippers (the Great and Little Bear constellations) through the night sky were understood in cosmic terms. Nightly the cosmic moose, Kheglen, and her calf emerged from the heavenly taiga, only to be hunted down by the great hunter, Main. Within Evenk mythology, Main referred to the Master of the Upper World but also to the great bear ancestor, Mangi (Anisimov 1958, 68–72; 1963, 162–164). The repeated death of Kheglen marks the passing of night back to day; Kheglen is thus the source of both life and death; she is inextricably bound to the bear. The tensions between life and death, reflected in archaic understandings of the contrast between night and day and embodied in the opposing species of moose and bear, resurface in the ritual practices and beliefs surrounding the Siberian shaman. In this cosmological drama, we can understand the importance of the deer as embodied in the cosmic moose, Kheglen, to the belief system of the Siberians.

Esther Jacobson-Tepfer

See also: Buryat Shamanism; Costume, Shaman; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure; Evenki Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Transformation; Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Anisimov, A. F. 1958. *Religiia Evenkov* [The religion of the Evenki]. Moscow-Leningrad: Izd. Akademii Nauk SSSR.

———. 1963. "Cosmological Concepts of the Peoples of the North." Pp. 157–229 in *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Edited by Henry N. Michael. Arctic Institute of North America, Anthropology of the North: Translations from Russian Sources/No. 4. University of Toronto Press.

Anuchin, V. I. 1914. *Shamanstva u Eniseiskikh' Ostiakov'* [Shamanism among the Yenisei Ostyak]. St. Petersburg: Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk'.

Diószegi, Vilmos. 1952. "K voprosu o bor'be shamanov v obraze zhivotnykh" [Regarding the battle of shamans in the form of animals]. *Acta Orientalia* 2, nos. 2–3: 303–316.

———. 1968. "The Problem of the Ethnic Homogeneity of Tofa (Karagas) Shamanism." Pp. 239–329 in *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Djakonova, Vera P. 1978. "The Vestments and Paraphernalia of a Tuva Shamaness." Pp. 325–339 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Dolgikh, V. O. 1978. "Nganasan Shaman Drums and Costumes." Pp. 341–351 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

Graceva, G. N. 1978. "A Nganasan Shaman Costume." Pp. 315–323 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

Ivanov, S. V. 1955. "K voprosu o znachenii izobrazhenii na starinnykh predmetakh kul'ta u narodov Sayano-Altaiskogo nagor'ia" [Regarding the meaning of representations on old cult objects from peoples of the Sayan-Altai uplands]. *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii* 16: 165–264.

Potapov, Leonid P. 1935. "Sledy totemisticheskikh predstavlenii u altaitsev" [Traces of totemic beliefs among Altaic peoples]. *Sovetskaia Etnografiia* 4, no. 5: 134–152.

———. 1968. "Shamans' Drums of the Altaic Ethnic Groups." Pp. 205–237 in *Popular Beliefs in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Prokofyeva, Ye. D. 1963. "The Costume of an Enets Shaman." Pp. 124–156 in *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Edited by Henry N. Michael. Arctic Institute of North America,

Anthropology of the North: Translations from Russian Sources/No. 4. University of Toronto Press.

———. (Prokof'eva, E. D.) 1971. "Shamanskie kostiumy narodov Sibiri" [Shamans' costumes among the peoples of Siberia]. *Religiznye predstavleniia i obriady narodov Sibiri, v XIX-nachale XX veka* [Religious conceptions and rituals of Siberian peoples in the nineteenth-early twentieth century]. Edited by L. P. Potapov and S. V. Ivanov. *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii* 27: 5–100.

Vajnstejn, Sevyan I. 1968. "The Tuvan (Soyot) Shaman's Drum and the Ceremony of Its 'Enlivening'." Pp. 331–338 in *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Traditions in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

EVENKI SHAMANISM (SIBERIA AND MANCHURIA)

Shamanism has played a major role among the Evenki as far back as the historical record goes; many details about the practices of shamans are well attested in oral and written accounts. In addition, the material culture of Evenki shamanism—costumes, paraphernalia, drums—can be seen in museums in Russia. Even in the twenty-first century, traditional shamanism has not completely died out, although evidence of practice is difficult to find. More research needs to be done in this respect.

The Evenki are one of the ethnic groups who, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were grouped together and called Tungus. The Evenki language belongs to the Tungus-Manchurian branch of the Altai language family. According to the 2002 census, the total population of 35,377 Evenki live in various areas of the Russian Federation in Siberia: in the republics of Sakha-Yakutia and Buryatia, in the regions of Krasnoyarsk, Khabarovsk, and Primorye, in the oblasts of Irkutsk, Chita, Amur, Tomsk, and Sakhalin, and in the autonomous districts of Evenki and Taimyr. The population of the Evenki in northeast China (Manchuria) and Mongolia constitutes about 26,000 (Census of China). The traditional lifestyle of the Evenki is nomadic or seminomadic, and their main subsistence economy is based on hunting ungulates and fur animals, seasonal fishing, breeding reindeer for transportation, and gathering. Different economic and cultural types are found among the subgroups of the Evenki, such as *Orochen* (reindeer breeders), *Murchens* (horse breeders), and *Birars* (hunters).

By the seventeenth century the Tungus people were organized into 360 fraternal clans (*T'eg'e*) of about 100 people each, although some Manchurian clans consisted of large groups—up to 1,000. Each clan bore the name of its founder with the ending *guir* (e.g., Shamaguir, "Shaman Clan") and was headed by the chief, the best hunter and warrior, sometimes a shaman. For example, the legend says that the Kindiguir was brought to the North Baikal by a shaman founder. Sometimes the clan was headed by a smith or a wealthy reindeer breeder. For decision making a council of elders *(Suglan)* was gathered. During hunting season each clan, consisting of many families, split into separate families or groups. In the nineteenth century, a typical Evenki family group consisted of four to twelve persons (polygamy occurred). In this period Evenki customs included vendetta, hospitality, and mutual help and cooperation, including *nimat*—an equal distribution of game meat among kinsmen.

The traditional religion of the Evenki was shamanism, with hunting and kinship rituals including ancestor worship, magic, and animistic beliefs that have been well developed and preserved. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Tungus population was converted to Christianity, and by the end of the nineteenth century Tungus people were registered as Orthodox Christians (although in fact they had syncretic religious beliefs, and some groups across Lake Baikal followed Lamaism). The Soviet period was characterized by suppression of and enforced alienation from any kind of religion, including such early practices as shamanism. Nevertheless, traditional shamans have survived until the twenty-first century.

According to Tungus cosmology, the universe consisted of seven worlds: three upper worlds (*Ugu buga*), one middle world, the earth (*Dulin buga*), and three lower underground worlds (*Hergu buga*), all interconnected by the

pillar in the center. Another belief suggested the existence of three, four, or five worlds communicating with each other through the world river called *Engdekit* (literally, "the place of the complete disappearance") into which flowed all the tributaries of the individual shamans, called *dolbony* (meaning "the night," which refers to places inhabited by helping spirits). Dolbony are connected with the earth through the river's whirlpools. The upper worlds, situated above the Engdekit, were inhabited by the supreme deities, the masters of nature phenomena, and the souls of the clan founders. The way to that world was through the polestar. The master of the Upper World, Amaka ("grandfather"; also called Main, Seveky, Ekmery, Boa Endury), controlled people's destinies.

At the foot of the Upper World was the world of the souls of unborn people *(ngectar)* and the world of the spirits of unborn deer *(kuturuk).* Above the mouth of the lower worlds were the charcoal darkness *(ellamrak),* the place of the center of the navel *(chunudek),* and a place called "toward the night" *(dolbonitky).* It was here that the souls of bad dead men, other hostile clan ancestors, and evil spirits resided. The souls of ancestral shamans lived on the rocks and the rapids of *engdekit kul'tyr, semilbe, urkel* (the doors). Only the most skillful shamans could travel during *kamlanye* (shamanic séance) to the Lower World, using the forty-ninth set of rapids in the Engdekit as a pathway, in search of a stolen soul *(omi, ille);* more often helping spirits were sent there. The interpretation of the shaman's death during kamlanye was that he traveled into the worst places of the Lower World.

The Evenki believed in spirits, and in the energy or will power *(musun)* inherent in all living nature. A shaman obtained musun from the master of the higher world for himself and for the sacred (taboo) reindeer. Gifted shamans and storytellers were considered to be the bearers of this power.

The term *saman* originates from the Tungus-Manchurian languages. These languages have preserved different interpretations of the terms *shaman* and *kamlat'* (shamanic rituals and practices). Terms include: (1) *yayan,* or *yaya,* the song that was sung as a prayer to the hearth; (2) *nimtsan* refers both to kamlanye (shamanic séance) and telling stories; (3) *sevenche* was originally connected with melting animal fat during rituals—*seven* means a helping spirit of a shaman; (4) *saman,* or *samaldy,* describes shamanic dancing. Fortune-tellers *(tolkin)* also played a special role. A clan could have several shamans who were different in strength. The strongest shaman (*hogdy*) of the clan was considered to be the leader who protected the clan territory and made *marylya,* a ritual of protective spirits. If a clan did not have a strong shaman, one could be invited from another clan. Women as well as men could be shamans, though since many shamans were men, the male pronoun has been used in this entry. The last well-known shaman in the North Baikal area (populated by the Shamaguir, Kindiguir, and Chil'chaguir) was an eighty-five-year-old woman from the Shamaguir clan.

It has been said that the Evenki still have an inborn aptitude for shamanism. In the past, it was noted that many children had extraordinary abilities and sometimes even had what were called shaman's seizures when at school. After the death of the clan's shaman, numerous diseases and deaths took place, a situation believed to be the result of the death of the *marylya* (the protective spirit), which died together with its master, leaving the clan territory unprotected. Then new candidates appeared for the position. As the process started of educating a prospective shaman, an education carried out by the previous shaman's spirit *(kankatcheran),* those who had become ill recovered. In some rare cases it seems that a choice between two candidates must have been made; each of the candidates must have had to prove that he was healthy and that it was he whom the spirits had chosen. There were also cases of direct inheritance of the shaman's gift through three or four generations (both on the father's and on the mother's side).

Those chosen by spirits were not necessarily young; people could become shamans at all ages. A spirit of the locality could enter a candidate suddenly while the candidate was in the *taiga,* and the candidate would start to go on a shamanic journey. When he returned, he recounted his experiences to others. He became the clan's representative to the spiritual worlds after the spirits of clan ancestors were embodied in him, and as a result the members of the clan recognized him as a shaman, and a formal sacrifice was made.

The big Evenki shaman Savej Vassiliev conducts a shamanic séance, Sakha (Yakutia) Republic, 2000. (The Center for Studying of Shamanism and other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, Moscow)

The development of a shaman included recognizing and getting command of the clan's spirits and learning the practices of kamlanye (shamanic séance). An elder shaman could provide help when the symptoms of an altered state of consciousness appeared: when, that is, a candidate started to tremble spastically for a long time. The teacher taught him to work with a drum, to develop a rhythm, and to fall into an altered state of consciousness. As a result, the young shaman received spirits, people recognized this, and then the status of a shaman was ascribed to the candidate.

It was commonly believed that the choice and the transmission of ancestral spirits *(havöns)* and helping spirits *(etans)* was the responsibility of the master of the higher world. The spirits entered the ears and the brain, and whispered shaman songs. The chosen one stayed alone in the tent or in the forest, and sitting in the same place he reproduced the whisper of the spirits. The spirits suggested that he kill one of the shaman birds (a loon or a cuckoo), cut it into pieces, and eat one piece each day. Thus the shaman was performing a ritual in which the etan (spirit) entered the shaman. As a result of a long isolation in the forest, a candidate felt and behaved as if he had been transformed into an animal—a wolf, a deer, or a wolverine—and then, imitating that animal, he returned to his settlement. The process of becoming a shaman could take quite a long time, often two to five years, and it might be accompanied by acute forms of hysteria.

In some localities a rattle was made during the final stage of the shaman's development. With his head covered by a scarf and the rattle upon the ground, a candidate sang shaman songs for as long as he could see the vision of the reindeer whose skin would be used for the drum. Kinsmen (often on the mother's side), following the description of the reindeer, killed it and brought it to the settlement. The drum could be made by the shaman himself, although young girls were assigned the task of preparing the skin for the drum. In order to bring the drum to life, the clan sacrificed a domestic reindeer. This ceremony solidified the status of a shaman and gave him the right to buy a shamanic costume.

The costumes of Evenki shamans had local peculiarities. The complete costume, based on a cloak or a caftan *(samasik, sevesik,* or *lombolon)* included a caftan, a breastplate, and a shoulder mantle, as well as, in some groups, a cap, footwear, and a crook. A shaman's costume was distinguished by the widening of its lower part by sewing in two to three wedges of different lengths and widths; it could also be extended with an additional piece in the form of a tail. Traditionally, the garment was made of the whole skin of a wild reindeer, an elk, a red deer, or a bear; the spinal part of the skin served as the caftan's back, the side pieces as the flaps (other tribal groups—the *Entsy, Nganasans, Kets,* and *Sel'kups*—had almost the same cut of garment). Incisions in the skin were made on the sides for the armholes. The top of the costume was separated from the widened lower part with an appliquéd belt. There were also other styles for these garments.

Decorations on the costume were abundant, with fringe, appliqués, metallic tubular pendants, copper brasses, plates in the form of a skeleton, hanging dolls made of cloth and stuffed with animal hair symbolizing spirits, fur and cloth strips, and embroideries with beads and reindeer neck hair. The most skillful and experienced shamans had a metallic plate with the imprint of reindeer antlers or golden eagle claws on the level of the scapulas. The images of attributes necessary for the shaman's travels were hung onto his caftan, and the long plaits that the shaman held onto during trance were fastened loosely to a ring on the back of the costume.

The breastplate was decorated with an embroidered strip *(turu)* bearing the image of a larch tree *(irekte)* and was necessary for the short kamlanye (ritual ceremony). Evenki in the easternmost regions wore a shoulder mantle *(arkalan)* made of one long piece of skin with a hole for the head instead of a breastplate. In contrast, those Evenki living east of Lake Baikal and along the Amur River had a crook, symbolizing a horse or a reindeer, since a shaman rode a reindeer to the Upper World, a horse to the world of the dead.

The headgear, which could be either a head scarf, a thin round cap of processed reindeer skin with fringe hiding the shaman's face, a soft crown or an iron crown with the image of reindeer antlers, differed according to the power shamans possessed or the locality. The footwear was of the same kind as that for everyday use, but decorated with bead embroidery, applications, and iron plates with the foot bone imprints. Evenki shamans who lived in the area east of Lake Baikal had a necklace *(belgantur)*—an iron circle with wooden anthropoid effigies sewn out of snake's skin. The costume represented an animal or a bird; a metallic skeleton attached to it symbolized the shaman's soul *(hargy).* A shaman could have two costumes: For example, the costume of a bird was used to travel to the master of the Upper World (for luck in hunting), and another costume was used in search of a lost soul.

There were different kinds of drums: (1) South Siberia type, Sayan-Enisey variant; (2) Middle Siberia type, Evenk-Yakut variant; (3) Far East type, Transbaikal and Amur variants. The typical Evenki drum *(untugun)* has an oval form, 1 meter in longitudinal diameter, with the circular rim reaching 15 centimeters. On the outside of the drum were bumps that created greater resonance and also resembled the tusks of an animal. The frame of the drum was covered with reindeer skin, sewn with venous threads to the rim, leaving a narrow skin strip. Big colored beads were added as embroidery to the outside of the drum, and inside an iron cruciform device with almost the same diameter as the drum was fixed on short belts; on the top of this device an iron image of a bird or reindeer antlers was placed. The center of the cross was framed by a double ring of flat iron circles, the bigger one of which had metallic pendants. On the inside rim four iron cramps with hanging rings and tubes were fixed diametrically. Occasionally on the outer side of the rim there was an iron loop. The rattle was made of wood, with one side covered by skin and the other by images. It could also be made of mammoth's tusks or wild reindeer antlers. The number of drums a shaman possessed increased as the shaman grew stronger.

The whole process of kamlanye (shamanic ritual) was associated with trance and ecstatic states, but these states were not induced by hallucinogens. The complicated techniques of working in altered states of consciousness were learned during the initiatory period, when the shaman traveled with the help of spirits; one variant of spirit embodiment consisted of yawning shamans who swallowed approaching

Protective amulets, details of an Evenki shaman costume, Siberia, Ethnographic Museum, Irkutsk, Siberia, Russia. (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman, Ph.D.)

spirits. In the Transbaikal region and in Manchuria there existed a technique for the embodiment of ancestor spirits using a profoundly altered state of consciousness and the loss of consciousness. This embodiment was under the control of the shaman but did not cause actual possession. In such cases the shaman was considered to be sick rather than in the state of possession.

Some shamanic rituals took the form of lengthy miracle plays. All shamans could perform a set of rituals: searching for and bringing back lost souls *(illemechipke),* seeing-off dead men souls *(tyrechupke),* consecrating a reindeer to divine service *(sevekinipke),* and communicating with the helping spirits *(sevenchipke).* Some additional rituals accompanied the major ones: obtaining babies' souls (in cases of infertility or infant mortality), stealing reindeer souls (when reindeer herds were afflicted by some kind of epidemic), and renewing the shaman's costume. Minor rituals such as obtaining musuns for luck in hunting, feeding ancestral spirits, and telling fortunes could be performed without the complete costume, but with the head covered by a scarf and with the use of a drum.

For many rituals a shaman's tent *(nymgandyak)* was constructed. It imitated the shaman's universe: It was situated in Engdekit (the world-river), had two galleries (the western one, *Onang,* leading to the Lower Worlds, and the eastern one, *Darpe,* leading to the Upper World). The effigies of havöns and etans (ancestral and helping spirits) were made and placed inside. They also made holes in the walls dividing the space in order to drag the body of a patient or carcasses of sacrificed reindeers through, for participants of kamlanye to come in, or for evil spirits to come in and go out.

Illemechipke (lost soul) rituals lasted for several days. A shaman lived in the patient's tent until he had a dream about the place where the lost soul was situated and figured out how to

take it away from the evil spirit who had captured it. Then he gave instructions for building a tent, to be constructed near the ordinary tent. Before kamlanye and searching for the lost soul, a shaman called for havöns and etans and listened to their advice, then gave them tasks; but in difficult cases he did not rely on these spirits but went himself. At the moment he departed, a sacrifice was made. The shaman made a deal with the spirit who had stolen the soul, or fought against that spirit. Then he came back with the soul of the patient and performed the ritual of purification. It was important to isolate the spirit of disease, and to mollify it with a sacrifice. Finally the soul was reembodied in its master's body or was sent to the temporary storehouse *(omiruk).* Sometimes prayers of thanksgiving to the Upper World followed, and Christian saints were also thanked.

Sending off the souls of the dead was an important ritual, one that did not depend on the wishes of the nearest relatives. The ritual was performed after the corpse had dried out, some time after the funeral, and only as a benefit for the spouse of the dead person, whose soul became embodied into a newborn child. Sometimes a shaman could send off several souls at once. These rituals used effigies made from a rotten tree that were dressed up and placed on bedding. Relatives brought food and left it before the "dead," and a shaman "fed" them. Then the relatives had a meal and a farewell with the souls of the dead people. In the process of kamlanye a shaman told his helping spirits to transport the soul to the world of the deceased. Then the shaman performed a rite of purification for all those present, and finally the effigy was undressed and discarded or hung on a tree.

In sevekinipke (the consecration of a reindeer to the service of the master of the Upper World), a shaman obtained musun (sacred energy), which he then implanted into a white male reindeer. The latter became the god's reindeer; it was not ridden, but was used only for transportation of sacred objects.

Although Evenki shamanism has not completely disappeared in the twenty-first century, it has been much attenuated due to the suppressions of the Soviet period and the loss of traditional knowledge. Further research may determine the present extent of Evenki shamanic practices.

Valentina Kharitonova

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Buryat Shamanism; Costume, Shaman; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure; Ecology and Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Initiation; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Manchu Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Siberian Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Anisimov, A. F. 1958. *Religija evenkov v istoriko-geneticheskom izuchenii i problemy proischozhdenia pervobytnyh verovanij* [Religion of the Evenki: Historical-genetic study and the problem of the origin of primitive beliefs]. Moscow: Leningrad.

Heyne, Georg F. 1997. "Die Bedeutung des Schamanen in der Gesellschaft der Rentier-Evenken im Grossen Hinggan (Nordost-China)" [The Significance of the Shaman in the Society of the Reindeer-Evenks in Northeast China]. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrinne* 87: 97–116.

———. 1997. "Die Schamanische Séanse (Kamlan'e) bei den Rentier-Evenken in der Taiga Nordost-Chinas (Dargestellt unter Verwendung der Feldaufzeichnungen von Frau Dr. Ethel J. Lindgren)" [The Shamanic Séance (Kamlan'e) among the Reindeer-Evenks in the Taiga of Northeast China (Presented in Association with the Field Notes of Frau Dr. Ethel J. Lindgren]. *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 61: 105–112

Lindgren, Ethel John. 1936. "Notes on the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria." Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei M. 1919. *Opyt issledovanija osnov shamanstva u tungusov* [The Study of Shamanhood among the Tungus]. Vladivostok.

———. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

Suslov, I. M. 1983. *Materialien zum Schamanismus der Evenki-Tungusen an der mittleren und unteren Tunguska* [Materials on the Shamanism of the Evenk-Tungus in Middle and Lower Tunguska]. Studies in Oriental Religions, vol. 8. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

Taksami, Chuner M. 2001. "The Shaman's Path to Heaven." Pp. 11–19 in *Shamanhood: Symbolism and Epic.* Edited by Juha Pentikäinen. Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 9. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Vassilevich, G. M. 1969. *Evenki. Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki (XVIII nachalo XX v.)* [The Evenki: Historical-ethnographic essays (eighteenth–twentieth century)]. Leningrad: Izdatelstvo "Nauka."

FUNERAL RITES IN EURASIAN SHAMANISM

Funeral rites in Eurasia are the product of shamanistic beliefs, which may concern multiple souls and the afterlife, as well as ambivalent human feelings toward the deceased. Through participating in funeral rites, human beings are able to overcome or ease the fear of the physical state of the dead body and at the same time to maintain the close personal or social tie with the dead person in its family and communal settings. These seemingly opposing feelings regarding the dead, wanting to be set apart from the fearful corpse and yet desiring to continue to be close to the deceased, translate into rather complex ritual manifestations. Death-related rituals in shamanistic societies are not a creation of the shamans but the outcome of centuries-old practices and beliefs. Shamans do not necessarily function as priests who officiate at funerals, but they are strongly associated with the souls of the dead. For example, Altai shamans have nothing to do with the ceremonies for the rites of passage—birth, marriage, and death (Radlov 1893, 55). Yet the shaman is called in at funerals in order to prevent the soul of the deceased from returning, as the dead are supposed to go to the Underworld and not wander among the living. In many Eurasian societies, the shaman's role as a guide for the soul of the dead to the other world under trance is noted by scholars such as Mircea Eliade. Shamans, in their ability to control the spirit world (including the ancestral spirits), have an important function in leading and assisting the dead and with death-related rituals.

Examples of shamanistic funeral accounts in the ethnological literature are not abundant, especially for premodern times, before the introduction of the scriptural world religions such as Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity to the region. In this entry three different kinds of rites are discussed: the funeral of a Tuvan shaman, the Mongolian funeral ceremony for lamas and others according to historical Russian archives, and the Mongolian funeral ceremony as it is known from local records of folk customs. Although modern funeral rituals in cities show strong influence from the socialism of the former Soviet Union and its civil manifestation in funeral rituals, as well as from other imported religions, these archival accounts and accounts of folk customs are significant for showing the older shamanistic forms of the death rituals in Mongolia. Despite the level of penetration of Buddhism in Mongolia, funeral practices still have strong shamanistic elements.

Funeral Rites for Tuvan Shamans

Before the Soviet influence penetrated and suppressed shamanic practices, the Tuvans of Siberia buried a dead shaman *(kham)* with elaborate funeral rites. Shamans' funeral rites were considered to be important and needed to be done properly, since shamans were believed to have supernatural powers. If a proper funeral rite were not performed, various misfortunes would befall the community. For example, when a very powerful shaman called Dongak Kajgal Kham, as described in Mongush B. Kenin-Lopsan's study, died and did not receive proper funeral rites, a snowfall followed by a cattle disease plagued the whole region (Kenin-Lopsan 1978, 291–298). According to Kenin-Lopsan, the following stages of the funeral rites were reported by various informants from Tuvan communities.

First the dead shaman's body is removed from the bed in the east side of the resident tent (yurt) to the other side. The corpse is put on a felt spread on the floor, and a candle is lighted above its head. Then a shaman is invited to find out the whereabouts of the soul *(kūdel)* of the dead shaman. A fumigator is smoked, and a piece of cloth is used for the rite. The shaman finds and briefly communicates with the soul and points out the direction of the departure of the soul. After finding the destination of the shaman's soul, the place of burial is selected by the shaman or the lama, who is called for this specific task. There are no common shaman

graveyards, but the spot is chosen usually in a shallow depression or a glade in the steppe, but not in a mountainous area.

The lama puts a stake at the selected spot and draws a large circle of over 20 meters in diameter centered around the stake. A simple platform *(seri)* made of four wooden legs with Y forks to support the platform top is built to support the wrapped corpse. In winter, this platform is made on top of snow on frozen ground. The shaman's body is covered with a white cloth, and the head is placed on a round smooth stone, facing west. The right hand and its fingers cover the right ear, mouth, and right eye. The left hand is on top of the buttock. The eyes are bandaged with a white cloth. This covering is based on the belief that the nine openings of the body have to be closed after death in order to prevent any malignant spirit, or soul, from entering the body of the dead shaman.

The covered corpse is carried in an oxcart or on a horse from the shaman's tent to the burial platform with drumbeats. The drum belonging to the dead shaman is punctured, and this broken drum is used for the funeral march. This puncturing of the drum is to free the spirits residing in the drum into the air. Funeral attendance is from three to nine people or more, depending on the status and circumstance of the shaman, but it has to be an odd number. Women and children of both sexes are not allowed to participate in the funeral. (In some other Eurasian, East Asian, and African cultures, women take major roles in death rituals.) The dead shaman's drum, drumstick, and costumes are hung on the posts erected near the burial platform. His normal clothes and other belongings are distributed among the family, except for the most valuable possessions, which might be given to the lama or shaman who assisted the funeral.

After the funeral the shaman's bed in the tent is placed back again in the east side of the yurt. If the funeral rite is not performed as described above, the soul of the dead shaman might be hiding in the yurt or in another place and cause problems for the people. The actual funerals of shamans are not always done in a rigid prescribed manner but follow the basic ritual framework described above. The introduction of Tibetan Buddhism around the sixteenth century gradually replaced the role of shaman in the funeral rites over many centuries. Nevertheless, the basic outline of the rites and some of the details seem to reflect ancient Tuvan practices. These practices were shared by other neighboring peoples such as the Evenki (Tungus) of Transbailakia in Eurasia (Shirokogoroff 1935, 382).

The body of a deceased shaman was laid on a raised platform, and their belongings were placed either in the coffin or hung on a nearby tree. Several posts were erected, and carved birds were attached to the top of the posts. Birds probably signified the shaman's souls or vehicles to carry the soul off to the world of the dead. According to some Evenki in the north, traditionally a stronger shaman assisted in leading a dead shaman's soul to the other world. A shaman's funeral was not an extreme deviation from that of the other members of the community but tended to be more elaborate, due to the shaman's respected religious functions in the community. Moreover a shaman's body was treated with extra care, since a shaman's soul was believed to have strong supernatural power even after death in some cases.

Shamanistic Funeral Rites in Mongolia from the Russian Archives

The funeral ceremony was one of the most complex religious rituals of the Mongols. The Mongols considered that without the fulfillment of certain funeral rites, the soul of a dead person would not be able to find a new reincarnation, and therefore such a dead person might turn into a malicious ghost and remain on the earth, damaging living people.

Descriptions of the funeral rites of the Mongols can be found in a number of publications by Russian scholars interested in Mongolian history and ethnography: Alexei M. Pozdneev, Grigorij N. Potanin, Ivan M. Maiskij, and some others. For example, Potanin, who visited Mongolia in 1879 and subsequently published *Sketches on North-West Mongolia,* described in a general way the funeral rituals of the Altai people, Uriankhai, Darkhat, Derbet, and Buryat (Potanin 1883, 36–38). Some of his remarks suggest that he was an eyewitness of a funeral ceremony. For instance, describing a funeral ceremony of the Alar Buryat, he wrote about "a corpse in a fur coat," which might

mean that the ceremony occurred in winter (Potanin 1883, 37).

In general, the Russians described several kinds of burial ceremony in pre-Revolutionary Mongolia: Laypeople and simple lamas were brought to special places in the steppe and left there without coffins. However, in some cases notable people were buried in coffins. High-ranking lamas were cremated; their bones were ground into powder, and then, from this powder and their ashes, small monuments in the form of poles were made, to which people prayed.

Several aspects of the simplest form of funeral ceremony, leaving the corpse in the wilderness, were described by Pozdneev (1887) and Maiskii (1921, 58), who noted that being thrown out to be devoured by wild animals was the usual end of each Mongol, irrespective of rank or social position. Exceptions were made very rarely and only for those who were considered of special merit. Pozdneev noted that after a Mongol died, one of the dead person's relatives would visit a monastery. The lamas there defined who could prepare the dead for the interment, what religious services to conduct, what day was auspicious for the ceremony, at what time and in which direction it was necessary to take the dead body out of its lodging, and how the funeral ceremony should be accomplished. The correct decision of these questions was a subject of great importance for the Mongols (Pozdneev 1887, 462). They were solved (and are still solved now) on the basis of the data contained in the various astrological manuscripts. Pozdneev also wrote that in previous times the Mongols had strictly followed the instructions to commit deceased people to one of the four elements—earth, water, fire and air—but by the end of the nineteenth century they had simplified the funeral ceremony, only committing to the fire very few people, usually simply taking the body out onto the steppe and leaving it out in the open (Pozdneev 1887, 468).

An example of a burial of a lama was observed and described by Augusta D. Kornakova, an eyewitness who had lived since 1897 in Mongolia. In an article entitled "The Funeral of Khantszin-lama-geliun" written in 1903, she described the funeral of a lama. The manuscript of this work is kept in the Archives of Orientalists of the Saint Petersburg branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies, part of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Kornakova 1903).

The lama lived with the family of the shepherd Lubsan-Dorji at the river Iro in northwest Mongolia; Kornakova wrote of the man as "our" shepherd, which means that he worked for the Kornakovs and the families knew each other rather well. This would explain the fact that Kornakova found it possible to take part in the ceremony; such rituals were intimate, only participated in by the relatives of the deceased, and it was impossible for others to attend without a special reason.

When Kornakova arrived, she saw that the whole family, with all their utensils and furniture, had left the yurt. Some of the utensils were simply left in the open air, and the women were making tea there. What she wrote confirms the impressions of other authors, that the Mongols in general were very much afraid of dead people. (At the same time the Mongols as a rule were not afraid of death, believing as they did in the reincarnation of souls). She wrote that the dead man was tightly enclosed in the yurt in which he had died; even the doors of the yurt were closed with boards and tied up with cords. After Kornakova had requested it, the yurt was opened, and she, according to the custom, bowed and put down a *khadak* (a sort of a silk scarf) and a piece of white fabric (calico). She saw that the dead man was in a half-sitting position covered with a dressing gown; over him there was a big sheet of paper covered with characters and drawings. Above the head of the deceased there was an icon hanging that represented a *burkhan* (a spirit) in a sitting position (Kornakova 1903, 6). Kornakova noted that the Mongols mainly buried deceased people in a lying position, and only someone who had died in a sitting position or who was a very important lama would be buried in that position. Khantszin was not a lama of a high rank, but he had died in that position.

The coffin *(bunkhan)* was made of thin boards and looked like an armchair. As indicated above, not all the deceased were buried in coffins and with as much solemnity as Khantszin-lama was. Kornakova wrote that, by contrast, not far from the place where they lived an old woman had died, and her son

could not get a lama to read a prayer, as he had no money to pay for it. In about three days he had to bury her himself, namely, to attach the old woman by her legs and head to boards and drag her some distance away. Some days later the wolves ate her, and the son was pleased, since it meant she was not sinful.

The choice of the exact place for the funeral was of special importance. The participants of the ceremony, having approached the bottom of a naked stony mountain, went in different directions on their horses to choose the best place. Then they came back, and the main lama ran an arrow with a yellow khadak into the earth where his horse had just urinated. Then he sat down in front of the arrow and started throwing three dice in a cup. An even number was considered unfavorable. The lama tried to obtain the result of throwing an odd number three times. Only then could the place could be chosen. Having defined the place of the burial, the lama further specified where exactly in that area it would be possible to bury Khantszin-lama. Then the lama departed some distance to the mountain, followed by Lupsan-Dorji's wife. The lama took the khadak, lifted it with the both hands above his head, and started to pray. Then the lama knelt down, and the woman carried the khadak over his head and put it onto the ground. Having bowed to the ground, both of them came back to the arrow. Thus they were praying and asking the spirit of the mountain to accept the dead man (Kornakova 1903, 10–11). It is to be emphasized that a woman actively participated in that ceremony. The contact between the lama and the woman as they asked together that the soul of the dead man be accepted, along with the fact that they were asking the spirit of the mountain, indicates a specifically shamanic relationship between spirits of nature and human beings. It shows the syncretic nature of this ceremony, in which Buddhism is overlaid with shamanic ritual, or, indeed, harks back to earlier shamanic concepts and ceremonies.

Public prayer on the projected burial place had begun before the coffin with the deceased was brought there. After reading the prayer and singing, the lama, having taken a copper cup with milk in his hands, sprinkled with the fourth finger of his left hand alternately to the North, East, West, and South; thus he fed all four parts of the world, asking them to accept the deceased. Kornakova (1903, 14) wrote that, in general, the prayer signified buying a place for the deceased, and coaxing, treating gods and praying to them for forgiveness. In order to propitiate evil spirits, various figures of dough were sculptured, and then they were burned.

The coffin with the deceased soon arrived. Some time later a man who was called a *tszochi* came. Kornakova called him a shaman in her manuscript (Kornakova 1903, 17). He put on a yellow cap made in an unusual form, with several separated triangles and long black hair attached to it (possibly a face fringe), which covered his face and head. The tszochi began a shamanic performance, using a cup made from a human skull and a bone from a human arm, with three holes; he blew in that strange musical instrument, making unpleasant sounds, according to Kornakova. Then, holding a *damara* (a small double drum) in his right hand, and a bell in his left hand, he began singing in the same way lamas sang, quickly uttering words. He made various dancing steps, turning on one leg, alternately to the right and to the left.

The outfit of the man was similar to that of a shaman, but the odd musical instrument made from a human skull and an arm bone is like other Buddhist artifacts in Mongolia. Moreover, the practice of tantric Buddhism (an esoteric, specialized form of Tibetan Buddhism) makes use of caps with attached twisted fringes of black threads, which hide the face during ritual practice. It can be difficult to distinguish Buddhist from shamanistic characteristics, since both have been used together in this part of the world for centuries.

Potanin wrote that a shaman made his shamanic ritual at night, accompanying his performance with dancing and playing the tambourine; he wore a special garment for the ritual: a cloak and a cap. There were a lot of long narrow strips of cloth hanging on the front and back of the cloak, also from his shoulders and sleeves. The shaman called his cap *abugulda;* it was cylindrical and trimmed with yellow cloth, and there were various decorations on the cap band (Potanin 1881, 81–82). In Kornakova's description there are at least two elements that coincide with Potanin's descriptions—ritual dancing and a special gar-

ment. A tambourine was used in that case instead of a drum. A Mongol told Kornakova that the tszochi was not a shaman. "As I found out later from other lamas the life purpose of the adepts of the *tszochi* doctrine is to calm souls that wander on the earth and, with the help of known invocations, to make them enter a body of a deceased or his bones. . . . Women can be adepts of the *tszochi* doctrine as well as men" (Kornakova 1905, 27–28; translated by Boikova).

The participation of both a lama and a tszochi (in fact, a lama-shaman) in the funeral ceremony testified that alongside the Buddhist elements in that ceremony there were shamanist elements; a combination of pre-Lamaist and Lamaist components took place. During the funeral ceremony, the lama and the tszochi repeatedly performed simultaneously.

Another feature of the funeral ceremony about which Kornakova wrote was the presentation of eighty-one objects (nine times nine, a number sacred to shamanism), which were a payment to the mountain spirit for the ground used for the burial. These objects were as follows: nine cups with cookies, sugar, and dried fruit, nine khadaks (silk scarves), nine bead rosaries, nine packs of aromatic candles, nine pieces of silk, nine pieces of brick-tea, nine girdles, nine packs of needles with sets of buttons, and nine *tsugutsa* (small copper cups, four of which were filled with water, two with corn, one with flour, and one with weak tea, and in one of them a smoking candle was inserted).

Kornakova described the continuation of the funeral ceremony. The lama read, and the tszochi danced in a circular movement, making noises of crackling and tinkling. The coffin was brought to the predetermined place and put on the ground. Lupsan-Dorji's wife put a knapsack with some food under the coffin for the soul of the deceased. After that all the lamas, having stepped aside a short distance and turned their faces to the east, began singing, and the tszochi began to move in a circle around the coffin, and having made three big circles around it, he began to dance again (Kornakova 1905, 23).

Lupsan-Dorji's wife passed the khadak and a piece of red fabric *(dalemba)* to the lama and khadaks to all the other participants. Then she started walking around the coffin, and having made three large circles, she knelt down at the coffin, prayed, and put the khadak on a string over it. All the other participants did the same, concluding the funeral ceremonies. The next day in Lupsan-Dorji's yurt there was a public prayer, consisting of prayers for the deceased and for the well-being of the family. On the tenth day after the funeral, a public prayer, identical in format to the preceding public prayer, was repeated in Lupsan-Dorji's yurt. This account of a ceremony for the burial of the lama presents information showing a combination of shamanist and Buddhist elements, as well as the actual presence of a lama and a shaman participating in sending off the soul of the deceased for his journey to reincarnation.

Nowadays a funeral ritual of the Mongols combines both old ceremonies and new, borrowed ones. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the lama's role in a funeral ceremony has appreciably increased. Before the funeral ceremony, relatives of the deceased visit a lama. He chooses the date of the funeral and the place in the cemetery where the deceased should be buried. When the person who has died is forty-five years old or older, a lama also reveals that person's destiny after death. If a distinguished person dies, civil rites are arranged.

Funeral ceremonies are held on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday (recently mostly on Monday and Friday). In towns the dead are usually buried in graves at cemeteries. In the countryside, however, an old way is still continued—a dead person is left in the steppe out in the open space. In the countryside shamans may take part in funeral ceremonies, especially in the northern part of Mongolia, where there are quite a few shamans. After a funeral ceremony, its participants pass between two fires and wash their hands twice: "black" wash—against all bad things in life—and "white" wash—so that all in the lives of the living was good. After the funeral ceremony, commemoration for the deceased is arranged according to traditions.

Shamanistic Factors in Mongolian Funerals

To complete the account of Mongolian funeral rituals, a recent work on traditional rituals in rural Mongolia by Yūki Konagaya

(1999) is useful. As Konagaya pointed out, features of Mongolian funerals in the past and present differ, depending on the lifeways of the people who perform the rites: that is, on whether their means of sustenance is agricultural, nomadic, or of mixed economy (Konagaya 1999, 179). Buddhism brought the Indian method of disposal, cremation (in Mongolian, *gai-iyar degdegekü,* "to raise by fire"), to nomadic Mongolia, where exposure (leaving the corpse in the wild) had been their tradition. In Outer Mongolia, exposure (*Tngrid;* literally, burying in heaven) is still the predominant method of disposal. Burial (*Siroi-du Singgegekü;* literally, "to sink, or penetrate, into the earth") is common among agricultural people, especially in the area bordering on China. Regional differences are also reflected in some variations in death-related rituals. Nevertheless, as Konagaya has pointed out, based on Mongolian local records of folk customs in various regions, there are several common shamanistic elements in death rituals, as will emerge from the following discussion of four aspects of these rituals.

The Bonesetter (Barigchi, Yasuchin)

Bones were considered by the Mongolians to be the place where soul resided, and what the bonesetter did was to move the corpse to a certain posture at an early stage of the funeral preparation. Using the Tibetan Buddhist zodiac, a bonesetter was selected for the particular occasion by the lama who was in charge of the funeral. In the funeral the bonesetter wore his clothes in an unconventional way, for example putting a hat on the other way round, in order to indicate his shamanistic capacity to communicate with the dead. The bonesetter of an Altai ethnic group in southeastern Mongolia walked into the tent where the deceased was lying, whistling and making birdlike sounds, and like a shaman he instructed the dead to go to the Otherworld as he touched the deceased (Konagaya 1999, 171). Some bonesetters assisted the funeral at different stages, such as carrying out the body from the tent, when direct contacts with the corpse were required. As in the case of a midwife or shaman-healer, the bonesetter's skill was said to be obtained in a dream. The funeral seemed to be a male-oriented ritual in Mongolia, as the recorded cases of the bonesetters were mostly if not all male. Women did not even participate in the funeral procession.

Practice of Exposure

Leaving the corpse in a field to be consumed by animals and birds is called exposure, which is practiced by Mongolians and Tibetans alike. A corpse is wrapped in white cloth or a felt mat, or put into a sack and left in a field without a coffin. Unlike the Tibetan exposure practice, a corpse is not segmented in order to be fed to birds (namely, vultures), although Mongolians also desire quick consumption of the corpse by birds. Mongolians prefer birds, rather than wolves or other animals, for this purpose, since birds can carry the soul of the dead to the sky, or the Upper World, as they consume the flesh and fly away. When the corpse has not been eaten by wild animals or birds after a while, the people tend to believe that the deceased might have committed sins before death or is waiting for "somebody" or food. Accordingly food is offered, or the body might be moved to another location, hoping that the corpse will be eaten (Konagaya 1999, 175). Unless the flesh is eaten, the soul of the deceased will not or cannot go to the world of death.

This shamanistic belief in the soul was also apparent in the case of the death of infants and of pregnant women. When an infant died, a member (usually male) of the child's family put the dead infant in a sack or cradle and dropped it as he rode on a horse. Anybody who found and took out the baby from the sack would have the good luck of the birth of a child in the near future—a child who was considered to be a resurrection of the dead infant through the transmigration of the soul. In the case of the death of a pregnant woman, the fetus was removed from the woman's body and buried or cremated separately. This separation of the fetus was considered to be important in order to avoid the rebirth of the fetus as a demon. Taking out the fetus for a separate burial has also been practiced by the Ainu and other peoples in northern Japan, according to some historical ethnographic records. The tragic death of a pregnant woman caused high tension among her family and community members. Thus the deceased pregnant

woman tended to be cremated after the removal of the fetus, in order to make sure the souls of the fetus and woman traveled properly to the world of the dead. In shamanistic belief, the souls of the dead could be transformed into malignant spirits if they were not treated properly with certain rituals and offerings.

The Function of the Lama or Buddhist Monks

The function of the lama, as discussed in previous cases, varies according to region and period of time referred to. Shamanistic factors are much more evident in funeral rites in traditional rural nomadic settings, and lamas tend to have a more dominant role in urban areas, as well as in agricultural or semi-agricultural regions, such as some parts of Inner Mongolia, where both cremation and exposure are practiced. Nevertheless, a lama does not control the whole process of funeral rites. Nor does a lama's participation mean that the whole funeral is based on Buddhist rites. In fact a lama's recitation of Buddhist scriptures is often interpreted by the laypeople in a shamanistic way—as a prayer to direct the soul of the dead to the Otherworld.

Food Offerings

Food offerings at the deathbed and at the grave are necessary for the dead to complete the difficult journey to reach the Otherworld. Before the time of the spread of Buddhism, as Konagaya indicated, it is likely that a big feast to feed both the dead and the participants was held at the funeral, not at the end of the mourning period as currently practiced. This is due to the fact that any kind of communal meal in Mongolia involved the killing of animals for food on the spot. Although Mongolian lamas do eat meat, and Tibetan Buddhism does not forbid people from killing an animal for food in everyday life, killing animals at the funeral is refrained from in Buddhist countries. Instead of a funeral feast, some milk products are distributed at the funeral among the Khalkh Mongols.

The Broader Eurasian Picture

Thus Buddhist lamas have largely replaced shamans in funeral rituals in Mongolia and in other Eurasian societies; indeed in the Tuvan rituals for a shaman described in the first part of this entry, a lama was apt to play the leading role. Nevertheless, shamanistic functions and underlying beliefs are still evident in these societies. Moreover, though shamans do not direct funerals, some kind of shamanistic figure, such as the bonesetter, who is free from death pollution, functions like a shaman to some extent. The common task of both a lama and a bonesetter as well as a shaman is, in the eyes of the people, to successfully send the soul of the dead to the Otherworld.

Elena Boykova

Mariko Namba Walter

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Evenki Shamanism; Psychopomp; Russian Shamanism Today; Siberian Shamanism; Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia; Tibetan Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Bartol'd, Vasilii Vladimirovich. 1966. "K voprosu o pogrebal'nych obrjadach türkov I mongolov" [On the burial ceremonies of the Turks and Mongols]. *Sochinenija* 4: 377–396.

Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush B. 1978. "Funeral Rites of Tuva Shamans." In *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Konagaya Yūki. 1999. "Mongoru no sōsō girei" [Mongolian funeral rites]. *Kokuritsu minzoku-gaku hakubutsukan chōsa hōkoku* [Research report of the State ethnographic museum in Japan] 8.

Konshin. 1906. *Materialy po Manchurii i Mongolii* [Materials on Manchuria and Mongolia]. Vypusk 1, *Mongolia. Djerimskjj seim.* Harbin.

Kornakova, Augusta Dmitrievna. 1903. *Pokhorony Khantszina-lamy-geljuna* [The Funeral of Khantszin-lama-geliun]. The Archives of Orientalists of the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies. Category 1, inventory 3, 26 (manuscript).

———. 1905. "Pokhorony Khantszina-lamy-geljuna" [The Funeral of Khantszin-lama-geliun]. *Trudy Troitskosavsko-Kyakhtinskogo*

Otdelenija Priamurskogo otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva 7, no. 1: 6–31.

Maiskij, Ivan Mikhailovich. 1921. *Sovremennaya Mongolia* [Modern Mongolia]. Irkutsk: Gos. izdebelstvo Irkutskoe ot delenie.

Potanin, Grigorij Nikolaevich. 1881. "Ocherki Severo-Zapadnoi Mongolii. Rezul'taty puteshestvija, ispolnennogo v 1879 godu po porucheniju IRGO" [The Sketches on North-West Mongolia. The results of the journey of 1879 on the instructions of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society]. Issue 2, *Materialy etnograficheskije* [Ethnographical materials]. Saint Petersburg.

———. 1883. "Ocherki Severo-Zapadnoi Mongolii. Rezul'taty puteshestvija, ispolnennogo v 1879 godu po porucheniju IRGO" [The Sketches on North-West Mongolia. The results of the journey of 1879 on the instructions of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society]. Issue 4, *Materialy etnograficheskije* [Ethnographical materials]. Saint Petersburg.

Pozdneev, Alexei Matveevich. 1887. *Ocherki byta buddijskich monastyrei i buddijskogo duchovenstva v Mongolii v sviazi s otnoshenijami poslednego k narodu* [The Sketches of the Life of Buddhist Monasteries and Buddhist Clergy in Mongolia in connection with the attitude of the latter to the people]. Saint Petersburg.

Radlov, Vasilij Vasil'evich. 1893. *Aus Siberien, Lose Bläter aus meinem Tagebuche.* Leipzig, T. O. Weigel. Quoted in Mircea Eliade. 1964. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* London: Routledge and K. Paul.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

ISLAM AND SHAMANISM

See South Asian Shamanism; Sufism and Shamanism; Tajik Shamanism; Zarma Spirit Mediums

KALMYK SHAMANIC HEALING PRACTICES

With the collapse of the Soviet system in 1991, it has become possible for the prerevolutionary belief systems, shamanism and Buddhism, to revive and take again a prominent place in the fabric of Kalmyk cultural life.

Historical Context

Historically, Kalmyk shamanism has been overshadowed by Buddhism, which can be traced back to the circumstances existent at the time when the Oirat Mongols left Mongolia in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and migrated with their flocks to the present area of Kalmykia, between the Don and Volga Rivers in western Russia.

A review of the history of the Kalmyks reveals several important factors. Since the Oirat Kalmyks came into western Russian lands as migrant nomadic tribes, they therefore were not indigenous inhabitants of the Russian landscape and had ties not only to other political entities such as Mongolia, but also to a foreign religion, Buddhism. Located within the Russian heartland, their relationship with their Russian and subsequently Soviet overlords was not only uneasy but often confrontational on the part of the superior power, culminating in their exile and loss of their lands in the 1940s.

Compared to the Buryats and the Tuvans, they were clearly the people who suffered the most at the hands of the Russians. Their relationship to their land was the most disturbed, in that there was massive settlement by Russians on their lands and great reduction in the number of their cattle already in the nineteenth century. The Kalmyks were organized in patriarchal clans. These clans structured the organization of their society; similar to the Buryats and Tuvans, there seems to have been a clear correlation between the organization of their society into clans, the pursuit of pastoralism as a means of subsistence, and the shamanic religious observances performed for the protection of their flocks and hearth.

As can be well delineated, especially from historical documents following the activities of a missonary lama from Tibet, Neyici Toyin Lama (1557–1653), in Mongolia in the seventeenth century, Buddhism overcame shaman-

ism, the final result being a kind of lamaized shamanism. It is interesting to note that the Neyici Toyin employed three methods of attack against the shamanists: (1) display of greater magic power, (2) economic inducements, and (3) greater efficacy of medicine. Therefore, the connection of religion and healing was well established at that time (Heissig 1953, 5, 519).

The old religion of shamanism did not become extinct, but rather was camouflaged under a mantle of Lamaism. Hence it was this strange mixture of Lamaist Buddhism and partially submerged shamanism that the Oirat Mongols took with them when they migrated to the lands of the Volga and the Don, a movement that took place at the time when Neyici Toyin was active in Mongolia. As evidence of the direct connection between Neyici Toyin's missionary activities and these Oirat Mongols, it can be noted that one of the migrating Oirat groups, the Dörbet, is specifically mentioned in the itinerary of Neyici Toyin between 1629 and 1644 (Heissig 1953, 27). The fact that it is possible to link the account of the seventeenth-century suppression of shamanism with one of the specific Oirat migrating groups underlines the connection between the development of religion in Mongolia at that time and the forms this syncretic Buddhism-shamanism took in the Kalmyk regions, brought there by these Oirat tribes. This connection is evident even in healing practices among the Kalmyk today that partake of both Buddhist and shamanist elements. In fact, Buddhism has always been the stronger of the two religions among the Kalmyks, and hence features of it are never wholly absent from the practice of shamanism.

The close interrelationship between Kalmyk Buddhism and Kalmyk identity as a people with a specific language, culture, traditions, and with a historical unity that has been maintained despite disruptions, is witness to the fact that these connections have deep roots. Shamanism, as the weaker religion, incorporated many aspects and gods of the Buddhist pantheon. Clear traces of this strategy survive in the present-day practice of shamanism, in particular, in the cult of the Old White Man, an important syncretic deity connecting human beings to the earth and its animate and inanimate forms.

Shamanic practices in the Kalmyk lands in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries consistently showed traces of these traditional belief systems but also were related to and reflective of the lifeways and economic subsistence patterns of the Kalmyk people. At the time of the ritual known as Bulug Tyakxe (clear spring), which was observed at water sources, the Kalmyks would make a sacrifice of cattle, butchering the animals, cooking the meat, and eating it while drinking *arika* (milk vodka). The ritual Usun Arshan (mineral springs) was carried out at the beginning of September: Every Kalmyk arrived at the bank of a specific river or spring or well, gave three bows to the ground, and scooped up water and reverently tasted it. This practice of traditional religion, with its worship of the Old White Man, its sacred springs, tree cults, and nature rituals, as well as religious observances related to home and hearth, continued until its disruption and destruction by the Soviet power.

Evidence from laypeople, healers, and the occasional lama who survived the Soviet period indicates that deportation and exile almost destroyed the Kalmyk people. In the deportation and period of exile to Siberia, the Kalmyks suffered great loss of life and total separation from their native land. They were deliberately divided into small groups so that the sense of Kalmyk community and identity was greatly damaged. The Kalmyk language was forbidden, the practice of any religion was not allowed, and Buddhism and shamanism both went underground. There is some evidence that the shamanic traditions of healing were continued, occasionally and secretively, during that time. One account told of a rare exception, a shamanic ritual to the spirit of the waters that was performed on Sakhalin Island (Fridman 2004, 80). Buddhism, more strongly cherished and more bound to the identity of being a Kalmyk, was continued in a very subterranean manner, texts and artifacts buried if possible, taken into exile, and highly cherished.

The Post-Soviet Era

In the post-Soviet period, with respect to Buddhism, the regeneration of the religion not only has official state support, but also receives a great deal of input from the outside. The Dalai Lama has offered much help, and the current leader of the Kalmyk lamas, a Rinpoche (a Tibetan Buddhist Lama) from the United States,

Dedushka Arkadi, Kalmyk shaman healing. Elista, Kalmykia, Russia, 1996. (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman)

has brought in encouragement and a sense of renewal. In the deportation and period of exile to Siberia, the Kalmyks suffered great loss of life and total separation from their native land. They were deliberately divided into small groups so that the sense of Kalmyk community and identity was greatly damaged. The Kalmyk language was forbidden, the practice of any religion was not allowed, and Buddhism and shamanism both went underground. The data from the lamas in Kalmykia indicates that the regeneration of Buddhism has relied heavily upon assistance from the outside—from the Dalai Lama and from all the help that an institutionalized religion can bring to bear in the reestablishment of buildings for the practice of religion, schools, books, and objects of worship, many brought in from Tibet or Nepal via India to help assist the regeneration.

Shamanism, on the other hand, is renewing itself without assistance from any outside source. It was weaker to start with and more vulnerable to the Soviet destruction because shamanic practice was tied to the appeal to particular local spirits dwelling in specific water sources and trees, or the fire in the hearth, and hence when the people were torn from these sources, the religion lost its vital nourishment. The attachment of the Kalmyks to their homeland in Russia is very real and compelling—these people kissed the earth when they returned after years of exile.

Shamanism is, however, renewing itself in the form, not of rituals to nature or of offerings to springs, but of healers who are looking into water, doing energy massage, cutting black and white thread to bring blessings for the New Year, and dealing with all the mundane as well as magical problems brought by people who are living through difficult times and are anxious for help. The shamans are, moreover, often without training and without example, getting their strength from their connection to the spirits of nature—air, water, fire, and earth—and from deities they have traditionally turned to, such as the Buddhist deity Tara or the Old White Man, a syncretic figure. Shamanism, therefore, in Kalmykia, has limited itself as a re-

sult of suppression both by Lamaism and then by the Soviet power to the single function of healing.

More sensitive than Buddhism to the displacement from kinship clans, specific sacred locale, and attachment to the aspects of nature familiar in Kalmykia, shamanism has, comparatively, not made a strong recovery. However, healers have appeared in quite surprising numbers in response to popular demand, and are drawing their strengths from their connections with ancestral spirits as well as the spirits of nature and locale.

In the revived practices of traditional healing in the 1990s, shamanism plays a role in two ways, given the nature of the syncretism between Buddhism and shamanism. The essential point is that the syncretism between Buddhism and shamanism works both ways: Shamanic healers have incorporated a great many aspects of Lamaist Buddhism, but Buddhist lamas have also taken in some of the elements of the shamanistic worldview into their healing practices.

Lamas

The key difference between Lamaism and shamanism in the practice of healing in Kalmykia depends on whether the healer relies solely on Buddhist prayers, mantras, and chants to effect the healing activity, or whether there is an additional internal process whereby the healer calls upon spirits to offer assistance. Some lama healers rely primarily on Buddhist prayers and attributes, with minor shamanistic components in their healing practices, whereas others additionally call upon the spirits, entering a trance state often completely imperceptible to the observer. Indeed, it lasts for such a short period of time that it is almost a nonevent, except that the healer claims to have been able in this brief interval to make a meaningful connection with his helping spirit. Shaman-healers may be male or female, although female shaman-healers seem to predominate; lamas are always male.

This reliance on Buddhist prayers and attributes, while still having extremely short periods of altered states of consciousness for contacts with spirits, can be illustrated in the case of Bazarsad, a Buryat lama healing with Kalmyk methods. He has been working in Kalmykia as a healer since 1991 and says that although he is a lama, everything in his practice, except for the prayers, is shamanistic. That means he talks to spirits and can go into a trance. He has his protector, his guru, and the local spirits of sky, water, earth, and fire, which are helpful guides for him (Fridman 2004, 70).

For example, he did a ritual with black and white threads to bring good fortune for the forthcoming year for the young man who was his patient. He laid out one black and one white thread, and the young man twisted the thread together. Bazarsad chanted Buddhist prayers; he sat with his eyes closed, hands clasped, and chanted Tibetan prayers from memory. After the prayers were completed, he cut the black and white twisted threads with scissors into 1.5-inch strips. These little strips were folded into a paper. After his session with the healer was over, the patient was directed to go outside and light this paper with a match so that it would burn and the threads scatter in four directions. This is a ritual that strays over the boundary between Buddhism and shamanism, belonging in both camps by virtue of the fact that Buddhist prayers in Tibetan are recited while magical procedures are followed relating to the spirits of the four directions.

Other lamas who practice healing follow more traditional Buddhist methods, with some aspects of shamanistic thinking occasionally apparent, such as prayers to the Old White Man and Buddhist ceremonies outside on the steppe.

Shamans

Data from shaman healers interviewed in 1996 demonstrated clearly that what happened in the case of Kalmykia was a narrowing of shamanism so that it became limited to only one function, that of healing (Fridman 2004, 86). The reasons for this limited function of shamanism have to be sought in the history of the Kalmyk peoples themselves: in their migration a long distance away from their homeland, in their history of repression at the hands of the Russians with dissolution of their republic, a trauma repeated even more drastically during the Soviet period. Shamanism still, however, relies on a specific connection to a locale, to spirits of the place, in order to be performed. Some shamanic healing did take place in Siberia on Sakhalin Island, but the only example of a shamanic ritual

(which was performed to good effect) in Siberia, was done to specific water deities of the locale. In the post-Soviet period, healers have described communing with spirits of the place or of the locale of the patient in order to heal the patient, but admittedly specific instances of this have been difficult to record, due to the shamans' fear of revealing who these spirits are (Fridman 2004, 87).

The level of trance (altered states of consciousness) that these Kalmyk shaman-healers can achieve seems to be very brief. A few shamans have been trained by other shamans to do healing, and most of them have had ancestors who were bonesetters or could do shamanic healing. There is a well-established pattern in Siberia of a person who comes from shaman ancestry and receives a "call" to become a shaman, often through an inexplicable illness that does not get cured until the person accepts the "gift" of becoming a shaman and receiving spirits. Kalmyk shaman-healers do describe this pattern in their own personal histories, and since they all claim to go into an altered state of consciousness, albeit a very brief one, it is possible to classify them as shaman-healers. In terms of their social positions, they operate primarily in a modest way as alternative healers in a system where modern allopathic medicine does not function as well as it might. On the whole, the connection for the Kalmyk shaman-healers to the spirits of the locale has been revived in a weakened form, indicated by the fact that their practice does not include rituals in nature, but is limited to healing. Since healing was also attested to historically, the argument can be made for a continuity of practice since the seventeenth century. Reconnection to place, however, has been necessary and essential for shamanism to regenerate.

As examples, two of the shaman-healers can be briefly described. These accounts are based on fieldwork conducted by the author in 1996 (Fridman 2004). Even the more traditional shaman-healers, such as Alexandra Semenovna (Schura) have many important components of Buddhism in their practice. She was born in 1946 in the Krasnoyarsk region, in southern Siberia. A teacher of the Russian language, she began to do some healing occasionally; since 1986 she has been doing healing full time and has a busy healing practice, with an average of seven to eight people who come to her home every day for healing therapies. Schura began to heal people after she had been ill for many years. Typical of the calling to become a shaman, healers almost always suffer from chronic and incurable sicknesses until they finally give in to the spirit's demand that they become a shaman and practice this calling, whereupon they become asymptomatic. In addition, Schura had ancestors—her maternal grandfather, her father and her mother— who were healers. Schura says her mother is "clear-sighted," meaning she can foretell the future from prayer beads. Schura's spirit helpers include the Old White Man, the Buddha Maitreya, and the Medicine Buddha as well as the Green Tara, the Avalokuteshvara, or the Buddha of compassion, and the White Tara. She stressed the importance of the Old White Man, who is associated with special prayers to the earth and animals and has a shamanistic origin.

Schura has said that the soul of the dead person talks to her. She then conveys this message to the sick person: "He wants vodka, bouillon, food—you must go home prepare a hot tea, give it to an old woman or an old man and then they will remember this [deceased] person" (Fridman 2004, 77). She has said that she can look at the sick person and see clearly the spirit of the dead people as if they were alive. She knows that a specific spirit is the spirit of that specific person, and she even knows how he died and what catastrophe caused his death. She sees the various gods of that person—the god of the earth, little grandfather, *domovoi* (spirits of the house), and *xozzyan* (the master or caretaker of the house). Schura's practice as a healer is quite typical of Kalmyk shaman-healers in her use of massage, bioenergy concepts, and healing of physical as well as mental disorders. An integral component of her ability to do this healing is the strength she draws from her personal protective spirits and from Shamanist-Buddhist deities.

Lyubov Gavrilovna is a healer using both shamanistic and Buddhist methods who comes from a family of healers. She has been healing for forty-five years, much of it in secret. When she was eleven a special ritual was done for her because she had been ill with epilepsy; Kalmyks perform this ritual when they think a child will die. The shaman-healer will ask the Old White Man to come into her head and give informa-

tion; theoretically it is the spirit who is doing the healing, not the healer. After this ritual of the Old White Man was done by a shaman, a ritual for the White Tara (because Lyubov Gavrilovna, the patient, was female) was done for her by Dalga Aka, a lama, who also became her teacher. After this ritual she had to sit on a special mattress for prayers for forty-nine days and was not able to eat butter or meat. She put on a white jacket, then a chemise, and then a dress whenever she sat and prayed. She still continues to do these forty-nine-day prayers, sitting in a special white tent, and when this period is concluded she will offer a special prayer. Then she is able to eat sheep and grilled meat and butter.

Lyubov uses many Buddhist elements in her practice and has many shamanistic attributes. She learned prayers for healing from the lama who was her teacher and from a woman, Agdza-Ava, who was a powerful healer, a shaman who could heal people who had speech and hearing problems. Lyubov's daughter said that her mother learned many secrets from this woman, which she has revealed to no one but which she uses in her healing practice. She specializes in healing children who cry and have temperatures, but she can also heal people with mental problems by giving energy with her hands and reading secret shamanistic prayers she learned from Aka, her teacher. These prayers are so secret that no one knows what they are, but she must transmit this information before her death, or else she will end up in the Underworld.

The revival of shamanism in Kalmykia, although meaningful to the practitioners and their clients, is weak when compared to that in Tuva and Buryatia. In Kalmykia there are only individual healers, whereas in Buryatia a society of shamans has been formed, and in Tuva the Dungur Shaman Society already has a house where they do healing by appointment (having replaced the Buddhist Society that was formerly housed there).

Eva Jane Neumann Fridman

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Buryat Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Siberian Shamanism; Tibetan Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bakaeva, E. P. 1994. *Buddism v Kalmikii (Buddhism in Kalmykia).* Elista, Kalmykia: Kalmitskoe Knizhnoe Izdatelstvo.

Batireva, S. G. 1991. *Starokalmitzkoe Iskusstvo (Old Kalmykian Art).* Elista, Kalmykia: Kalmitskoe Knizhnoe Izdatelstvo.

Erdniev, U. E. 1970. *Kalmiki.* Elista, Kalmykia: Kalmitskoe Knizhnoe Iszdatelstvo

Fridman, Eva Jane N. 1998a. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism in the Buddhist Republics of Russia.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

———. 1998b. "Lost Locale: Return and Healing in Kalmykia." *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 16, no. 2 (autumn): 39–45.

———. 2004. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism among the Buddhist Peoples of Russia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, Bibliotheca Shamanistica.

Heissig, Walter. 1953. "A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the 17th Century." *Anthropos: Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Linguistique* 48, fasc. 1–2: 1–29; fasc. 3–4: 493–536.

Zhukovskaia, N. L. 1993. "The Republic of Kalmykia: A Painful Path of National Renewal." *Anthropology and Archaeology of Eurasia* 31, no. 4: 85–101.

KAZAK SHAMANISM

Few Kazaks, many of whom live in the Republic of Kazakstan, formerly a part of the USSR, have ever seen a shaman, but some of the elders retain vivid memories of healers in the early Soviet period who used ecstatic healing methods. Reports of Kazak shamans today are misidentifications of Muslim healers or fortune-tellers who display minor traits of shamanship.

In Kazak, a Turkic language spoken by 11 million people in Central Asia, the general word for healer is *emshi* (from *em,* "cure"). The emshi tradition once included a shaman-like figure *(baqsı),* who specialized in ecstatic rites of healing and divination. It still includes the mullah (*molda,* from Arabic *mawlā*), who heals by reciting the Yasin Sura and other verses from the Quran. The *täwip* (Arabic *tabib,* doctor), often a woman, emulates the Islamic curing style of the mullah, even when she lacks his Quranic knowledge. The Kazak shaman was one historical refraction of this emshi prism. When the Soviet cloud lifted, Muslim healers calling themselves molda and täwip, but not *baqsı,* reemerged into the light of day.

Many täwips are herbalists, specializing in the therapeutic flora of Central Asia, where native medicines are packaged commercially and available in pharmacies. Hallucinogens do not figure in Kazak healing practices.

Kazaks consult the *balger* or *palshı* (diviner) (from the Persian *fal,* divination) for prognosis of life's uncertainties, for example, the outcome of medical treatments, finding lost objects or people, or identifying a suitable marriage partner. The balger is often a woman and a public figure, plying her trade in the bazaars—unlike the mullahs and täwips, who stay at home and wait for patients to come to them. Like yesterday's shaman, today's täwip may be a balger as well. Prying into God's future is sometimes condemned by the mullahs, though they may proclaim themselves the best of all possible fortune-tellers.

History

In the fourteenth century a contest of spiritual power involving an ordeal of fire between a group of Sufis and the court shamans of Özbek Khan resulted, according to a legendary account, in victory for the Muslims and the conversion of the Golden Horde (DeWeese 1994). The story implicates shamans in the political structure of this Turko-Mongol state, from which the Kazak, Uzbek, and other Turkic peoples emerged. As the legend was embellished, the victorious Sufis were identified as disciples of the twelfth-century Sufi shaykh, Ahmet Yasawi, who is celebrated by the Kazaks as the wellspring of Islam on the Kazak steppe.

As Kazak clans became spiritual clients of the Qojas (Persian *khoja*), members of a Muslim honor group with roots in the Sufi tradition, shamanship lost its force. Though the Qojas are thoroughly Kazak in language and culture, they claim Arab bloodlines back to Ali and Muhammad and are therefore revered by the Kazaks for their healing powers. The shaman was a common healer with Kazak rather than Arab blood, socially inferior to the Qoja, who performed "Muslim cures" (*musılmansha em*).

In the 1860s the shaman was described by Chọkan Valikhanov, the first Kazak ethnographer (1985), and later by M. Miropiev (1888), Abubakr Divaev (1899) and Joseph Castagné (1930), whose works have been excerpted in a Kazak-language anthology on shamans (Däūrenbekov and Tursinov 1993). Russian scholarship treated the shaman as an obsolescent survivor of the nomadic cultural phase and thus encouraged the Soviet attack on the old healing arts. It also fostered the evolutionary idea that shamanism had once been the "nature religion" of the Kazaks. Taught in Kazakstan's public schools, this idea makes the shaman into the first Kazak environmentalist.

The Kazaks call the shamanic séance *oyın,* a Turkic word meaning play; they also call it *zikir,* from *dhikr,* an Arabic word meaning remembrance of God. According to the standard interpretation, Quranic terms were transferred to the shamanic context because the Sufis of the Yasawi tradition displayed ecstatic behavior that reminded the Turkic peoples of their own shamans; shamanism then infiltrated the Muslim world via the Sufis (Köprülü 1991). For example, the exuberant *dhikr-i jahr* (loud *dhikr*) was a Yasawian devotional rite that had a therapeutic counterpart and was compatible with native curing styles. A corollary view is that the shamans doomed themselves when they struck a deal with the Sufis and Qojas from a position of weakness, adopted Islamic terminology, and were absorbed by Islam (M.O. Aūezov, in Däūrenbekov and Tursınov 1993, 98f.).

An alternative interpretation is that, as Sufi rites were domesticated in Kazak life outside the framework of Sufi brotherhoods, the Sufi dhikr itself gave rise to shamanic performance. If that interpretation is valid, the Kazak shaman can be understood as a latecomer. Devin DeWeese (1997) argued against the view that shamanship in Central Asia was a coherent, archaic religion that survived by borrowing from Islam. Since the time the Kazaks became a distinct people in the fifteenth century, there is no historical data to support the standard theory until the "ethnographic shaman" comes to light in the nineteenth century. Glorified by Europeans who were entranced by Siberian shamanism, these latter-day Kazak shamans may have been little more than popularizers of Sufi and Qoja healing arts, especially among women. One strength of this theory is that it clarifies the origins of female täwips in Kazak culture today. Vladimir Basilov's belief was that men lost interest in a shamanic career that had sacrificed its social prestige to the spiritual power of Islam (1995, 11).

Modern folk healers in Kazakstan's urban centers draw more from Russian parapsychol-

ogy, New Age spirituality, and the aura of the Islamic healing tradition, than from shamanism. They are called *ekstrasens* (extrasensories) who use *biotok* (bioenergy)—Russian words without counterparts in the Kazak language.

Two Female Shamans

When the shaman is described in the Kazak language, the ecstasy of dance, musical performance, and ordeals of fire, self-piercing, and snake-handling are said to produce transformed physiognomy and visions of the shaman's helping spirits. Two testimonies recorded by the author in 1995 are examples of how the shaman is remembered:

Aybibi, a Kazak woman born in 1916, came from a long line of shamans on her mother's side. When she married she was taught the Islamic prayers and forced to abandon shamanship, but her mother was a shaman until she died in 1963. Aybibi said that there are no shamans left anymore, but she described them as follows:

> They would carry a *qobız* [a small stringed instrument] around on their back. They would sit in front of the sick person and play. They would go way up to the top of the house, to the smoke hole of the yurt. Their countenance would light up like fire. . . . The ancestor-spirits lifted them. . . . My mother was a shaman with her helping-spirit joined to her soul (*jan qıyılıs pirim baqsı*).

Musical performance and invocation of the spirits was said to produce levitation to the top of the yurt, where the shaman met his or her helping spirits. Healing occurred when they drove away the evil spirit oppressing the patient. Aybibi's maternal grandfather was a shaman also; shamanship could be passed from father to daughter (Privratsky 2001, 220f.).

Uljalġas, a Kazak täwip born in 1942, ridiculed the shaman's séance as a "jinn performance" *(jın oynaq),* but said her mother was one:

> Among all the ancestor-spirits the most fearsome are the jinn of the shamans. When they sit there moaning with their *qobız,* their spirits come. They romp, they don't stay in one place, they fly off, no matter how heavy their body. They fly off to heaven, skipping, their feet not touching the ground. The old shaman woman puts the coal shovel in the fire, heats it up, licks at it, then her whole face dries up, and then she performs. She puts the sick people in the middle and performs around them, leaping into the air. (Privratsky 2001, 221ff.)

Uljalġas's mother called her helping spirits "black giants" *(qara däūlerim),* from the Indo-European word for deity (Persian *dev,* Latin *deus*), also "black masters" *(qara pirlerim),* using a title for the leader of a Sufi community (Persian *pīr*), and she envisioned them in physical form as "black stud-camels" *(qara narlarım).* She also invoked "a floppy-eared swaggering snake, as tall as the door frame, with a face like the moon" *(kere qulaq, ker jılan, bosaġa boylı bop jılan, ayday aldı ay jılan)* (Privratsky 2001, 221ff.). In Siberia her camel-spirit and snake-spirit would be called the shaman's "animal mothers."

Current Healing Strategies

All Kazak healers today use non-ecstatic techniques that reflect Islamic ideas about the origin of illness. An enemy's curses, conveyed by means of the evil eye *(köz),* bitter tongue *(til),* or pointed finger *(suq),* or by sorcery *(ırım, dūa),* result in "blocked ways" *(baylaġan jol).* Sickness may also occur when one is "touched by cold" *(sūıq tiygen),* causing imbalance in the "hot" and "cold" properties of the body. This is the humoral theory of disease from classical Greece that was formalized in Islamic medicine by Ibn Sina (Avicenna) in the eleventh century and diffused across the Muslim world and Europe. The following methods are used by Kazak healers today:

1. Taking the pulse *(tamır ustaū),* because it is the body's barometer, by means of which the ancestor-spirits communicate a diagnosis to the healer by special revelation *(ayan)*
2. Divination *(pal ashū),* another way of seeking an intuitive diagnosis from the ancestor-spirits, either by casting forty-one sheep-dung pellets *(qırıq bir qumalaq),* or by scapulimancy (divination of the future by observation of the cracking of a mammal's scapula that has been

heated by a fire) *(jaūırın oqū),* or by reading tarot cards
3. Reciting the Quran (Koran) *(Quran oqıtū)* and breathing *(dem salū)* or spitting *(tükirū)* on the patient—a practice said to have been used by Muhammad himself
4. Exorcism *(jın alastaū),* commanding the evil spirit to leave in the name of the ancestor spirits
5. Massage
6. Herbal treatments
7. Dietary suggestions

The shaman's dancing and ecstasy have been replaced by Islamic folk therapies. Qojas and mullahs prefer the first, third, and fourth of these methods, sometimes the second, often rejecting the others as unspiritual. Täwips may specialize in any or all of them.

Ancestors and Helping Spirits

In the Kazak worldview every Muslim has ancestor spirits, or *arūaq* (Arabic *Ruḥ?,* plural *arwāḥ?*), but the healer has more spirits than other people have. The healer must have at least five, because the average person has four. Belief that the shaman had more spirits than other people occurs also in the Siberian and Native American traditions.

In Kazak the sacred essence, or animus, in people, natural objects, and places is traditionally called *kiye,* a concept similar to the Polynesian mana. The kiye of the healer is pitted against the *iye* (master) of the disease *(aūrūdıng iyesine adamnıng kiyesi qarsı qoyıladı).* The Kazak expression, *kiyesi qashadı* (literally: "his or her soul escapes"), which is now used figuratively to describe someone who is startled, suggests that sickness or derangement was once thought to be caused by soul flight. There is, however, no other evidence that retrieving souls was ever part of the Kazak healer's repertoire.

Kiye is seldom used in the noun form any more. Too impersonal for a Muslim people, it was overwhelmed by the Semitic ideas of soul *(jan)* and spirit *(arūaq).* The Kazak healer's helping spirits are his or her Muslim forefathers *(ata-babalar),* sometimes including foremothers *(ata-analar);* they are "pure spirits" *(taza arūaq)* because they were Muslims. Qojas are the most powerful *(kiyeli)* healers, and their burial grounds are sacred places *(kiyeli jer),* because their ancestors were Arabs, conferring Allah's blessing. Uljalġas described her spirits as gentle Muslim spirits *(momın arūaq),* unlike the shaman's jinn *(jındı arūaq).* This worldview makes her a Muslim täwip, self-consciously distinct from the baqsı (Privratsky 2001, 221ff.).

Domestic culinary rites are dedicated to the Kazak family's ancestor spirits. As in other Muslim societies, funerary meals are organized by the elders of the family and blessed by a mullah whom they have invited to recite the Quran in memory of the dead. In the historical record the shaman is never associated with these memorial meals. Although they are congruent with the Turko-Mongolian funerary tradition, it is an error to treat them as evidence of shamanism.

The Shaman's Sickness and Calling

The ancestor spirits "burn" in the Kazak healer *(arūaq jaġıp jüredi).* As she treats patients they "press" her *(arūaq qısadı);* her heart beats hard, and the spirits reveal a diagnosis. The healer's first experience of this pressure is life-transforming. Chronic illness raises the question whether the ancestor spirits are calling the sick person to become a täwip. A chronically ill person will be advised to start healing others to see if this will produce a self-cure. Although this replicates the well-known "shaman's sickness" (Basilov 1989), Kazaks take up a healing ministry as a kind of recommitment to the Muslim way of life—what I. M. Lewis calls the "therapeutic route to Islam" (1986, 98). A dream vision of the Muslim ancestor spirits, or sometimes of a local Sufi saint, or of Muhammad himself, certifies the vocation of the new healer, and the elders of the family give their initial, or "small," blessing *(kishi bata).* This beginning may be followed by an apprenticeship to a senior healer, who gives a final, or "pure," blessing *(aq bata).*

Therapeutic Paraphernalia

The Kazak healer's tool kit includes the Quran, the Muslim's rosary of ninety-nine beads, a horsewhip, a knife, and forty-one pellets or beads for divination. No shamanic costume is involved. While the patient's pulse is taken or the pellets are cast, the Quran and/or the rosary may be held in the healer's hand, because a diagnosis is being intuited from Muslim ancestor spirits. The whip and knife are waved ritually

over the patient to drive out demons or to suggest the cutting out of the thing that hurts. On the end of the whip there may be owl feathers to protect the healer, because the owl is *kiyeli,* a sacred animal. The disease stays with the feathers, so the disease cannot migrate to the healer.

Music

The *qobız* is a bowed stringed instrument specifically associated with songs that induce shamanic trance. The absence of musical performance distinguishes today's täwip and mullah from yesterday's shaman. The shaman's qobız and drum are idealized in Kazak folk memory but also feared—a contradiction that reveals the ambivalent place of the shaman in the social memory. Conservatory musicians who learn the qobız are viewed as treading on exciting but dangerous ground.

Miracles associated with shamanic music were recorded in the early ethnographies. One famous story features Qoylıbay Baqsı, who hung his magical qobız on a tree and challenged some cocky young men on horseback to beat his instrument in a race. The tree, empowered by the qobız, was lifted from its roots by a whirlwind and won the race, leaving the riders in a cloud of dust (Valikhanov [1862] in Däūrenbekov and Tursınov 1993, 38f.; Castagné 1930, 64f.).

However, the days of such miracles are over. When Kazaks need a healer, they go to a medical doctor, or, if the ailment appears to have a spiritual cause, to a täwip or a mullah, preferably one who is a Qoja with Arab blood. Resorting to a shaman is no longer an option, because "their seed has dried up" *(tuqımı qurıp ketti),* as an old Qoja said to the author. The shamans let themselves be interpreted through Islamic lenses and have lost their independent identity. Whatever they may once have been, today's Kazak healers think in Islamic terms and display therapies that are similar to curing styles in other Muslim societies.

Bruce G. Privratsky

See also: Kirghiz Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Sufism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1989. "Chosen by the Spirits." *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 28, no. 1: 9–55.

———. 1995. "The 'Shamanic Disease' in Uzbek Folk Beliefs." *Shaman* 3, no. 1: 3–13.

Castagné, Joseph A. 1930. "Magie et exorcisme chez les Kazak-Kirghizes et autres peuples Turks orientaux" [Magic and exorcism among the Kazaks and other eastern Turkic peoples]. *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 4: 53–151.

Däūrenbekov, Jaqaū, and Edige Tursınov, eds. 1993. *Qazaq Baqsı-Balgerleri* [Kazak shaman-diviners]. Almaty: Ana Tili.

DeWeese, Devin. 1994. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 1997. "The Yasavī Sufi Tradition and the Problem of Shamanic 'Survivals.'" Paper presented at the Fourth Conference on Shamanism of the International Society for the Study of Religion, Chantilly, France, September 1–5, 1997.

Divaev, Abubakr A. 1899. *Iz Oblasti Kirgizskikh Verovanii: Baksy, kak Lekar' i Koldun* [Beliefs from the Kazak provinces: The shaman as healer and exorcist]. Kazan: Tipografia Imperatorskago Universiteta.

Köprülü, Fuad. 1991. Reprint. *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* [The first Sufis in Turkish literature]. 7th edition. Ankara: Diyanet İsleri Baskanlığı. Original edition, 1918.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1986. *Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miropiev, M. 1888. *Demonologicheskie Razskazy Kirgizov'* [Demonological myths of the Kirghiz]. Saint Petersburg: Tipografiya V. O. Kirshbauma.

Privratsky, Bruce G. 2001. *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory.* Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.

Valikhanov, Chokan (Shoqan Wälīḥanulı). 1985. *Tangdamalı* [Selected works]. Edited and translated into Kazak by E. Jarmuhanbetov from the Russian *Sobranie sochinenii.* Alma-Ata: Jazūshı.

KHAKASS SHAMANISM

The people called the Khakass, living in southern Siberia, including the ethnic groups of the

Kachintsy, Sagaitsy, Kyzyltsy, Bel'tyry, and Koibaly. Linguistically they belong to the Altai language family (the Khakass subgroup of the Uigur-Oguz group of Turkic-Mongol branch). Their original settlement was in the Sayan-Altai plateau, and the Khakass-Minusinsk basin, consisting of natural zones of taiga, forest-steppe, and steppe.

Historical Background

There are more than thirty thousand archaeological sites of different cultures within this territory. The valley of the Middle Yenisey River, the area known in Chinese chronicles as the Kirghiz State, whose population was called Yenisey Kirghiz or "Khyagasy"—the ancient name for the Khakass people—was known from a sixth-century C.E. runic script. There is little documentation of beliefs and practice from the period between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries. In the seventeenth century the Russians called the region the Kirghiz land. In 1703, 15,000 Kirghiz people were moved to Dzungaria (now western China); about 6,000 people were left from the original population of four *uluses* (principalities) (see Levin and Potapow 1964). In 1727 the uluses voluntarily joined the Russia Empire and became part of the Yenisey government region known since 1913 as the *volosts* (districts) Kizil, Kachinsk, Koybal, and Sagai. In 1923 the Khakass *uyezd* (district) was formed, and since 1930 it has been an autonomous oblast (province). In 1991 the Republic of Khakassia became part of the Russian Federation, with a territory of 62,000 square kilometers and the capital in Abakan.

In 1989, the Khakass population totaled 80,300 people, with 63,000 of these people living in the Republic of Khakassia and comprising less than 12 percent of the republic's population; 6,500 Khakass live in the Krasnoyarsk region, and there are 2,300 living in the Republic of Tuva; there are only 1,500 Khakass in Kirghiztan, Kazakstan, and Uzbekistan. Their main occupation was cattle breeding of a seminomadic type, hunting, and plough agriculture. The traditional shelter was a yurt, which could be dismantled and moved. In the summer the yurt was built from birch bark, and in the winter it was made of thick felt. Since the nineteenth century, yurts have been made of wood, and more recently, following the second half of the nineteenth century, the Khakass no longer used yurts and lived in wooden houses. In Soviet times, cities appeared, and currently only 10 percent of the population in the capital, Abakan, identify themselves as Khakass.

The traditional beliefs and culture of the Khakass were heavily influenced by shamanism. Ritual culture was well developed, with many folktales and songs. Musical instruments used for these songs consisted of percussion instruments, rattles, wind instruments, and string instruments (including some that use a bow); the most ancient of these instruments is possibly the drum, of which examples still remain. The shamanic drum *(tür, tüür)* is big (70x75 centimeters) and slightly oval; the circular rim is wide (minimum 12 centimeters), with at least six knobs on the upper part and a thong loop. On the inner side of the circular rim there are metal pendants. On the upper half of the drum there is an iron rod with pendants and ribbons. The handle is flat and made from birch wood. The drum is covered with the skin of the male Siberian stag with drawings of the upper and middle worlds. The drumming stick *(orba)* is made from the bone of the stag; one side is covered with a roebuck leg-skin *(kamus)* and on the other there are copper plates and a ring with ribbons *(chalama)*. The instrument is similar to the Shortsy type *(kachintsy, sagaitsy, bel'-tyry)* and to the Sayano-Yenisey types (part of the *kachintsy*).

A narrator *(khaidgy)* was charged with the narration of sacred folktales, which were accompanied by the *chatkhan,* a musical instrument with seven to eleven strings. Shamans wore costumes when they performed these dances and songs. Examples of these costumes still remain, some in Russian museum collections, such as those displayed in the Museum of Ethnography in St. Petersburg. Some costumes consist of short jackets or longer caftans from sheep, roe, or Siberian stag skin sewn with the fur side inside and covered with black cloth. Costumes are often decorated on the back with cowry shells, some small metal decorative objects, and long fringe, as well as a pair of bird's wings or paws with claws. The Kyzyltsy and Kachintsy costumes have additional shoulder capes—pieces of cloth that are most often red, with fringe, metal pendants, and cowry shells. Their headdresses look like steeple-topped cloth hats. The front side is decorated with cowry shells, and there is

A shaman woman without a drum conducts her shamanic séance, Khakassia Republic, Askiz region, 2002. (Courtesy of Valentina Kharitonova)

a long fringe that covers the shaman's face and chest. There is often a bunch of eagle-owl's feathers on the top and on the back a descending tail braided of textile ribbons, with small metal objects that sound like small bells ringing when they are shaken together.

Shamanism was denounced by the Russian Orthodox church, with missionaries prohibiting *kamlanyes* (shamanic séances) and burning the shamans' drums. Conflicts between those who practiced shamanism and Christianity have declined in the last two centuries, as Christianity has adopted more shamanistic practices and beliefs into its traditions in the area. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, many Khakass (both voluntarily and by force) converted to Christianity. The last baptism of the Khakass took place in 1876.

Some Statistics and the Decline

The number of shamans in the population is low. In 1885 a mere twenty-six people among the Sagai (0.2 percent of the population) identified themselves as shamans, two of whom were women. According to data collected in the period 1924–1925 in Khakassia, seventy-one people were shamans (0.2 percent), seventeen of whom were women. Among them thirty-nine people had drums and costumes, and fifteen were considered hereditary shamans. Of these people, forty-two said that they had received the gift of shamanizing after having been very ill, and fourteen became shamans on their own initiative.

Although relatively few people have identified themselves as shamans in the last hundred years, the number of shamanic séances performed and recorded has been high. In one seven-year period (1917–1924), 4,025 kamlanyes, or shamanic séances, were recorded. Shamans may have feared persecution and exile and because of this did not identify themselves as shamans, as data from the 1930s shows that many shamans were exiled. Three shamans who returned from exile in the 1950s (E. Kyzlasov, E. Saradzakov, K. Aryshtaev) openly renounced (in writing) their shamanic practices, and those

who did perform séances did so secretly until the 1970s. As a result of the exile and persecution of shamanism, there were very few shamans who could teach those who had been called to the vocation. This situation gave birth to a particular group of "shamans without drums," the representatives of which are still alive now (T. S. Burnakova, S. R. Maynogasheva).

Khakass Shamanistic Cosmology

In the shamanism of the Khakass, the world is understood as comprising three domains. The upper, Chayan-chiri, is the heavenly domain of the nine creators. The main deities are the following: Chalbyros-chayan, or Khuday-chayan; Kugurt-chayans, the thunderer; Chaltyrakh-chayans, the light creator; Ymay-iche, saver of child souls; and the goddess of fertility, Pulay–khan, who is responsible for morality and beliefs. The Middle World, Kunig-chir, is the world of human beings, also inhabited by plants and animals and spirits. The principal spirits are mountain spirits, known as *tag eezi;* their chief is Khubay Khan. The master of wind is called Childey Khan, and the master of the rivers is called Sugday Khan. The master of fire is called Khooray Piche, and the master of frost is called Khumdyzakh. In the western part of the Middle World is the palace of the protector deities and the head of all the shamans, Ada or Adam Khan (translated as "my Father Khan") with his spouse, Inem Khan. The road to the palace is watched by Kermes Khan. In the lower, nine-level world, Ayna-chiri, seven Underworld gods rule: Erlik Khan (or Chines Khan), his son Itker-Molat, and his daughter Ucham-Tolay, as well as the head of the kingdom of the death, Uzut Khan, who is the head of the last level of the Underworld kingdom, known as hell, or Tamy Khan.

The Underworld gods called the Erliks created the shamans, as well as evil, including diseases, and the protector gods created all the good. The struggle between good and evil takes place in the Middle World among people. The mediators between gods and people were the shamans, *khamnar,* who were divided into two categories. The most powerful were the great shamans called the *pugdurs,* who wore special costumes, possessed up to nine drums, and had many helping spirits (*tyoses* [*tös*]). They were believed to have made long shamanic journeys, even to the Arctic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, curing barrenness by getting the power of living from the goddess Umai, and preventing epidemics. In general these powerful shamans led sacrifices, accompanied funerals, and predicted the future. *Pulgos,* who were less powerful shamans, had one drum and wore a simple costume, and their journeys were restricted to nearby regions. Their predictions were less valid, and their rituals were less effective. There were also the *chalanchykhs,* magical healers and mystics who could cure using spells and were similar to shamans but were not initiated, and did not wear costumes or use drums.

Many shamans were called to the profession when they become very ill, and for many of them the suffering was not easy. The one chosen by the spirits usually had a severe psychosomatic form of illness, often in a form similar to epilepsy. One of the strongest experiences (similar to initiation) was a dream vision, in which the body separated from the skeleton and the joints disintegrated. In this vision, the body and its parts were ground by a stone mill, boiled in a bronze pot, and put through a copper sieve in search of the *artykh syook,* "extra bone" (considered to be the physical qualification to be a shaman). This vision signified the ritual death of the shaman as a normal human being. Having recovered from the illness, the future shaman was trained by an older, stronger, and very powerful shaman, *pastaan-paba,* in a secluded sacred mountainous place (often on Mount Sakhsaar), usually for a period of three months. The training included learning bioenergetics and ritual practices, song prayers, and *algys* (hymns).

If the future shaman refused the shamanic destiny, the shaman who was the trainer would conduct a séance to remove the spirits that prevented acceptance by sending them into the mountains or to the bottom of the ocean. Sometimes the tyoses became free after some time and besiege the chosen one again. A new shaman could be appointed through a certain rite. When a shaman died, if there was no one entering the vocation in the settlement, a replacement was chosen through a special rite that involved trying on a shamanic costume and taking a drum in the hands. The one whom the costume fitted well and who felt shamanic power inside was trained and then

started to practice. After training the chosen one would have to appear before Adam Khan to obtain the tyoses as a shaman gift. Kyormes Khan would meet the chosen one on the way and test the truth and purity of the new shaman's intentions. Adam Khan determined what costume and drum the new shaman should have and impressed his clan *tamga* (seal) upon the hexahedral black spruce at the khan's palace on Borus Hill. The chosen one could "see" Adam-khan as an unusual light. After the trip to him, a certain initiation rite, called *tirig taiy,* was conducted.

A shamanic séance performed by the modern she-shaman in Khakassia, Askiz region, 2001. (Courtesy of Valentina Kharitonova)

Spirits and Shamans

Some spirits prevented a shaman from accepting destiny, but others were helpers to the shaman. There were mainly two kinds of shaman spirits. There were the pure ones, *aryg tyoster,* which dwelt in heaven, in mountains, or in fire; they were depicted on the top of the drum. Then there were the impure ones, *purtakh tyoster,* which dwelt under the earth, in the water, or on the taiga; they were depicted on the bottom of the drum. Powerful shamans obtained the tyoses not only from Adam Khan, but also from stars, fire, lightning, and mountains. For example, the tyoses of a late shaman, *khara tyos* (black foundation), were doing their best to find a new host for themselves as soon as possible before catching Adam Khan's eye, because he could lock these spirits up inside a mountain. Tyoses could choose a new candidate to be a shaman, a person with an "extra bone"; the person who was chosen would contract the shaman's illness immediately. One who possessed the purtakh tyoster was considered a "soul eater," or black shaman, *chekh (cheyek) kham.* The shaman called his spirits his army, *khan sirii,* and they obeyed him. He could see these spirits as whirlwinds, animals, or birds. Some of them had specific names: Kyuchyun-tyos was in the shape of snake, Ynaigakh, a goose-like tyos. There was also a keeper tyos *(khagba),* and a tyos who checked shamans for the extra bone *(saigot).* Each item of a shaman's belongings also had its own tyos: *tyulbek-tyos,* master of costume; *tyuben,* master of the drum; *ochan,* master of the drumming stick.

Shamans were intermediaries between human beings and spirits, contacting spirits while in altered states of consciousness, evoked by the rhythm of the shaman's drum, ritual motions, chanting, and bioenergetic methods—all without the use of drugs. They functioned as priests, healers, and foretellers. The rituals used in public prayers were performed outside in an open space, and those needed for healing were performed inside yurts.

The public prayers, *tayig,* were held in summer with a sacrifice to the sky *(tegir tayii),* to the river *(sug tayii),* to the stone idols *(mengirs, inei tayii),* to the mountains *(tag tayii),* and to the birch tree *(khazyn tayii).* Prayers also occurred in the vicinity of as many as two hundred sacred places, such as stone idols *(inei tas),* rock inscriptions *(pichiktig khaya),* and piles of stones *(obaa).* A three-year-old birch tree, *pai khazyn,* was put on the ritual place and decorated with *chalama*—red, blue, and white ribbons. An altar, *altyn sireye,* and a tether for the *yzykh,* holy horse, were also placed there, and a bonfire was made. During the prayers every-

body bowed to the sunrise. Before the shamanic session *(kamlanye),* they placed the birch inside a yurt, prepared *araka* (milk vodka), and slaughtered a white lamb. Shamans called up their tyoses through the open door of the yurt, performed algys (hymns), and whistled. They poured araka for their tyoses and exclaimed "Syoyok!"; they used as incense *irben, bogorodskaya trava* (Our Lady's herb). The slogan "Khobat!" used during the session was not to be spoken out loud randomly because tyoses might take offense and harm the speaker.

According to the Khakassian worldview, the human being has up to seven souls: life is provided by *tyn* (the breath); eyesight, "the fire of the eyes," is provided by *chula,* which wanders at night as a luminous figure; *khut* is a vital force that by day resides under one's toenails and at night on one's head, under the roots of the hair. Each individual has a *hagba,* a guardian angel, and the shaman has an additional special soul called a *magyra.* There is a clan soul *(syook chulazy),* which resides in a clan tree.

Soul theft was quite common among the Khakass, and the most frequent kinds of theft involved cases in which children's souls (usually the vital force soul) were stolen by the black shamans, who used the souls to help patients recover from an illness. The person who loses the soul dies; in healing sessions the shaman sets out to search for the lost soul. In order to confront the situation, different black shamans were sometimes asked to gain back the lost soul. Such soul theft would cause shamanic wars between black shamans in neighboring regions, for example, between Khakass and Tuvan shamans.

Valentina Kharitonova

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Buryat Shamanism; Costume, Shaman; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure; Kirghiz Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Siberian Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Alekseev, Nikolay. 1984. *Shamanism tiurkojazychnyh narodov Sibiri* [Shamanism of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Siberia]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Butanaev, Viktor. 1991. "The Khakass Shamanism: Totality of Gods." Paper presented at the International Conference on Shamanism: Regional Aspects of Shamanism, July 22–28, Seoul.

———. 1995. *Khakasy: Etnograficheskij ocherk* [The Khakass: An ethnographical sketch]. Moscow: INSAN.

———. 1999. *Khakassko-russkij istoriko-etnograficheskij slovar'* [A Khakass-Russian historical and ethnographical dictionary]. Abakan.

Diószegi, Vilmos. 1968. *Tracing Shamans in Siberia. The Story of an Ethnographical Research Expedition.* Oosterhout, The Netherlands: Anthropological Publications.

Kharitonova, Valentina. 2000. "S. G. G. Kazachinovoj beseduet V. I. Kharitonova. Izbrannichestvo i dar tvorchestva: sud'by khama, khajdzhi, takhpakhchi . . ." [Valentina Kharitonova speaks with Galina Kazachinova: Being a chosen one and a gift of creativity: The destinies of Kham, Khaidgi, Takhpakhchi . . .]. Pp. 79–106 in *Shamanskij dar* [Shamanic gift]. Edited by Valentina Kharitonova. Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 6. Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences.

———. 2001. "The Religious-Magical Practices in Russia at the End of XX–Beginning of XXI Centuries (Khakassiya, Tuva)." Pp. 180–187 (Russian), 187–189 (English) in *Proceedings of the International Interdisciplinary Scientific and Practical Symposium, Ecology and Traditional Religious and Magical Knowledge.* Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 7. Moscow.

Knödel, Susanne, and Ulla Johansen. 2000. *Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus* [Symbolism of Tibetan Religion and Shamanism]. Symbolik der Religionen, vol. 23. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.

Levin, M. G., and L. P. Potapow, eds. 1964. *The Peoples of Siberia.* Translated from the Russian by Scripta Technica, Inc. English translation edited by Stephen P. Dunn. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Potapow, L. P. 1963. Die Schamanentrommel bei den Altaischen Völkerschaften // Glaubenswelt und Folklore der Sibirischen Völker [The Shaman Drum among the Altaic Peoples: Belief System and Folklore of the Siberian People]. Budapest, pp. 249–251.

Prokoffjeva, Yelizaveta. 1961. "Shamanskije bubny" [The shamanic drums]. Pp. 435–490 in *Istoriko-etnograficheskij atlas Sibiri* [Historical-Ethnographic Atlas of Siberia]. Edited by Maxim Lewin and Leonid Potapov. Moscow, Leningrad.

———. 1971. "Shamanskije kostiumy narodov Sibiri" [The shamanic costumes of Siberian peoples]. Pp. 5–100 in *Sbornik Muzeja antropologii i etnogragii* [Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography], vol. 27. Edited by Leonid Potapov and Sergei Ivanov. Leningrad.

KIRGHIZ SHAMANISM (WEST CENTRAL ASIA)

Traditionally the Kirghiz are a Turkic-speaking nomadic group in western Central Asia, who inhabit the mountain pastures of the Tianshan and the Pamir-Alai ranges. Their language is genetically related to the southern Siberian Altai language, but more recently it has converged with other Central Asian Turkic languages (Uzbek, Kazak) due to mixing and assimilation. Their ancestors moved to their present land from the Altai region, where Kypchak and ancient Yenisey Kirghiz groups had mixed before the Mongol invasion. Later they became part of the Chagatai ulus principality of the Mongol Empire. They moved southward, because the center of the Chagatai ulus was established between the Ili and Chui Rivers. The nomads mixed with the Mongols and even assimilated some of them. The Tianshan region was called Moghulistan by Muslim sources, and most of the inhabitants were nomads, who later came to be called Kirghiz or Kara-Kirghiz. Under the influence of the Uzbek khanate of Qoqan, Islam was first introduced to the Kirghiz in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They also mixed with the sedentary Muslim populations of the Ferghana valley (Uzbek) and the Pamir (Tajik).

Although the Kirghiz were thus converted to Islam during the last three centuries, their popular beliefs and religious ideas continue to reflect the influence of Siberian Turkic and Mongolian shamanism, as well as Central Asian pre-Islamic and Islamic features. It is practically impossible to discern the various elements, an exercise that would in any case be meaningless, since for the Kirghiz themselves all these elements constitute part and parcel of their Muslim consciousness.

Prior to Soviet times the nomads had been able to practice their rituals and faith freely. This changed dramatically following the imposition of the new atheist ideology in the 1920s. During the years of Stalinist repression (1930s), many people were arrested for practicing their religion or even talking about it. Most of the mullahs (*molla*s; Muslim priests) and *bakshy-bübü*s (male and female shamans) lost their lives during the repression. The Russians assimilated the urbanized Kirghiz, who not only gave up their faith but also forgot their language and other customs. The nomads in the countryside kept up religious practices, but they had to do this secretly. Interestingly, seventy years of Soviet ideology had little impact on the faith of the nomads, who preserved their beliefs during these dark years. In 1985 the new policy of glasnost (openness) allowed people once again to speak more openly about their faith. New mosques were built in the place of ruined ones, and many "open-eyed" *(közü achyk)* believers started to engage actively in religious practice, which included praying and visiting sacred sites openly.

In 1991 Kirghizstan became independent, and Soviet ideology was replaced by the ideology of the free market. Since that time, popular religious practices have flourished, but of course not everyone has participated in this religious revival. At the same time Islamic fundamentalism and dogmatism have also gained some ground. Some mollas have started to speak out openly against visiting sacred sites and worshipping ancestral spirits as being contrary to the rules of Islam. They emphasize that only God (Allah) should be worshipped, but people remember well that the mollas, the upholders of orthodox ideals, themselves used to go to shamans before the revolution if they had problems.

As the author's long-term observations confirm, women may be credited with keeping up the veneration of ancestors, which has traditionally constituted a central tenet of Kirghiz religious beliefs. Among women, taboos *(tyjuu)* and superstitions *(yrym-džyrym)* continue to have currency. For that reason they often go to shamans, healers *(tabyp),* and fortune-tellers

(*balger* or *tölgöčü*). Men tend to be more interested in Islamic teachings. They often speak against superstitions, and many refuse to go to healers or shamans. Some of them even claim that no spirits should be praised, only Allah. On the other hand, there are men who take charge of rituals surrounding spirits, sacred sites, and saints, and regard these as part of their Islamic duties. No matter what they believe in, it does not cause tensions between husband and wife or within the family.

Among the most important features of Kirghiz popular beliefs, the following should be mentioned. Some tribes respect certain animals, especially the deer, and they even adopt their names as tribal names, for example, *bugu* (deer), *bagysh* (elk, or moose), and so on. The Bugu tribe venerate *müyüzdüü ene* (antlered mother) as their tribal totemic mother.

Some people believe in having totemic spirits *(koldoochu),* which can be summoned to help. Healers have strong helpers who are called during healing; they are usually animal spirits, such as camel, deer, wild goat, and eagle.

The cult of nature and its powers is also important. Veneration of the sky *(Tengir)* is rare in the early twenty-first century, but some people still praise the sky and the moon. Nowadays most people think that the word *Tengir* simply means God, and they even use it as a substitute name for Allah (or Khudai). Sometimes, instead of the sky, they pray to the powers of earth and water *(džer-suu).* Old people still remember the prayers *(kelme)* they used to say at a mountain pass. They also respect the fire and the fireplace *(kolomto)* as the protector spirit of the family. For that reason newly married couples are introduced to the fire *(otko kirgizüü).*

The *tülöö* (or *tilöö*) is a ritual during which people perform a sacrifice, read the Quran, and ask the powers of nature to help them in certain matters, for example to bring them rain. In older times they also used a magic stone *(džaitaš)* to bring rain, but that practice has become obsolete.

One of the most important features is the veneration of the ancestral spirits *(arbak).* Muslim saints *(sheit)* whose burial places *(mazar)* have become sites of sacrifice *(kurman)* can be found in every village. People go there to receive blessings, sometimes to be healed. These places are marked with small poplar trees *(terek),* upon which white ribbons are tied as votive offerings *(chüpürök, aktyk).* The most important of the ancestral spirits is Manas, the legendary forefather of the Kirghiz, who according to their epic led them from the Altai to the Tianshan. Telling epic stories (*dzhomok* and *dastan*) is also important in maintaining good relations with the spirits of the forefathers.

Ancestral and saintly tombs *(oluja/awlija)* are popular sites for pilgrimages, where childless women also pray to become pregnant. Closely related to the ancestral cult is the veneration of the spirit of the dead. It is believed that when someone dies, Allah takes the soul *(dzhan),* but the spirit (*arwakh,* the plural of *rukh* [spirit]) lives on. Mourning rituals *(ash)* are held to see off the spirit of the dead on the seventh and fortieth day following the death. This is connected to the shamanic belief that the spirit leaves the dead body on the seventh day, and leaves the family on the fortieth. A mourning widow used to make a wooden idol *(tul)* of her dead husband, dressing it in her husband's clothes; she was ideally expected to stay with it for one year without leaving her house. This custom seems to be extinct now.

The shamanic belief in the upper and lower worlds has all but disappeared, but beliefs in numerous spirits, good and bad, persist. One of the good spirits, a survival from Siberian culture, is Umai Ene (Mother Womb), who is the helping spirit of pregnant women and unborn children. Women pray to her to help them have an easy and blessed delivery. Following birth, every effort is made to hide the child from malicious spirits and other evil influences. Belief in mountain spirits *(kajyp-eren)* has become obsolete. The word *kajyp,* or *ghaib,* means "hidden" in Arabic, while *eren,* or *eeren,* is a word for idols in Tuva. But nowadays the Kirghiz use the term *kajyp-eren* for the wild goats and sheep this spirit was believed to protect in the mountains.

Among Central Asian traditions, knowledge of the forty helping spirits *(chiltan)* and various Muslim saints (e.g., *kydyr,* or *khidhr*) is particularly important. The word *pir* (elder), used elsewhere in Central Asia to designate Islamic patron saints, is also used as a generic name for the good spirits that protect livestock (e.g., Cholpon-Ata for sheep, Kambar-Ata for horses).

Numerous bad spirits, known as *džin-šaitan* or *adžina* (plural, *džin*) *džez-kempir* bear

A Kirghiz shaman uses two candles to find what evil spirit possesses a young man. Atush, Xinjiang, 2000. (Courtesy of Dilmurat Omar)

names that are common to the Islamized Turkic groups of Central Asia. Other names, such as *albarsty* or *albasty,* and *džel-moguz* have Siberian parallels (e.g., Yakut *abaahy,* Tuvan *albys, manggys*).

To prevent illness or an evil fate, the bad spirits that cause them must be chased away. Since they are thought to be the creatures of *šaitan* (Satan), the name of God (Allah) must be uttered to frighten them away. A similar effect is attributed to objects of sacred quality, such as the leaves of the juniper tree *(archa).* These are kept in houses, and sometimes burned while chanting *alas-alas.* This ritual is called *alastoo,* and usually takes place when somebody moves into a new home. A similar ritual may be performed at the spring festival, Nooruz, of Central Asia (Persian *navroz*).

There are all kind of healers and fortunetellers in Kirghiz shamanism, who are believed to have contact with the spirits who assist them in their work. When compared to the "classical shamans" of Siberia, they appear to have more limited power. The Kirghiz language distinguishes between a male and a female shaman, which is a new development. Males are called *bakshy,* while females are called *bübü* (or *bibi*), originally meaning respected or sacred woman. These shamans heal patients with the aid of ancestral spirits. In previous times the bakshys made use of a musical instrument called a *kylkyjak* (a string instrument) for summoning the spirits while in trance *(zikir saluu).* Nowadays males and females alike use whips *(kamčy)* and a special stick *(asa)* to chase away bad spirits. This stick, the so-called *asa-tajak,* is also used by Central Asian beggars (*divana,* or *dubana*), but this syncretic element also has Siberian parallels (e.g., Tuvan *üč-tajak,* Buryat-Mongolian *horibo*).

One Kirghiz ritual that can be observed even today is a shamanic dance held during the vigil observed on Friday night, the sacred day of the Islamic calendar *(dzhum'a).* The shamans (bakshy-bübü) start to dance around the patients in a house at midnight with their whips and sticks. It is called *džarga tüšüü* (*džar* means help

from God). Some healers talk with the spirits using a mirror (*küzgü,* Siberian *küzünggü*).

Another type of healer is the *kuuchu* (spirit chaser), who only has power over bad spirits causing illness. Usually people call the exorcist if somebody is dying. The kuuchu tries to chase away the bad spirit before the sick person dies. During the ritual called *badik,* the shaman hits the patient with a whip, chanting the badik-song. The kuuchu may also be called if a mother gets seriously ill after delivery. It is believed that such women *(kara/shaitan baskan),* as well as newborn babies, are particularly vulnerable to attacks of bad spirits within forty days following birth, because the "free soul" *(chymyn dzhan)* can easily leave the body.

Two other examples of shamanic and pre-Islamic features among the nomads may be given. To circle something is understood as giving or receiving the energy of that thing; for that reason people usually do not go around the house, the fireplace, or each other. Only the shaman or healer is allowed to do so, but people still say "Ailanaiyn" (let me go around you), when they want to help somebody, or just to express their sympathy. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, the belief in the power of the evil eye *(köz tijüü),* is strong, along with the belief that it can be prevented by putting charms (*tumar* or *köz-monchok*) around the neck of young children and animals.

Kirghiz shamanism displays many common features and parallels with South Siberian Shamanism, but an important difference is the use of Persian and Arabic terms by the Kirghiz:

	Siberian	Kirghiz (Central Asian)
shamanic trance	*kamlaar*	*zikir*
bad spirits	*körmös,*	*dzhin-shajtan aza, ajna*
good spirits	*ee*	*arwak, mazar*
shamanic song	*alkysh*	*du'a*
sacrifice	*tagyl,*	*kurman tajylga*

More importantly, shamans and other healers tend to make use of an essentially Islamic vocabulary, summon their helping spirits in the name of Allah, and recite from the Quran, all indications that for practitioners, healers, and patients alike, the various elements of their religious practices are integrated and form an indivisible part of their Islamic faith.

David Somfai Kara

See also: Buryat Shamanism; Hausa Shamanistic Practices; Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices; Kazak Shamanism; Khakass Shamanism; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Marabouts and Magic; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Russian Shamanism Today; Siberian Shamanism; Sufism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Abramzon, Saul Matvejevič. 1971. "Religija i kul't" [Religion and Cult]. Pp. 258–355 in *Kirgizi i ikh etnografičeskije i istoriko-kul'turnije svjazi* [Kirghiz and their ethnographic and historical-cultural relations]. Glava VI. Leningrad (Saint Petersburg): "Nauka."

Bajalijeva, Toktobübü Džunušaxun-kyzy. 1979. *Doislamskije verovanija i ich perežitki u Kirgizov* [Pre-Islamic beliefs and their survival among the Kyrgz]. Frunze (Bishkek): Ilim.

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1992. *Šamanstvo u narodov Srednej Aziji i Kazachstana* [Shamanism among the people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan]. Moskva: Nauka.

———. 1996. *Das Schamanentum der Völker Mittelasiens und Kasachstans* [Shamanism among the people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan]. Translation from the Russian. Berlin: Reinhold Schletzer. Mittelasiatische Studien Band I.

DeWeese, Devin. 1994. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and the Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Privratsky, Bruce G. 2001. *Muslim Turkistan, Kazak Religion and Collective Memory.* Richmond: Curzon.

MANCHU SHAMANISM

The ethnonym *manju* (manchu), which was officially adopted in 1635 as a replacement for the indigenous term *jušen* ("jurchen," "jurced," "nüzhen," et al.), indicates all those Tungus tribes that were unified by Nurhachi (Qing Taizu, 1559–1626) and his son and successor Hong Taiji

(Qing Taizong, b. 1592, r. 1626–1643). These tribes later constituted the "Eight Banners," destined to conquer and rule militarily over the Chinese Empire (Qing, or Manchu, dynasty). Their various backgrounds and tribal origins, each expressed by a specific pantheon of protective spirits, coupled with their great mobility due to strategic and military needs, resulted in a differentiated evolution in their shamanic practices and beliefs. Hence, three distinct types of shamanism and shamans developed: Indeed, modern scholars distinguish between (1)"wild," or "witchcraft," shamanism (and shamans), *ye saman,* (2) "family-clan-domestic" shamanism (and shamans), *boigon-i saman / jia saman,* and (3) "temple" or "palace" shamanism (and shamans), *dorgi gongting saman.*

What united these three types of shamanism was their common worldview, that is, their subdivision of the universe into three distinct worlds *(jecen).* The Upper World, often said to be made up of nine or more strata, was the abode of more abstract deities such as Abkai Enduri (Heaven's God), the highest god in the Manchu pantheon, and of the divinized sun, moon, and stars. The intermediate world was the world of living humans, whereas the Lower World, inhabited by demons *(hutu)* and evil spirits *(ibagan),* was also the place of the dead and the abode where creatures expiated their sins.

This latter world was governed by Ilmun Khan (Sanskrit Yama) who, according to some texts, resided in the town of Fengtu, the land of the dead in Chinese mythology. Ilmun Khan was equivalent to the Buddhist king and judge of hell, Yama, whose myth was incorporated into Daoism. This third world, however, is not comparable to the Hell of Western Christian culture, since it was also the seat of the goddess Omosi Mama, who was responsible for the birth of human life. With her breath she infused life (i.e., the soul) into the bodies of humans about to be born, since they were seen as creatures molded from the soil. Moreover, this Underworld was also the domain of Banaji Emu-Eme (Mother Earth, clearly opposed to Abkai Enduri).

These three worlds were linked one to the other by a cosmic tree, the roots of which were in the Underworld, the trunk in the Middle World, and its nine (or sometimes seven) branches in the Upper World. The shaman had the capacity of either descending or climbing this tree, both in order to intercede with the gods as well as to eliminate evil influences (i.e., illnesses) by fighting against the Underworld spirits. For these journeys, the shaman utilized the drum, which acted as his vehicle, the drumstick, which symbolized the cosmological horse, and a headdress, often adorned with feathers and metal birds. Thus the Manchu shaman, besides being the storehouse of the cultural patrimony of his clan (myths, ancestral legends, historical facts), united in himself the faculties of healer, psychopomp (one who escorts souls to or from the world of the dead), and messenger between the world of humanity and the supernatural realm. The shaman felt, and dominated, the vital forces of the cosmos, according to the principle that each and every being and object was seen as animated by a "vital breath" *(qigong).* In order to become a true shaman, either due to a psychic predisposition or by being chosen, he had to pass an exam after an apprenticeship of at least two years. This exam was called *aoyun* in shaman technical language. During this test, the shaman in trance had to be able to ascend the cosmic tree in order to contact the gods (cf. the analogous ceremony of the *cakūran* ladder among the Sibe). The best example of wild shamanism is offered by the epic shamanic tale *Nišan saman-i bithe* (Book of the Nišan female shaman), which, however, bears traces of Buddhist influence.

Different from the role of the wild shamans, the role of the clan shamans *(boigon saman),* among whom males predominate, gradually came to focus on propitiatory rites and ancestral sacrifices. The séances of the boigon saman consisted—according to documents that have come down to us from at least the beginning of the seventeenth century—of sacrifices to various deities *(enduri),* protective spirits *(manni),* and malignant demons *(hutu, ibagan).* These rituals were performed as propitiatory night ceremonies and were celebrated in closed, dark areas *(tuibumbi).* These sacrificial acts were often done in order to obtain good harvests and as a way of achieving longevity and numerous descendants. The prayers and invocations that have come down to us, and which are still recited in some of the Manchu settlings in the Jilin province (People's Republic of China), reveal an accentuated uniformity in content and structure. Their rhythm and musicality is typically expressed by means of alliteration. (For in-

stance: "Tanggū aniya taran akū / ninju aniya nimeku akū"; "May we be for a hundred years without sweat, may we be for sixty years without sicknesses" (Pang 1998, 39). Nonetheless, a few clans exhibited differences in their invocations to particular spirits.

Palace shamanism (also known as templified shamanism, *dorgi gongting saman*) represented the last stage in the evolution of Manchu shamanism and was linked to the ascent of the Aisin Gioro clan, first as rulers over Manchuria (Aisin, or Hou Jin dynasty, 1616–1635, Daicing, or Da Qing dynasty, 1636–1643) and subsequently as rulers of the Chinese Empire (1644–1911). The fundamental characteristic of this type of shamanism was the transfer of the cult to a special building called a *tangse* (Chinese *tangzi,* "hall"). It was known already from the Jurchen period and was mentioned for the first time in Manchu sources in 1583. After the Manchu conquest of Peking in 1644, the tangse developed architecturally from a simple hall—as it was during Nurhaci's time—into a building complex of noticeable dimensions, which comprised, apart from the main temple *(ordo),* even a temple dedicated to the god Shangsi, a main sacrificial hall *(wecere deyen),* and an area reserved for sacred trees *(siltan moo).* The tangse of Peking and that of Shenyang no longer exist. The only traces of court shamanic rites can be observed in the Kunninggong Palace of the Forbidden City and in the Qingninggong Palace of the Palace Museum in Shenyang, where in the front courtyard it is possible to admire perhaps the sole original spirit's pole *(somo)* still extant in China.

Apart from the tangse, shamanic rites were also celebrated in selected court palaces, such as the Qingninggong in Mukden (Shenyang) and the Kunninggong in Peking. The tangse rituals were mostly of a political character: Nurhaci, the founder of the imperial house, used to resort to the tangse before any military expedition, whereas the ceremonies in the Kunninggong were more spiritual in nature, characterized by symbolic military performances and the ritual recollection of ancestral, heroic acts. As a curiosity, it is worth mentioning the fact that the rituals made in order to acquire strong horses (fundamental for any victorious army) were celebrated only in the tangse.

All the shamanic rites of the imperial court were codified at the order of Emperor Qianlong (1736–1796) and were completed in Manchu only in 1747 and later published in 1778 with the title *Hesei toktobuha Manjusai wecere metere kooli bithe* (Imperially commissioned code of the sacrifices to spirits and heaven). In 1782 its Chinese translation, with the title *Qinding Manzhou jishen jitian dianli,* was printed. This code, while elevating shamanism to a Manchu state cult, was strongly influenced by Chinese elements and also served as a model for the shamanic rites of other clans. It also eliminated the supremacy of the shaman over the political/imperial power, since only the shaman was able to interpret the secred forces of nature and to dominate the spirits he could ignore the wishes and laws of political power—a danger against which Hong Taiji had fought in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The rituals established by this code, though preserving some of the typical aspects of Manchu culture, show a strong influence of analogous Chinese ceremonies. The ritual movements of the female shamans and of the various participants in the ritual are often simply alluded to and by and large standardized. All shamanic rituals were assigned to twelve female shamans *(saman taitai),* who were helped by thirty-six "sacrificing supervisor women" *(sizu furen),* thirty-seven "bark grinder women" *(sidui furen),* and nineteen "incense supervisor women" *(sixiang furen).* These people all depended on the Shamanism Office *(Shenfang),* a division of the Office of Palace Ceremonial *(Zhangyi si)* of the Imperial Household Department *(Neiwufu).* These palace rituals continued to be celebrated even after the fall of the dynasty, until the last emperor was driven out of the Forbidden City in 1924.

Even though individual shamanic rites varied greatly from clan to clan, there existed nonetheless some common elements, which constituted the unitary base of Manchu shamanism in general. There were, for instance, some stereotyped formulations common to all prayers and invocations, both in form as well as in content. For instance, the prayers for attaining longevity were always based on the following formula: " . . . May the hair of the head become white, may the teeth of the mouth become yellow," whereas in order to attain a numerous progeny the typical reference was to "the numerous leaves and the profound roots."

Even the most important moment in a shamanic séance, that is, the offering of a pig to the deity, followed a ritual pattern that was fundamentally identical among all the various Manchu clans, the imperial clan Aisin Gioro being no exception. The first step in the sacrifice was the pouring of a glass of distillate *(jungšun)* into the ear of the pig, which was still alive. If the animal started shaking the head so as to free itself from the liquid—something that regularly happened—his movement was interpreted as a sign that the gods liked the offering. After killing the pig and collecting the blood, which would be used in other rites, the viscera of the animal were removed. The carcass was then sectioned according to precise rules and finally cooked. Once cooked, the single parts were reassembled so that they could be offered to the gods.

Besides these thanksgiving and help-request rituals, during which it utilized the "magic sword" *(halmari),* Manchu shamanism exhibited four other rites that were typical and common to all the clans: the "sacrifice to the willow tree" *(fodo),* the "sacrifice to the spirit or votive pole" *(somo),* the "sacrifice with extinguished lanterns" *(tuibumbi),* and the "sacrifice to attain strong horses." The "sacrifice to the willow tree" was almost always linked to the worship of Omosi Mama, a deity thought to protect children and one's descendants in general. Among the powers of Omosi Mama was that of averting particular kind of illnesses, especially smallpox. For this purpose, a willow tree was planted in a courtyard, and through a rope—to which a variety of symbolic values were attached—it was connected to the "throne of the gods" *(weceku-i soorin)* placed inside the house. During this ritual, the shaman utilized a magic arrow *(debse),* recited special auspicious prayers, and sacrificed a pig.

The "sacrifice to the votive pole" *(somo)* was generally linked to the cult of the ancestors. In particular, it was dedicated to the clan founder, from whom the community asked for help and protection. During this ceremony, the shaman and his helpers often recalled, through a "mystical performance" and often in a state of trance, the main incidents in the life of the ancestor in which an important role was often played by "protective birds" such as the magpie and the crow. To these birds were offered special parts of the pig's meat, which were placed in a vessel hung on the pole's top.

At the imperial court, these performances often took the form of actual plays. The "sacrifice with extinguished lanterns" (*tuibumbi*) used to take place in complete darkness, with doors and windows all closed. This ritual, meant to attain the protection of the spirits, seems to belong to the most archaic forms of Manchu shamanism; the prayers that were recited during it were often characterized by a constant and incomprehensible (magical) refrain. Finally, special rites were celebrated in order to obtain strong horses, proving the animal's important role in Manchu society. There were numerous variants of these rites, beginning with the presence of a "spirit's horse" *(shenma),* which after the rite could never be ridden again, up to the recitation of special prayers asking that the horses "may become strong when inhaling the wind, and may become sturdy when inhaling the fog" (Stary 1980, 19).

During the time when the shamanic rituals were performed, the participants had to observe twelve rules and/or prohibitions: (1) to clear the mind from all dishonest thoughts, (2) to behave in a faultless way, (3) to carefully clean all tools utilized during the sacrifice, (4) to never give way to anger, (5) to keep one's own clothes and hair in order, (6) not to indulge in vain talk, (7) not to laugh beyond measure, (8) not to behave disrespectfully toward the elders, (9) not to mistreat dogs, (10) not to make noise with knives or spoons, (11) never to leave the sacrifice room before the end of the rituals, and (12) when the ritual was performed in the courtyard, never to return to one's home before the end of the ritual.

Nowadays, shamanism is alive (or, perhaps better, has been revived) in what are for the most part Manchu villages in the Jilin province, and in the area of the Mudang River. Shamanism consists mainly in thanksgiving rituals for the autumn harvest, in very simple healing rites, and in other rituals meant to invoke the spirits' blessings. Today, there exist about seventy male shamans and fifty female shamans, the great majority of whom celebrate all rituals in Chinese.

Giovanni Stary

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Chinese Shamanism, Classical; Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary; Evenki Shamanism; Funeral

Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Horses; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Mongolian Shamanic Texts; Oroqen Shamanism; Sibe Shamanism; Spirits and Souls

References and further reading:

Di Cosmo, Nicola. 1999. "Manchu Shamanic Ceremonies at the Qing Court." Pp. 352–398 in *State and Court Ritual in China.* Edited by Joseph P. McDermott. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kister, Daniel. 1999. "Present Day Shamanism in Northern China and the Amur Region." *Shaman* 7, no. 1: 77–95.

Lovadina, Michela. 1998. *Manchu Shamanic Material Rediscovered.* Shamanica Manchurica Collecta, 6. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Nowak, Margaret, and Stephen Durrant. 1977. *The Tale of the Nišan Shamaness. A Manchu Folk Epic.* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Pang, Tatjana Aleksandrovna. 1993. "The Kunning-gung Palace in Peking: The Manchu Dynasty's Shaman Centre in the "Forbidden City." *Shaman* 1, no. 2: 57–70.

———. 1998. "Materialien zum mandschurischen Schamanismus aus der Sammlung A. V. Grebenshchikov" [Materials pertaining to Manchu shamanism from the collection of A. V. Grebenshchikov]. Pp. 32–46 in *Studia et Documenta Manchu-Shamanica* [Researches and documents concerning Manchu shamanism]. Edited by G. Stary. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Pozzi, Alessandra. 1992. *Manchu-Shamanica Illustrata.* Shamanica Manchurica Collecta, 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

Stary, Giovanni. 1980. "Mandschurische Schamanengebete" [Manchu Shamanic Prayers]. *Zeutralasiatische Stadien* 14, no. 2: 1–28.

———. 1993. "Recurring Elements in Manchu Shaman Prayers." Pp. 453–462 in *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference.* Edited by Ch'en Chieh-hsien. Taipei: Center for Chinese Studies Materials.

———. 1998. *Studia et Documenta Manchu-Shamanica.* Shamanica Manchurica Collecta, 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

MONGOLIAN SHAMANIC TEXTS

Text Collections and Monographs on Mongolian Shamanic Texts

Although shamanism is a religious phenomenon based on oral tradition, there are many written records of various Mongolian shamanic and quasi-shamanic texts. (It is important to use both these terms, because a clear distinction between real shamanic and nonshamanic ritual texts is still missing in the academic literature about Mongolian shamanic texts.) The first Mongolian shamanic texts were recorded only in the nineteenth century, although fragments of ritual texts are known from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the great Mongolian Empire was established.

The first major source written in Mongolian (Mongolian text transcribed with Chinese characters, written probably in 1240), is the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongqol-un ni'uča tobčiyan*), in which there are many references to the pre-Buddhist Mongolian belief system, to animistic and shamanistic conceptions. It tells, for example, of Genghis Khan himself performing an invocation to the Sacred Mountain, the Burqan Qaldun. Another part that contains possibly shamanistic elements is the speech attributed to Dshamuka (J̌amuq-a), Genghis Khan's closest ally, when he declared war. The commander's description of his preparation, including the putting on of a garment, the enumeration of weapons, and the sounding of the drum, is reminiscent of similar enumerative parts of shamanic texts. Supposedly, this fragment is one of the first texts that, rhythmically and also in terms of its motifs, is very close to shamanic texts.

qara'atu tuk-iyan sačuba bi
qara buqa-yin arasun-niyar
büriksen bürkiren büküi
dawutu kö'ürge-ben deletbe bi
qara qurdun-iyan unuba bi

I have sprinkled my standard visible from afar
I have beaten my drum with a voice, which is rumbling,
Covered with the skin of a black bull.
I have got me up upon my black courser.
(Cleaves 1982, 42)

Travelers (in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo), explorers, missionaries (in the thirteenth

century, Plano Carpini, Rubruquis, Julianus, Biridia, and others), and scholars (in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Pallas, Bergman, Timkovsky, Potanin, Pozdneev, Bálint, and others) recorded valuable data about shamanic and folk religious rituals, but the first texts appear only in nineteenth-century materials.

Scholars at the beginning of the twentieth century, such as Aleksei Pozdneev (in 1900) and later Matvei Nikolaevich Khangalov (Khangalov 1958, 1959, 1960), the foremost student of the Buryat belief system, published invocations and other ritual texts that they collected. In the 1920s, the systematic gathering of shamanic and ritualistic texts continued. Sanžeev published his Alar Buryat shaman materials, inserting several texts in it (Sanžeev 1927–1928), and in the thirties Byambiin Rinčen published the largest collection of shamanic texts, in three volumes (Rinčen 1959, 1961, 1975). Parallel with him Walter Heissig worked among the eastern Mongolian tribes and published his results in a series of articles (e.g., Heissig 1944, 1959, 1966). Nikolai Poppe, working on Mongolian folklore, collected among other items several shaman songs, and published a valuable catalogue of shamanic texts (Poppe 1932).

In the 1960s, the elaborate work of B. Sodnom appeared, the basis for any textual or genre analysis of Mongolian shamanic texts (Sodnom 1962). Research activity was renewed in the 1980s and 1990s, when new texts were collected, mostly by Mongolian scholars, such as Dulam (Dulam 1992), Gantogtox, and J̌. Coloo (Gantogtox, Kara, and Coloo 1998), and new attempts to classify and analyze texts also appeared (Even 1988–1989; Hamayon 1990; Pürew 1999). In addition to these publications, there are also certain occasional publications containing shamanic texts and numerous works on the ritualistic texts, which are not real shamanic texts, but could constitute part of the repertoire of a shaman.

Genres of Mongolian Shamanic Texts

Ideally, in attempting to analyze such a difficult topic as shamanic texts, one should consider a number of significant factors: the text itself, its meaning and use, the performer, the circumstances of place and time, and the relationship between the performer, the audience, and the larger community. And in practice, all these aspects come into play in considering the genres into which the texts fall, according to their performers (the shamans and their assistants) and the community.

Different community members will describe the genre of a text in significantly different ways, depending on the extent of their awareness of tradition. The genres of shamanic texts (as the shamans and the shamans' assistants, family members themselves, distinguish them) can be classified into larger groups according to their use in various spheres of the ritual. This kind of classification is based on the designation, or title, given to the text by shamans and their communities, as well as on certain motifs that probably belong to each group. Although numerous motifs, forms, and expressions are not in fact bound to a certain genre or sphere of use, it is possible to distinguish three different groups of shamanic texts, according to their sphere of use:

1. Pure shamanic genres, which are used only for shamanic rituals
2. Genres that are used for other, non-shamanic ritual occasions as well
3. Genres that are mainly used for Buddhist ritualistic purposes and are therefore most apt to appear in the repertoires of "Lamaized" shamans (shamans heavily influenced by Tibetan Lamaism)

Shamanic Genres

The following genres are of the invocation and evocation type, and as such, were originally used only in shamanic rituals.

Duudlaγ*, Khalkh for "invocation"; in Mongolian,* **daudlaγ-a***; in Buryat,* **duurdlag.** This is the most common and widespread designation for shamanic songs. It literally means "calling"; if there is not any other specification for a shaman song, this term is generally used. It seems that this term may serve to replace a variety of other designations. In the newest collections, as in that of Dulam, in many cases the texts are given without any genre designation; only the name of the spirits being invoked serves as a title for the song: *Ozuuräš yum*, *Aγaräš xairxan*, and so on. There are several types of duudlaγ-s according to their content, for example: *ongod jalax duudlaγ*, "invocation

calling the protector spirits (the *ongod*, plural of *ongon*)"; *taxilgiin duudlaγ*, "invocation for offering," such as *gald deeǰ örgöx duudlaγ*, "invocation for the offering of the best part of food for the fire"; *sünsnii duudlaγ*, "calling the soul." The invocation usually starts with a description of the invoked spirit or god, origin, appearance, and attributes, and a description of the way the spirit arrives at the ritual place. In some invocations or in a later phase of the ritual the usual description could be shortened, and only the most important elements of the depiction appear. The following example from an invocation to a protector spirit called Nalǰig gives only the most important characteristic of the spirit (collected by the author in 1993 from a Darkhad female shaman called Bayir, and translated by the author):

Nariin cagaan Nalǰgaa
Xenii xereg yamar
Yanjaar yawna či ulaač min'?
Oh, Nalǰig you white and thin,
For whose task
In which manner do you go, my attendant?

Tamlaγ, ***Khalkh for "invocation-chant"; in Mongolian,*** **tamlaγ-a*****,*** ***from*** **tamala-** ***"to chant, to sing."*** This genre designation could be replaced by the duudlaγ, but the exact difference between the two genres must be ascertained by further research. In some cases the tamlaγ is used instead of a curse (*jüxel*). The following fragment describes the sending off of the invited protector spirit (*Xarmään xairxaniig bucaax tamlaγ* "Chant for returning the spirit Xarm xairxan"):

Mört taan' mörgölööb,
Süüdert taan' sögödlööb,
Mergen sarään šinede
Medeetää ödörään düüčinde uljaxabdi,
Türeyee, tarxayaa, xariyaa, bucaaya!
I bowed on your traces,
I fell down on my knees in your shadow,
At the time of the wise new moon,
On a certain day, we will meet again,
Now let us finish, let us leave, let us return,
and let us go back.
(Dulam 1992, 94; translation by Birtalan)

Daatgal***,*** ***Khalkh for "devotion"; in Mongolian,*** **daγadqal*****,*** ***from*** **daγadqa-*****,*** ***"to insure, to entrust one's fate to someone"; cf. Khalkh*** **daatgan jalbirax*****,*** ***"to pray earnestly or devoutly."*** There exists also a kind of invocation called *daatgaliin duudlaγ,* "devoted invocation." The following example has no indication of the name of spirit, to which entreaty is made to stave off bad luck. Presumably this type of shamanic text in certain cases could be performed not only by shamans, but also by authoritative persons in the family and the community:

Aexin ayuul ügüi,
Gadaa aduus maldn'
Xulγaa muu yum,
Xur möndör,
Xui sal'xi,
Galiin ayuul,
Galjuugiin amand
Daeraldaxgüi yawxiig
Tandaan daatxii!
Without danger of fear
Let the cattle in the open air
Not to meet the bad thief,
The rain and hailstorm,
Whirlwind and wind,
Danger of fire,
The mouth of rabid [wolf]
I pray for it begging to you!
(Rinčen 1975, 95–96; translation by Birtalan)

Genres Used Primarily in Nonshamanic Ritualistic Spheres

These genres could be used, for example for family, clan, and community feasts and celebrations, although they could be performed by shamans as well as part of their ritualistic repertoire.

Jüxel, xaraal, ***Khalkh for "curse, scold"; in Mongolian*** **ǰükel*****,*** ***from*** **ǰüke-*****,*** **ǰükü-** ***"to curse, swear, scold."*** The following example of a curse has been performed by a shaman, as evidenced by the motifs of shamanic paraphernalia (the shaman's headgear, the eighty-nine snakes, and the blood libation) appearing in the text:

Uuliin činee xürün ulaan orγoeγoon
Tawin suuγaad jüxii!
. . .
Nayan yösün xorton moγooegiitan'
Namiljuulan suuγaad jüxii!
. . .

Xar cusun serǰimeen
Yisön arxaar bürdüülen
Cacan suuɣaad jüxii!
I curse [you] putting down
My shaman's headgear of mountain-size!
. . .
I curse [you] making
Your eighty-nine poisonous snakes to wriggle!
. . .
I curse [you] filling up
Nine sacks with
My black blood libation!
(Rinčen 1975, 97–98; translation by Birtalan)

Magtaal*, Khalkh for "praise," in Mongolian* **maɣtaɣal** *from* **maɣtaɣa-** *"to praise".* Praise songs constitute a very common, vivid genre in Mongolian folklore, performed on ceremonial occasions, such as the national sport and game days (*naadam*), wedding ceremonies, and the like. For example, *ongodiin magtaal* "praise to the protector spirits" *Taraagii yawuulax magtaal* (Dulam 1992, 120) "praising for sending away spirit Taraa."

Emgen buural eeǰ-mni
Mört taan' mörgöläälä wišüüb,
Süüdrt taan' sögdlää wišüüb,
Üriigää ür xiigeeräät,
Ürläägää mori xiigeeräät,
Baɣ gertää baɣan wolǰ,
Balčir ürdää ülgää wolsan,
. . .
My grey-haired grandmother
I surely bowed on your tracks,
I surely kneeled down in your shadows,
Make the offsprings into descendants,
Make the three-year-old horse into a saddle horse,
You have been the pillar for the small yurt,
You became the cradle for the small child,
. . .
(Dulam 1992, 120; translation by Birtalan)

Cacal, sacal*, Khalkh for "libation text for the occasion of aspersion or libation of milk, milk tea, milk brandy for the deities"; in Mongolian* **čačuli, sačuli***, from* **saču-***, "to sow, strew, scatter, spread, to sprinkle; perform libation"; Oirat,* **Kalmyk cacl***; in Buryat,* **sasli.** This genre designates both the ritual text and the ritual itself, and is very common among the Mongols. The wives, who start their work with milking cattle, perform every morning a kind of libation with the first milk. This is the day-starting ritual of the Mongolian shamans, too. Those scholars who have collected shamanic folklore have considered texts of this genre, performed for Genghis Khan even nowadays in the Ordos region (in China), e.g., *Altan uruɣ-un sačuli,* "Libation for the Golden clan" (Rinčen 1959, 84–86).

Dallaɣ*, Khalkh for "beckoning fortune, ritual of inviting prosperity"; in Mongolian* **dalalɣa***, from* **dalal-***, "to beckon, wave the hand".* Many types belong to this genre, differing according to the occasion of the ritual. The following example is *šuwuunii dalalaɣ*, "beckoning fortune on the occasion of the birds' migration":

Qurui qurui ire qurui! O suvasati:
Sayin amuɣulang boltuɣai:
Anggir ɣalaɣun ireküi-dür
Altan dalalɣ-a abunam bui:
. . .
Delger čaɣ ireküi-dür
Deldeng čikitei töröküi-dür
Delengtü üniy-e saɣaqui-dur
Degǰirekü kesig-i dalalnam irtügei:
Qurui qurui ire qurui! Ohm, suvastai [sic!]
May happiness prevail.
When the mandarin-ducks come [back]
I perform the golden dalalɣa.
. . .
When the abundant time comes,
when the long-eared wild asses are born,
when one milks the uddered cows,
I beckon the prosperous benefit, may it come.
Qurui, qurui, come qurui!
(Chabros 1992, 241–242; translation by Chabros)

Xelelgee, xeleleg*, Khalkh for "saying"; in Mongolian,* **kelelge***, from* **kele-***, "to say".* For example, one such text is called *Xarmään xäirxanaa xeleleg,* "Saying to the merciful Xarm." Some of the texts designated with these names are similar to the benedictions (*yörööls*) of Mongolian folklore. An example is the following *xengereg surgax xeleleg,* "saying for the training of drum":

Oktorɣään saaral sara šige
Onɣom buural unaa wolaaraä!

Unasan ejääm bayasxaxa,
Omγolan xüleg bolaarää!
Sanasan xergiigi büteexede
Sal'xinaas xurdam bolaarää!
Like the grey moon on the sky,
Be a protector, silver-grey mount!
Let your owner be happy,
Be a proud mount!
In fulfilling the wishes
Be faster, than the wind!
(Dulam 1992, 162–163; translation by Birtalan)

Myalaalaγ*, Khalkh for "anointing, blessing"; in Mongolian,* **miliyaγud** *(in plural form), from* **miliya-** *"to anoint".* As in the case of the libation genre, some of the ritual texts associated with the cult of Genghis Khan, such as *Qulan qatun-u čomčuγ-un miliyaγud* (Rinčen 1959, 103), "Anointing for the ritual yurt of Queen Qulan," are counted among the shamanic texts of this genre.

Unšlag*, Khalkh for "incantation"; in Mongolian,* **ungšilg-a***, "reading".* Also known as *šiwšleg,* "whispered incantation," in Mongolian *sibsilge* from *sibsi-*, "to whisper," this relatively vivid genre includes songs that are used even nowadays by shamans during healing rituals and also during divination.

Genres That Originate from Written Tradition and Could Also Be of Buddhist Origin

Jalbiral, Khalkh for "prayer"; in Mongolian *ǰalbaril,* from *ǰalbari-,* "to pray". This genre appears in both the shamanic and Buddhist ritual repertoires and may be performed by a wider circle of performers, such as hunters and participants in *owoo*-rituals (Khalkh, *owoo,* "altar in nature"). The exact relation between shamanic and Buddhist types of prayer, and the origin of prayer, whether as a shamanist or preshamanist genre, need further research. The following example is the text of a hunting ritual; the hunter prays to the spirit lord of the beasts, Manaxan:

Xadaar xaalt xiisen,
Modaar buult xiisen,
Altam Manaxammin'!
Uuǰim xormäädan' xorγadasan
Xoǰgir tolγäämin' xonoktää bolǰ, üstää
Xoosam biyemin' xonoktää bolǰ,
Altam Manxanmin'!
You have made a hideaway for me from rock,
You have made a cover for me from trees,
Oh, my golden Manaxan!
You became a shelter for my bald head,
hiding in your wide hem,
You became a shelter for my hairy poor body,
Oh, my golden Manaxan!
(Rinčen 1975, 109–110; translation by Birtalan)

Öčig*, Khalkh for "appeal,"* **öčix üg***, "appealing words"; in Mongolian* **öčig***, from* **öči-***, "to appeal."* Examples would be *Ürs gargax öčig*, "Appeal on the occasion of the dropping of cattle young," and *Ongodtaa öčix üg*, "Appeal to the protector spirits" (Dulam 1992, 155–157). The following example is a fragment from a hunting ritual text chanted on the occasion of bear hunting. The hunter (or the shaman) appeals to the spirit of the hunted bear:

Qada-yin man-u qan babai,
Qarilčaǰu man-tai qanilaba ta.
Qartaγan morin-du mordaǰu,
Qadan-daγan amuran bučaγtun!
Our kingly grandfather in the rocks,
You have met and welcomed us.
[Now] riding on a wild horse,
Please, return to your rocks in peace!
(Rinčen 1975: 111; translation by Birtalan)

San*, Khalkh for "incense offering"; in Mongolian,* **sang***, from Tibetan* **bsang.** A large number of shamanic and Buddhist offering texts belong to this group. Both the lamas and the shamans performed using similar texts; obviously the language of the Buddhist practice was Tibetan, but there are also numerous Mongolian texts, translated from Tibetan—for example, *Ünegen sang,* "Incense offering for the fox," *Altayin sang* (Oirat), "Incense offering to the Altai Mountain," and *Zayaači tabun tenggeriyin sang* (Oirat) "Incense offering to the five destiny gods."

Serǰim*, Khalkh for "libation"; in Mongolian,* **serǰim***, from Tibetan* **ser-skyem***, cf. cacal,* **sačuli.** This genre is very close to the cacal, but the title indicates a libation text of Tibetan origin, a Lamaized text with numerous

Buddhist motifs. In some cases the text is the same, and only the Mongolian genre designation has replaced the Tibetan genre designation: See the following fragment *Böge-yin serǰim*, "Shamanic libation":

Ayaγan-du kigsen arǰa
Abuγad ergübel degeǰi,
J̌üngsen-dü kigsen jürǰi
J̌üg-tegen ergübel degeǰi.
The twice-distilled spirit, which is poured into the bowl,
Is the best part of food, while it is offered.
The orange, which is put on the dish,
Is the best part of food, while it is offered to the (right) direction.
(Rinčen 1975, 3–4; translation by Birtalan)

A Summary of the Genres and Their Provenance

To sum it up in a slightly different way, the suggestion being offered here is that the invocations *(duudlaγ),* the invocation chant *(tamlaγ),* and the devotion *(daatgal)* are or were pure shamanic genres; the appeal *(öčig)* and the prayer *(jalbiral)* appeared among the shamanic genres probably due to Buddhist influence. The curse *(xaraal, jüxel),* the blessing *(yönsöl)*, the incantation *(unšlaγ),* and the praise *(magtaal)* are traditional folk genres, which can be performed not only by shamans, but usually also by respected members of the community (although there are professional cursers and performers of incantations and praises). The texts of libation *(cacal* and *serǰim),* beckoning fortune *(dallaγ),* anointing *(myalaalaγ),* and incense offering *(san)* belong to the category of ritual texts, which can be performed by certain, authoritative members of the community and are accompanied with other important paraphernalia of the ritual.

Typology of Mongolian Shamanic Texts According to the Degree of Lamaization

The first attempt to systematize the shamanic texts, prepared by B. Sodnom (Sodnom 1962), was based on the content from the point of view of Buddhist influence. He divided the shamanic text-corpus into two major groups and several subgroups, according to the degree of Lamaization. Thus, he systematized the texts according to the types of shamans, namely, black *(xar jügiin böö)* and yellow *(šariin böö, šar jügiin böö)* shamans. According to the extent of Buddhist influence, there are the following categories (Sodnom 1962, 66–67):

1. Texts of black shamans without any Buddhist influence; texts of this type are considered to be original Mongolian ones.
2. Texts of black shamans, with motifs having to do with shamans' opposition to Buddhist monks. Thus, Buddhism appears in these texts only as the object of shamans' aversion.
3. Texts with new, Buddhist motifs added. The old, pure texts of black shamans are completed at their beginning or at their end with Buddhist phrases, but the main substance of the traditional content has remained untouched.
4. Texts with completely new Buddhist motifs and phraseology. These texts, as illustrated by the following example, are performed only by yellow shamans:

Budlangiin uul min'!
Burxan bagš jalarsan
Buruu nomtoi böö nar maniig
Bogdiin gegeen nomloson.
Awragč Ariyabal,
Awraldaa awdag Altangerel,
Soyorxogč Juunxaw,
Soyorxolodoo awdag sudar nom,
Jul xüǰee örgöǰ baina.
Oh my Potalaka Mountain!
The Buddha master descended [to us],
His Holiness, the Bogd gegeen taught us, the shamans-heretics.
I offer lamp and incense
to saviour Aryabalo [bodhisattva],
to the "Golden glance" sutra, which is received in the salvation,
to the merciful Cong-kha-pa,
to the books, and sutras, which are received in the mercy.
(Sodnom 1962, 66–69; translation by Birtalan)

Texts Used in the Rituals

The type of ritual, the point at which the text appears in the ritual, the categories of spirits invoked, and the whole repertoire, or the heritage

of a shaman can also determine the text-typology (cf. Even 1988–1989, 352–380):

1. The type of ritual, depending on when the text is performed (day ritual, night ritual, open-air ritual, and so on) as well as on its function (offering ritual, healing ritual, divination, and so on)
2. The phase of the ritual during which the song is performed (at the beginning, when the spirits are called, in the middle, when the spirits are at the ritual place, or at the end, when the spirits are sent off)
3. The categories of spirits invoked (lonely spirit, different groups of spirits, ancestor spirits, lords of nature, and so on)
4. Texts of a repertoire of a shaman (see above, the genre typology).

Textual Typology of Shamanic Texts

There are several aspects of possible textual typology of Mongolian shamanic texts; one very important distinction depends on whether the texts are traditional inherited texts or improvised occasional ones. The traditional texts fall into the genre typology given above; the improvised parts of the texts are usually formed in dialogues. This part of the text usually has most of the following characteristics:

1. An improvised dialogue with the *ongon*(s) indicates a part of the night and day rituals, as well.
2. It is a dialogue between the shaman and in the most cases several ongons, using as an important part of the ritual text the traditional invocations, prayers, blessings, and so on.
3. The text of the dialogue is improvised, according to the type of ritual and the requests of the clients.
4. The dialogue with the ongon(s) is not identical with the shaman invocations and prayers. It has its own patterns; it may follow rules of alliteration, but it does not have a narrowly definite text.
5. This improvisational part of the text contains animal sounds and a lot of distorted words; many of them cannot be identified, because several syllables have been added to the words for the sake of the rhythm.
6. This improvisational part of the text may contain fragments of other folk genres.

The following example was collected by the author in 1993 from the Darkhad female shaman Bayir. Bayir talked to several ongons:

—Tawan taldaa tarǰ
Arwan taldaa
Alga bolox čin' bolaa yuu?
—Ongon tawan tengertee
Sain jalbiraltai bai!
—You dispersed to five sides,
Disappeared in ten sides,
Why did it happen?
—You perform good praying
to the five ongon gods!
Then the spirit Mother Öjüür scolded Bayir:
– Ödör yaax geǰ böölöw či?
Xünees čin' yuu üxeew?
Malaas čin' yuu üxeew?
Why did you shamanize during daytime?
Who of your people died?
Which of your cattle perished?
Trying to pacify Mother Öjüür, Bayir said:
– Öndör šar Öjüür bayir min'
Örgön Xarmaa cengelt min'
Nartiin ornää xümüüs
Bügd amar sain baina!
Öjüür, my high, yellow place,
Xarm and Cengelt, my broad rivers,
All the people living under the Sun,
They all feel well!

Ágnes Birtalan

See also: "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Buddhism and Shamanism; Buryat Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Badamxatan, S. 1965. *Xöwsgöliin darxad yastan* [The Darkhad of Xöwsgöl]. Ulaanbaatar: Šinǰlex Uxanii Akademiin Xewlel.
Birtalan, Ágnes. 2001. "Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion" [Mythology of the Mongolian Folk Religion]. *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* [Dictionary of Mythology] 34. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag: 879–1097.
Chabros, K. 1992. *Beckoning Fortune. A Study of the Mongol dalal'ya Ritual.* Asiatische Forschungen 117. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Cleaves, F. W. 1982. *The Secret History of the Mongols.* Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press.
Dulam, Sendenǰaviin. 1992. *Darqad böge-yin ulamǰilal. The Tradition of Darkhat Shamans.* Ulaanbaatar: MUIS-iin Xewlel.
Even, Marie-Dominique. 1988–1989. *Chants de chamanes mongols.* Études mongoles . . . et sibériennes 19–20. Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie.
Gantogtox, G., G. Kara, and J̌. Coloo. 1998. "Buryat Shaman Songs and Rites." *Uran joxiol sudlal* [Studies on Literature] 5: 95–140.
Hamayon, Roberte. 1990. *La Chasse à l'âme: Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien.* Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie.
Heissig, Walter. 1944. "Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye Banner." *Folklore Studies* 3: 39–72.
———. 1959. "Invocation of a Female Shaman." *Folklore Studies* 9: 166–175.
———. 1966. "Zur Frage der Homogenität des ostmongolischen Schamanismus." Pp. 81–100 in *Collectanea Mongolica.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
Humphrey, Caroline, with Urgunge Onon. 1996. *Shamans and Elders. Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Daur Mongols.* Oxford: Clarendon.
Khangalov, Matvei Nikolaevich. 1958, 1959, 1960. *Sobranie Sočinenij* I-III. Ulan-Ude: Burjatskoe Knižnoe Izdatel'stvo.
Kürelša et al. 1998. *Qorčin böge mörgül-ün sudulul* [Khorchin Shamanic Studies]. Kökeqota: Ündüsüten-ü Keblel-ün Qoriy-a.
Ligeti, L. 1971. *Histoire secrète des Mongols.* Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta I. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
Poppe, Nikolai N. 1932. "Opisanie mongol'skih šamanskih rukopisei Instituta Vostokovedeniya." *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk* l: 151–200.
Pürew, Otgonii. 1999. *Mongol böögiin šašin* [Mongolian Shamanism]. Ulaanbaatar.
Rinčen, Byambiin. 1959. *Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol I. Sources litteraires.* Asiatische Forschungen 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
———. 1961. *Matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol II. Textes chamanistes bouriates.* Asiatische Forschungen 8. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
———. 1975. *Matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol III. Textes chamanistes mongols.* Asiatische Forschungen 40. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
Sanžeev, Garma. 1927–1928. "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten" [Worldview and Shamanism of the Alan Buryats]. Translated from the Russian by R. Augustin. *Anthropos* 27: 576, 613, 933–955; 28: 538–560, 967–986.
Sodnom, B. 1962. "Mongoliin xariin jügiin böögiin duudlagiin tuxai" [On the Invocations of Mongolian Black Shamans]. *Studia Mongolica* 4: 59–110.
Vančikova, C. P., ed. 1996. *Xüxe Münxe Tengeri. Sbornik šamanskih prizyvanij.* Ulaan-Ude: Respublikanskaya Tipografiya

MONGOLIA, SPIRITS AND GHOSTS

See Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia

MONGOLIAN SHAMANIC TRADITION AND LITERATURE

In the majestic central Mongolian land of the ever wandering nomad, a steppe or grassland herder's wife bows down to go outside of their felt, circular tent called a *ger,* or yurt. As she surveys their new place, their sheep and goats grazing in the distance, she hopes for good grass, and with a sacred spoon she sprinkles the day's freshest milk to the four directions, to the spirits of the place and to the Munkhe Hucher Tengri, the "Eternal Blue Heavens" (from the author's personal observations in 1999). They are Kalkha Mongols, representing the largest Mongol ethnic group, and by this simple, reverent libation, the woman practices a shamanic tradition that is probably thousands of years old for protecting their new homesite and offering thanks to the transcendent spirits of nature.

Over 1,000 miles to the northwest in a high mountain pass ringed by a horizon of snow-capped, 10,000-foot peaks, a Darkhad Mongol circumambulates silently three times on

horseback around a 12-foot-tall pyramid of birch poles, twigs, horse skulls, wooden crutches, horsehair ties, royal blue silks fluttering in the mountain winds, vodka bottles, cigarettes, matches, sweetbreads, coins, and other offerings, all perched on a rising mound of stones carried up to the pass by shamanic devotees. As his horse plods with care around the sacred *obo,* he tosses coins upon the mound, walking clockwise in the path of the Sun, thanking the spirit master of this mountain pass and appealing to him for safe travel down to the far valley of his homeland. He personally does not know the name of this master, but if need be or if there is a problem in the days that follow, he can approach an old shaman lady in a neighboring valley. She will know. She will tell him what he must do. His father taught him to show respect in this way, and ever since he was old enough to remember he has been blessed by keeping up this family and ethnic tradition.

Even higher into the Sayan Mountains close to the northern border of Mongolia, Gombo, as he is called, belongs to the Dukha, or Tsataan, group, one of the smallest ethnic minorities in Mongolia. Today he and his Tuvan-origin family have just packed up all of their belongings. Their beasts of burden are reindeer—an animal well adapted to the high mountain tundra and taiga forest. Today, they will ride their reindeer and herd hundreds more over forty miles to a lower valley forest area where they expect to graze the deer and hunt and forage in the forest before moving on again five weeks later. But just before their unique caravan departs down valley, as his ancestors have done for over 3,000 years, Gombo, a respected elder, gathers up some *jodo,* high mountain juniper, and places a large number of the rich green branches in a pile about the size of a loaf of bread on a hewn wooden plank of larch. He then, under the watchful eye of his wife, sets the bottom of the juniper aflame with a Russian-made wooden match. Placing the wooden platform with the burning juniper in the middle of their now empty camp, he proclaims thanks as they have always done and leaves the spirits of this forest this gift of sweet-smelling smoke, slowly curling upwards.

As all these people carry out these shamanic traditions, involving blessings and the purification of place, their home life, and travel onward in their nomadic pathway is sanctified, and they can feel protected and live more hopefully and with calm minds.

Ancient Roots of the Mongolian Shamanic Tradition

A visitor to the endless grasslands of Mongolia, sitting under the still, high blue skies, can only guess of the ancient roots in time of the shamanic tradition of the Mongols. A shaman today with Buryat heritage, Sarangerel, notes in her recent book entitled *Chosen by the Spirits,* that in the "*gelab* time, many thousands and thousands of years ago," events took place that in effect were caused by the "ninety-nine *tengri* or heavens—of the east (black) and west (white) heavens" (Sarangerel 2001). Thus, by lore, tradition, and myth, the Mongolian form of shamanism, jointly with both Buryat and Tuvan shamanism, has most ancient roots.

The epic shamanic tale *Nišan saman-i bithe* (Book of the Nišan female shaman), a Manchu folktale hundreds of years old, is known to Mongol, Buryat, Tungusic, and other Siberian tribes. The tale recounts folklore that specifically identifies soul retrieval as an essential power of certain Mongol shamans, as well as describing the perils and dangers the shaman encounters undertaking such a task (Nowak and Durrant 1977). Likewise, the Buryat-Mongolian and Central Asian Geser epic, known for centuries, immortalizing the spirit incarnated as a god-man, Geser, identified significant shamanic attributes, ceremonies, and challenges throughout its thousands of stanzas. These folklore epics testify clearly to the depth and ancient heritage of shamanism in Mongolia and among the Mongolian peoples of the world.

Genghis Khan himself, in *The Secret History of the Mongols,* believed to have been originally written soon after the conqueror's death in 1227, is described as having been guided to victory through the divine intervention of supernatural powers, led by the Eternal Heavens, Munkhe Tengerik (Sarangarel 2000, 22). It was the supernatural powers attributed to the sacred mountain, Burkhan-Khaldun (*Burkhan* meaning specifically "spirit") that guarded the most famous of the khans, and he recognized local spirits as having only local impact, while the Eternal Heavens ruled supreme over the earth (Ratchnevsky 1992).

Mongols' Shamanic Worldview

The daily practices of the Mongol libation such as milk sprinkling or even the elaborate ceremonies of offerings to otherworldly powers recognized by Genghis Kahn for the Burkhan Khuldun only offer a glimpse into the complexity of the shamanism of the Mongols. Buryat ethnographer Y. O. Khundaeva suggested that it was a syncretism of "numerous native conceptions and ideas, concerned with the formation of various cults like that of the Sun, Sky and other natural objects of phenomena," which led over centuries to today's Mongol shamanism (Khundaeva 1996). Khundaeva identified the primary purposes for shamanic action of the Mongol practitioners throughout history and today as including healing illnesses, obtaining good fortune in hunting and livestock breeding, the removal of negative energies or spirits, and even entertainment.

In addition to basic shamanic purpose, tradition, and ceremony, Mongolian shamanism incites great debate among scholars due to its intrinsic complexity, highlighted in the conception of the *tengri,* "heavens." Fifty-five western heavens, or white heavens, and forty-four eastern heavens, or black heavens, make up ninety-nine spirit heavens having influence under the everlasting Munkhe Tengeri. Each of these heavens is named, holds certain attributes, and affects the order of the human, spirit, and Underworld universes. One of the main questions debated by scholars is the identification of the diverse spirits and whether the sacred black and white heavens should be seen as part of a fully monotheistic religious order recognizing the eternal heaven in its supremeness, just as Genghis Khan once did.

Buryat-Mongol ethnographer Irina S. Urbanaeva addresses this very issue in her abstract entitled, "Shamanism of Mongolian Peoples as the Expression of Central Asia Tengrian Esoteric Tradition" (Urbanaeva 1996). Resurrecting the esoteric symbology of the "tengri doctrine" as she describes it, Urbanaeva offers five primary core beliefs of the Mongol shamanic worldview:

1. Heaven and Earth have different and indeed opposed natures. Heaven is composed of subtle and highly organized matter, as opposed to Earth, which is composed of highly condensed and inert matter.
2. Heaven is the place of Belief, the source of Fire and indivisible Life.
3. Heaven is the sphere of freedom and the space where man evolves after death.
4. Heaven begins on Earth within the heart of man, as perceived by spiritual eyesight alone.
5. Heaven actively influences evolution on Earth through heaven-sent messengers; thus the great heroic epics, such as those of Abai Geser Bogdo Khan, Genghis Khan, Buumal Burkhad, and others.

The triumvirate recognition of the tengri in the supremacy of the eternal heaven, and through the beneficence and perturbations of the west (white) and east (black) heavens (which are not to be viewed as good vs. evil entities, but as opposite and complementary) become a core four-part cosmology when complemented by the Mongolian respect and reverence for the Earthly planes' most sacred four directions. It is through their actions in respect to the four directions under the watchful eye of the ever present, everlasting heavens, or Heaven-Father, and situated, living upon the feminine Earth-Mother that Mongols gain and maintain shamanic wisdom, power, and harmony.

Shamans of the Steppe and of the Forest

It is important to recognize that Mongolian shamanic practice is not the same in all parts of Mongolia, but differs, based on differences in ecosystems. Some ethnic identities and groups evolved to live nomadically with either steppe or grassland animals and livestock; others learned over thousands of years to domesticate the reindeer and live in its high mountain forest or taiga and tundra habitat. Forest dwellers, different from steppe dwellers, are traditionally hunter-gatherers and thus identify spirit or shamanic powers that affect them as having different origins than those Mongol peoples who have herded domesticated livestock on the grasslands.

Genghis Khan called upon both forest- and steppe-dwelling animal spirits; perhaps due in part to his youth as a forest dweller and hunter, and his dominance in steppe warfare. When appointing his soldier guards in a military encampment, as seen in *The Secret History of the Mongols,* he called upon his servants to have his

warrior named Hunan guard him, turning into an attacking wolf at night and a flying crow during the day. Genghis Khan apparently relied on shamanic transformation for protection and advice.

Shamanic Revivalism in the Land of Genghis Khan

Just as modern Mongolian scholarship has revived the image of Genghis Khan, challenging old Western beliefs about his character and sensibilities, so shamanism has revived in Mongolia, restoring old traditions as well as changing to meet new needs. Shamanism in Mongolia has not taken on quite the level of commercial and even state interest that it has in neighboring Tuva, but it is very much alive. Shamans practice even in metropolitan Ulaanbaatar, the nation's capital city, where a healing ceremony or private session is just as apt to be interrupted by the ringing of a cell phone as by an uneasy tengri spirit from the east.

Most shamans in Mongolia, however, still practice in their villages or gers or in the steppe countryside, far away from the hustle and activity of Ulaanbaatar. There has been a revival of shamanic practice among the shamans in Hövsgöl province—both among the Darkhad peoples in the area around Tsaagan Nuur (White Lake) and in the northern tribe of Dukha (Tsataan) reindeer-herding peoples. The family practice of each shaman can be seen in small meetings, or in community sanctification of sacred sites, healing practices, divinations, blessings, and invocations to the ninety-nine tengri heavens.

Shamanic séances are still conducted at night in the traditional manner; shamans, both male and female, fall into deep trances (altered states of consciousness), and traditional costumes and artifacts are used. Shamans say that they are meeting their spirits partway between the earth and the spiritual realms. In sum, the current practice of shamanism in Hövsgöl province is very traditional, often maintained by older women shamans. In the Dornod province, to the east, shamanism is also practiced very actively by Buryat shamans, who are actively initiating younger people into shamanhood. They have developed almost a whole industry of shamanic regeneration, using traditional shamanic implements and layout for the initiations, wherein birch trees play a significant role. Elements of Neo-Shamanism, imported from the Western world, have also entered into their practices, but powerful shamans are still able to go into a deep altered state of consciousness, thus still connected to the traditional features of shamanism.

Daniel R. Plumley

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Buddhism and Shamanism; Buryat Shamanism; Darkhad Shamanism; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Manchu Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Texts; Oroqen Shamanism; Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia; Transformation; Trees; Tuvan Shamanism; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Badamkhatan, S. 1965. *Hobsvgol Darhad "Yasman."* Ulanbator, Mongolia: Shyax.

Banzarov, Dorji. 1891. *Black Cult Shamanism of Mongolia.* Saint Petersburg, Russia.

Becker, Jasper. 1993. *The Lost Country—Mongolia Revealed.* Kent, UK: Hodder and Staughton, Ltd., Sceptre Edition.

Birtalan, Agnes. 1998. Typology of Stone Cairns Obos (Preliminary report, based on Mongolian fieldwork material collected in 1991–1995), pages 199–210.

Blondeau, Anne-Marie. 1995. "Tibetan Mountain Deities—Their Cults and Representations." Paper presented at a panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz.

Byanbat, X. 1995. *Mongoli Bon Religion.* Xailaar: "OVOR" Mongol.

Dulam, S. 1999. "Darkhad Boogin Ulamjlal dahi Belgedel bui." Unpublished manuscript [in Mongolian].

Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann. 2000. "Revising Shamanism—From Buryatia to Mongolia." Pp. 36–41 in *First Bulletin of the International Institute for the Study of Nomadic Civilizations.* Nomadic Studies. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

Humphrey, Caroline. 1997. "Chiefly and Shamanist Landscapes in Mongolia." Pp. 135–162 in *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space.* Edited by Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.

Khundaeva, Ye. O. 1996. "Shamanistic and Polytheistic Entities in the Spiritual Sources of the Heroic Epos of Mongolian Peoples" (Abstract). In *Proceedings of the International Symposium—Central Asian Shamanism: Philosophical, Historical, Religious and Ecological Aspects, June 20–26, 1996.*

"The Mongolian Shamans Association—Passing on the Ancient Traditions. About Mongolian Shamanism." http://www.geocities.com/Rainforest/Vines/2146/Mongolia/cms.htm.

Nowak, Margaret, and Stephen Durrant. 1977. *The Tale of the Nišan Shamaness. A Manchu Folk Epic.* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Purev, Otgony. 2002. *The Religion of Mongolian Shamanism.* Ulaanbaatar: GENCO.

Ratchnevsky, Paul. 1992. *Genghis Khan—His Life and Legacy.* Oxford, UK; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Sampildendev, Pr.H. 2000. "Mongolian Custom of Worshipping Nature." Pp. 54–55 in *First Bulletin of the International Institute for the Study of Nomadic Civilizations.* Nomadic Studies. Ulaanbator, Mongolia.

Sanjeev, G. D. 1930. *Darhads.* Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), Russia.

Santaro, Mikhail (Magsarshav). 1995. *Proud Sons of the Broad Earth.* Published in Old Mongolian, English and Chinese. Author.

Sarangerel—Stewart, Julie Ann. 2000. *Riding Windhorses.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

———. 2001. *Chosen by the Spirits—Following Your Shamanic Calling.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

Spuler, Bertold. 1972. *History of the Mongols.* Islamic World series, G. E. Von Grunebaum, General Editor. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Uray-Kohalmi. 1995. "Marriage to the Mountain." P. 211 in *Tibetan Mountain Deities—Their Cults and Representations.* Paper presented by Anne-Marie Blondeau at a panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz.

Urbanaeva, Irina S. 1996. "Shamanism of Mongolian Peoples as the Expression of Central Asia Tengrian Esoteric Tradition" (Abstract). In *Proceedings of the International Symposium—Central Asian Shamanism: Philosophical, Historical, Religious and Ecological Aspects, June 20–26, 1996.*

OROQEN SHAMANISM (NORTHEAST CHINA)

The Oroqen, also called Orocen or Orochon (or Elunchun in Chinese), form one of the Tungus-speaking groups in northeast China. They live south of the Heilong (Amur) River, mostly in Tahe and Huma Counties of Heilongjiang province, and in Oroqen Autonomous Banner of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. (Legend tells that seven clans of the Oroqen migrated to the south of the Heilong River.) The Oroqen are one of the smallest officially recognized minority nationalities in China. The 1990 census documented 6,900 Oroqen persons, and the population numbered only 3,262 according to a 1953 census. The Oroqen believe that *Oroqen* means "mountain people." But linguists suggest that it may also mean "reindeer herders," because *oron* means "reindeer," and the Oroqen were historically recorded as reindeer herders.

The Oroqen do not have a written language. In the past, some Oroqen could speak and write Manchu because of the historical influence of the Manchu, the most powerful Tungus group. Today, most Oroqen in the concentrated areas speak their native language and Mandarin Chinese. Traditionally, Oroqen society was formed of patrilineal *mokun* (clan) organizations. Each mokun consisted of several *wulileng* (lineage or large family) units. Although a wulileng usually had a number of nuclear families, each living in a tepee, the property was communally owned by the wulileng. Exogamous marriage was the norm, and wind burial was practiced. Shamanism is the core belief system for the Oroqen. There is no evidence that they have been impacted by outside religions.

Once a nomadic group with hunting and gathering as the main subsistence economy, most of the Oroqen have become farmers and forest workers since they were permanently resettled in the early 1950s. The homeland of the Oroqen is rich in forests and wildlife in the mountains and rivers, though they are not as abundant as before due to logging and migration of other people into the area (E.G. 1983; Guan and Wang 1998; Xu, Sui, and Pang 1993).

Shamans of the Past and Present

The debate continues as to the exact origin of the Oroqen people and the historical development of their shamanic tradition. Although the Oroqen are mentioned in two of the best-known works on shamanism (Eliade 1964; Shirokogoroff 1935), their shamanic practice has not yet been described in detail in the English language.

According to Guan Xiaoyun and Wang Honggang (1998), and the data collected by Kun Shi and Richard Noll during their field research in the summer of 1994, the Oroqen elders recall that they have had male and female shamans as far back as they can remember. The Oroqen believe that the first shaman was a female, and female shamans once dominated the practice. In the two Oroqen townships (Shibazhan of Tahe and Baiyinna of Huma) in northern Heilongjiang, sixteen shamans (nine males and seven females) were practicing healing and other rituals at the time the Oroqen were permanently resettled in 1953. Most of the shamans survived through the 1980s, and two of them were still alive when Shi and Noll did their field research. The resettlement fundamentally changed their traditional way of life, and government-supported clinics and hospitals largely replaced the healing shamans. When the resettlement occurred, the influential shaman Zhao Liben took the lead in abandoning the practice by holding a "Farewell to the Deities" ceremony. Zhao later held local and regional official positions. Despite the ceremony, the shamans had a hard time adjusting, and many of them later had visions and spirit possession experiences. When that happened, they had to chant spirit songs and conduct a ritual to appease the deities and spirits.

Although the two living shamans may not openly perform healing rituals, they still remember the ritual procedures, ritual songs and chants, and myths of shamanic motif. One of them occasionally beats the drum and can communicate with the spirits. There is at least one healing ritual documented in 1995 (Guan and Wang 1998, 162–168), in which the shaman successfully healed a patient who had been ill for three years and had tried medical treatments of all kinds. The two living shamans have contributed, through folklorists and ethnologists, to numerous Chinese publications and video documentaries. The Oroqen scholars proudly regard them as living treasures of their people. However, unlike the Manchu shamans who still initiate young shamans, there is no sign yet that new Oroqen shamans will emerge, and the living shamanic tradition of the Oroqen may soon disappear with the two aging shamans. Even if this should occur, the knowledge of shamanism will survive, thanks to the efforts of researchers to document the tradition in print and audiovisual forms, and to the Oroqen elders who continue to sponsor the hunting and harvest ceremonies once associated with the shamans.

A recent publication on shamanism in China includes a photo of an Oroqen shaman in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, without sufficient information to substantiate it (Guo and Wang 2001, 11). A study conducted in the 1950s (Zhao 1991) recorded thirty-nine Oroqen shamans in Inner Mongolia from 1900 to 1957, of whom twenty-four were female. It is not clear if any of those shamans are still alive. The records available so far do not indicate that there are living Oroqen shamans in the region.

Cosmology and Myths

The Oroqen world is divided into three levels. The Upper World is occupied by *bukan* (deities) and helping spirits; humans and living things inhabit the Middle World; and wandering souls and harmful spirits live in the Lower World. The Oroqen shamans are believed to be able to connect with the three worlds, to invoke deities from the Upper World for help, and enter the Lower World to retrieve the wandering souls of the sick or even the deceased. The number of deities and helping spirits is endless, from animals, plants, and ancestors to natural phenomena. Many of the deities and spirits are made into idols from wood, leather, and other materials. Some of the most important deities are described as follows (drawing on Guan and Wang 1998; Ma and Cui 1990):

Dilaha Bukan (Sun Deity): the benevolent deity of light and warmth, worshipped with offerings at an annual ritual during the New Year. He is believed to have the power to help resolve conflicts and diminish disasters.

Bieya Bukan (Moon Deity): the kind-hearted female deity worshipped at the

full moon of the fifth month. She is believed to watch over the animals at night; so if no animal is found after days of a hunting trip, a ritual is conducted to seek her help.

Aulun Bukan (Big Dipper Deity): a female deity in charge of food storage; she provides direction to travelers and hunters at night.

Onkulu Bukan: the deity controlling all diseases, and is helpful in healing rituals.

Bainacha (Mountain Deity): probably the most respected deity for the Oroqen because he is in charge of all wildlife in the forest. In order to hunt game animals or to show gratitude after a successful hunting trip, offerings are made in honor of Bainacha.

During the last two decades, numerous collections of Oroqen folklore have been published in Chinese (Xu, Sui, and Pang 1993). In addition to legends and folksongs, they include creation myths, human origin myths, and tales about shamans. For example, several stories in a collection describe how a female shaman revived the soul of the deceased from the Lower World and how women with shamanic power retrieved the wandering souls of their loved ones (Sui 1988). The following is a synopsis of the myth "Nican (pronounced *ni-tsan*) Shamaness" (variably called Nishun or Nihai shamaness; Xu, Sui, and Pang 2000, similar to the Manchu epic myth *Nisan Shamaness*) collected by Kun Shi from the female shaman Guan Kouni in 1994 in Shibazhan.

> Legend has it that the earliest Oroqen shaman was a female named Nican. Every super-quality was manifested in her: She communicated with the deities on behalf of her people; she was kind and worked hard; and she was a respected healer and soul retriever.
>
> One day, an old couple living in the deep forest lost their only son due to an illness. They wailed over the death of their son. The Sky Deity was moved by their loss and told them to seek help from Nican Shamaness. They traveled to the river at the edge of the earth, and met Nican Shamaness. Without hesitation, Nican Shamaness took her shamanic outfit and drum, and embarked on the journey to save the soul of the deceased boy. By then the boy's physical body had been dead for nine days. Nican Shamaness quickly started chanting and dancing amid drumming. Soon she fell to the ground, and her soul flew to the Lower World to retrieve the wandering soul of the deceased boy. The task was accomplished with the help of the powerful Eagle Deity. It was three days later when Nican Shamaness came back with the soul to revive the boy.
>
> Nican Shamaness' power and popularity caused jealousy; she was blamed for reviving a deceased person, and later was murdered by the emperor's followers. Although Nican Shamaness died, the shamans continued the tradition generation after generation.

Practitioners and Their Functions

Like the other Tungus-speaking groups in northeast China, the Oroqen call their shaman *saman,* which means "the knower." The Oroqen believe that the shaman is the medium between the human world and the other worlds above and below; the shaman is a healer and the master of their cultural tradition.

There are two kinds of Oroqen shamans: the *mokun* (clan) shamans and the *deleku* (roving) shamans. The former were traditionally fewer in number, but more powerful in healing and other rituals (Ma and Cui 1990, 129). The shaman's status can be identified by the number of antler forks on the headdress: More antler forks indicate more experience and higher status (Guan and Wang 1998, 115–116). The shamans are also successful hunters and craftsmen; they perform healing and other rituals not as a way to make a living, but as a duty because they are called or chosen by the spirits to become shamans and to perform the rituals. Often their service is compensated by gifts in kind.

Oroqen shamanship depends on spirit selection. Usually, when someone suffers from a serious and unexplainable illness (the sign of spirit selection), a master shaman is called in for a healing ritual, which often involves soul retrieval. The ill person recovers after promising to become a shaman. About a dozen shamans documented by Guan and Wang (1998) became shamans in this way. Then they learned from the master shamans and through their own visions, the skills to invoke helping deities, to enter into a trance state, to journey

to the Lower World for soul retrieval, and to conduct other rituals for the interests of their people. They acted as assistants of the master shamans during apprenticeship. According to witness accounts, when the shamans entered a trance state, they could perform extraordinary feats (such as licking red-hot iron or swallowing needles) without being hurt. The shamans could maintain an altered state of consciousness for days (lying on the ground without eating) during their soul retrieval journey to the Lower World. The shamans sometimes performed divinations (usually through reading animal bones), but other ordinary people can also perform divinations (Guan and Wang 1998; Ma and Cui 1990).

In addition to the healing ritual, which often includes soul calling and retrieval, shamans conduct rituals for every important event in people's social and economic life, such as annual rituals in honor of ancestors and deities, spring hunting rituals, autumn harvest rituals, fertility rituals, and funeral rituals. It is important to note that a funeral ritual is always held for a bear after it is hunted, because the Oroqen believe the bear is related to their ancestors. During the ritual, the shaman chants prayers; people should not use the word for death, and must call the bear *yaya* (grandfather) or *taitie* (grandmother). The bear's head is wrapped and placed in the forest for wind burial (Ma and Cui 1990, 129).

Whether it is a healing or other ritual, the shamans generally follow the process of inviting the deities (the more deities invited, the more powerful the shaman), welcoming the deities, dancing and chanting, entering trance, journeying to the other worlds, communicating with the deities, making offerings, and sending away the deities. The helping deities or spirits may include an animal, a sacred tree, an ancestor, or one of the *bukans* (deities) described above.

One important component of the Oroqen shaman's healing power is through the use of folk remedies from herbs and animal parts. A detailed description of the remedies is recorded by one of the living shamans (Meng 1990, 36–41). These healing remedies have been widely used by shamans and ordinary people.

The Shaman's Costume and Equipment

The shaman's outfit is elaborate and is always kept in a special place. It includes a headdress (made of a metal frame, antlers, strips of colorful cloth, a small mirror, little bells, and a curtain of beads blocking eyesight), costume (consisting of a gown made of leather, copper mirrors, strings of bells, strips of colorful cloth, embroidery work, small pieces of metal representing weapons, and a cape embroidered with beads and shells), and a pair of shoes embroidered with beautiful designs with leather soles. There are two kinds of colorful cloth strips or ribbons. One kind is called *deguke* in Oroqen and is attached to both sides of the costume. Deguke are presented by people healed by the shaman, so more strips mean greater success and power of the shaman. The shaman's costume and shoes are made by women, but the headdress and drum are made by men.

The shaman's drum is called *wutuwen* in Oroqen, meaning "round hand drum." It is single-faced, about 50 centimeters in diameter, and usually made of the skin of roe deer. The drum frame is made of wood, with numerous small metal bells or rings attached to the frame. They make a harmonious accompaniment when the drum is sounded. The drumstick is a half-meter-long wooden stick covered in the skin of a roe deer's leg and attached with strips of colorful cloth representing the colors of the universe. The other shamanic equipment includes a birch-bark box containing idols and a square-shaped stick that is marked to record the number of invited deities (Guan and Wang 1998; Ma and Cui 1990).

Unfortunately, most of the old shaman's outfits and drums were ruined after the resettlement in the early 1950s. The Oroqen Ethnic Museum in Alihe, the only one of its kind in China today, houses a small collection of original shamans' outfits, drums, and other equipment. The relatively new outfits of the Oroqen shamans and some rituals are recorded in photographs in a new book (Guo and Wang 2001, 7–12). Even though some of the scenes seem to be staged, these and other valuable visual images of the last living shamans and rituals are helpful to researchers and even to the young Oroqen, who may one day decide to learn the skills and carry on their shamanic tradition.

As a final note, the author is grateful to the two Oroqen shamans for sharing their knowledge in 1994. He wishes to express here his re-

gret over the recent death of one of the two, Meng Jinfu, the last master Oroqen shaman, which he learned of after this article was written.

Kun Shi

See also: Evenki Shamanism; Manchu Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Texts; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Sibe Shamanism

References and further reading:

E.G. (Editorial Group). 1983. *Elunchun zu jian shi* [A brief history of the Oroqen people]. Hohhot, China: Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Guan Xiaoyun and Wang Honggang. 1998. *Elunchun zu saman jiao diaocha* [A study of Oroqen shamanism]. Shenyang, China: Liaoning People's Publishing House.

Guo Shuyun and Wang Honggang, eds. 2001. *Huo zhe de saman: Zhongguo saman jiao* [Living Shamans: Shamanism in China] (in Chinese and English, with 258 photos). Shenyang, China: Liaoning People's Publishing House.

Ma Minchao and Cui Yan. 1990. "Elunchun zu bufen" [Chapter on the Oroqen people]. Pp.127–132 in *Zhongguo ge minzu zongjiao yu shenhua da cidian* [Dictionary of religions and myths of all nationalities in China]. Beijing: Xueyuan Press.

Meng Jinfu. 1990. "Zhongyao zai Elunchun minjian de yingyong" [The use of folk remedies among the Oroqen]. Pp. 36–41 in *Tahe wenshi ziliao* [Cultural and historical records of Tahe], vol. 3. Tahe, China: Tahe County Cultural and Historical Records Research Committee.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

Sui Shujin. 1988. *Elunchun minjian gushi xuan* [A collection of Oroqen folktales]. Shanghai: Shanghai Literature and Art Press.

Xu Changhan, Sui Shujin, and Pang Yutian. 2000. *Elunchun zu wenxue* [Literature of the Oroqen people]. Harbin, China: Beifang Literature and Art Press.

Zhao Fuxing. 1991. *Elunchun youlie wenhua* [The nomadic culture of the Oroqen]. Hohhot, China: Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House.

PRIESTESSES OF EURASIA

Background

Eurasia in the Bronze Age

Around 900–800 B.C.E., prior to the development of nomadism (an economy based on pasturing throughout the year in various but generally fixed locales), small, sedentary Bronze Age populations inhabited the river basins in Eurasia. Because they had mastered horse riding, they were able to take their small herds further from their villages to pasture. Soon they were driving their herds farther into the steppes (prairies) or high into intermountain valleys. With the increased availability of better and more pasture, the stock multiplied, which in turn augmented the human food supply. By the middle of the first millennium B.C.E., nomadic tribes inhabited much of area of the Eurasian steppes.

Eurasia in the Early Iron Age

Historical sources identify the earliest known Iron Age nomadic tribes: the Scythians, located north of the Black Sea; the Sauromatians and Early Sarmatians in the southern Urals and along the Volga and Don Rivers; and the Saka in southern Siberia, western Mongolia, western China, and Kazakstan. Migrating horizontally across the steppes, or vertically into the high mountain valleys, the nomads were economically dependent upon horses, sheep, goats, camels, and in the higher altitudes, yaks.

Nomadic Lifestyle

In the centuries B.C.E. (as well as today), the *auls* (nomadic villages) were small, composed of four to six interrelated or extended families who traveled together, Each aul was headed by a chieftain, who might be female or male. The grazing lands were tribal property, allocated to each aul by the chieftain, but each family controlled its own wealth. The clans were patriar-

chal in the sense that inheritance was through the male line, yet they tended to be egalitarian (equally sharing tasks and responsibilities). Although men and women had specialized tasks, it was not unusual for either sex to assume the other's tasks or leadership roles

Nomadic tribes have always interfaced to varying degrees with sedentary populations situated along the steppe borders. A particularly strong relationship existed between the Scythians and Geeks; Saka were strong trading partners with the outlying *satrapies* (political divisions) of the Achaemenid Persian Empire and Han China. The Sarmatians traded with the Achaemenid Persians and later with merchants from the Roman Empire. In Central Asia, nomadic tribes gained control of the Silk Road, becoming exceedingly wealthy by extracting tribute.

Ethnicities and Languages

The early nomads were Caucasoids and spoke Indo-Iranian languages. Over time, however, ethnic groups began to integrate. By the third century B.C.E., Mongolian nomads were in southern Kazakstan. Around the sixth century C.E., Turkic-speaking peoples, also coming from western Mongolia, ultimately reached modern Turkey. Tribes formed confederacies, and languages were modified as Indo-Iranian gave way to Turkic and Mongols spoke a Uralic language. In the Middle Ages, nomadic tribes were united under the leadership of charismatic chieftains, or khans. Genghis Khan and his descendants, with massive forces at their command, mustered formidable military and political power as they successfully ruled the vast territories stretching from west of the Volga through Iran, Central Asia, Mongolia, and China.

Modern Eurasian Nomads

As the Russian expansion mandated by Peter the Great in the seventeenth century progressed, nomadic tribes were pitted against each other and ultimately forced from their original grazing lands. To avoid the Russian expansion, in 1755 Kazak tribes entered the western Chinese-held Jungar Basin, then later migrated into western Mongolia to escape pressure on their grazing lands as the warlike Oirat Mongols gained control of the region. In the 1930s, the Soviets forced nomadic Kazaks, Kirghiz, Bashkirs, and Tatars in Russia and Mongols and Kazaks in Mongolia onto *kholkozes* (collective farms), where the populations were frequently decimated. Following the collapse of the USSR, thousands of people in Mongolia returned to their traditional lifestyle of nomadism. Throughout the socialist era in specific autonomous regions of western China, Kazak and Mongol nomads continued their established way of life.

The Kazaks, Kirghiz, Bashkirs, and Tatars had nominally converted to Islam during the eighth century, and shamanism did not play a prominent role in their belief systems. This may be attributed to the fact that these were steppe tribes, while to the north the Mongols, Tuvans, and other populations lived in closer proximity to the forest-steppe and forests *(taiga),* where shamanism originated. Although they were Lamaistic (a form of Buddhism), strong elements of shamanism remained in the belief system, and shamanism was prevalent within the region.

Not only did the Soviet regime's atheistic policies suppress shamanism and Lamaism, but because the shamans had been political leaders of their communities extreme reprisals against them were exercised. In fear, the shamans abandoned their work, and the majority also destroyed their clothing and accoutrements. Recent research in the Altai Mountains of northwestern Mongolia (Bayan Ulgii and Uvs *aimags* [state]) (Davis-Kimball 2002, 83–88) and in the northern Mongolian aimag of Hövsgöl (Fridman 2001, 2002), both regions isolated from the central political power, indicates a resurgence of shamanism. Older female shamans, trained either before or early in the Soviet period by shamans as well as by an occasional lama, now are able to admit to their shamanic abilities, and some have resumed various ceremonies.

The women shamans *(udagan)* frequently began their training after manifesting an illness, often epilepsy, when they were thirteen to fourteen years old, although this could occur as late as their mid-twenties. It appears their vocation has strong hereditary tendencies as numerous shamans are found within the immediate family. As the costume worn during shamanic ceremonies is extremely powerful as well as telling,

most shamanic garb was destroyed during the Soviet period. To reveal the accoutrements of garb, a typical eighty-two-year-old shaman from Hövsgöl aimag described her outfit of the early twentieth century as follows:

The costume had eighty-eight snakes with their heads on her shoulders and eighty-eight strips of cloth. Little metal cones hung on the arms, back, and front of the outfit. Her headdress was replete with three sets of tall owl feathers and an attached fringe of black twisted cotton thread. The costume also had chain mail in front and back and a mirror on the chest. A bow and arrow inserted in a narrow belt served as weaponry against evil spirits. The drum was made from wild deerskin with a horse head and two opposing dragons, protectors of the sky spirit, painted on it. It was adorned with a metal arrow, bells, and eight birds hanging on either side (Fridman 2002, 303–304).

A shamanic ceremony begins with an altered state of consciousness brought about as the shaman drums, sings, or chants. Most female shamans have spirit helpers, such as power animals and birds; ancestors; and nature deities such as sky, water, and mountain spirits (Fridman 2002). Altai Mongols continue to pay homage to the mountain deity Khan Bukhanoion (Davis-Kimball 2002, 89–90) and men and women perform meaningful ceremonies around their individual *ovoos* (rock cairns dedicated to certain spirits).

In Hövsgöl, hidden in the taiga and isolated from state power, many shamanic practices remain unaltered from pre-Socialist times. Some shamans read fortunes and portent impending danger, while others are involved only in healing and curing, a ritual that has proven effective even when administered on the distant infirm (Fridman 2001, personal communication).

Bronze Age Eurasian Shamans

Russian ethnographers have noted, based on the fact that the same term for female shamans is common in many languages throughout Siberia, that the earliest shamans were female. The earliest recorded evidence of shamanism has been found at several Central Asian locations, including the important sites of Tamgaly, northeast of Almaty, Kazakstan, and Saimaly in the Kirghizstan Tien Shan Mountains. These were holy areas, where rock outcropping served as the canvas to record rituals dedicated to the reproductive forces of nature. Never inhabited, the sites witnessed the burials of body parts, ritual dancing, and ritual cohabitation at the base of the outcropping. Repeated over thousands of years, these performances, the ancients believed, were necessary for the survival of the tribe. The Bronze Age shaman representations are dressed in sheepskin costumes with copper or stone accoutrements hanging from the torsos. Other shamans wear massive sub-crescent shaped headdresses, arms upraised while performing a ceremony. Rock-cut images reveal shamans hovering over the back of ritually horned horses, or, having entered an ecstatic state, they inseminate ritually horned horses.

Bronze Age Priestesses and Ritual Dance

Dance, a means of purification, can also induce ecstasy, an altered state required to attain success in certain powerful rituals. In the Tien Shan Mountains of western China, Bronze Age ritual choreography was preserved in the Kangjiashimenzi rock grotto. After long and arduous travel on foot, the priestesses and priests ecstatically dance to become purified before entering into the annual ritual copulation. The scene carved on the stone wall depicts a chorus line of larger-than-life females (up to 3 meters in height), naked except for distinctive headdresses with two projections (similar to projections on Siberian shaman headdresses. Cf. Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988, 247). They dance in various stages of rapture; some are about to fall or have fallen into coma. Interspersed among the females are a lesser number of smaller, nondancing males, each with an enormous erect penis, some attempting to impregnate dancing females. The ritual dance is led by a bisexual shaman (far left) wearing a monkey mask, an ithyphallic female with accoutrements hanging from her body. Heat-generating red ocher encircles the shaman's chest and other parts of her body. Further to the right within a scene of impregnation, a line of small beings reveals the results of the annual fertility ritual. Some ithyphallic dancing priestesses (gender indicated by size, posture, and headdress), also display representations of priestesses' heads on their chests, an image that seems to further emphasize the dominant female element of the ritual. The ithyphallic female in the Kangji-

ashimenzi tableau not only reveals the antiquity of shamanic sex-changing, cross-dressing, and transvestitism at the command of the spirits, it also indicates that changed sex was fundamental to the procreation performance.

Eurasian Nomadic Priestesses

Ancient beliefs were transmitted from Bronze Age shamans to Early Iron Age nomadic priestesses. The shaman's role has been defined as a relationship with evil; the shaman's obligation was to defend others against evil (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988, 246). The role of Eurasian priestesses, however, became expanded. Foremost among the rituals portrayed on petroglyphs and interpreted from artifacts are those related to procreation, divination, and rites of passage.

Eurasian priestesses frequently were not recognized as such by early archaeologists, as it was assumed that a female found in a male burial was a victim of suttee (the custom of a wife's killing herself upon the death of her husband). More recently, however, due to new excavations and careful interpretations of nomadic female burials excavated at Pokrovka in the southern Ural steppes in Russia (Davis-Kimball 1998), scholarly opinion has held that it is more likely that the female buried with a male was a priestess who had accompanied a chieftain to the Otherworld to continue providing divinations and required rituals (Davis-Kimball 1997b; 2002, 57–97).

One example, an excavation in the western Ural steppes in Russia dated to the latter half of the first millennium B.C.E. that the author examined, reveals the type of burial formerly considered to be suttee but in reality was that of a young priestess. Before the tunnel entrance *(dromos)* of a Sarmatian chieftan's burial, three people were buried. All three skeletons had similar trauma in the same location at the base of the skull. The two males, probably guards, had only a few items to take with them to the Otherworld. The young woman, in contrast, had a large bronze mirror incised with rosettes, a *kubok* (a small ritual vessel often of precious metal and bearing the image of an undomesticated animal-helper), and an eye bead that served as an amulet. An assortment of colorants, including ochre and cinnabar as well as black carbon and white chalk, were stored in a small box. These artifacts are of the type that is associated with priestesses (Davis-Kimball 1997/1998), and, therefore, it can safely be assumed that this young woman had been killed so that she could continue her prognostication work to aid the chieftain.

Craftsmen for nomadic tribes created portable art that included small metal plaques and felt and leather horse accoutrements. During the era of the Saka, Scythian, and Sarmatians, the majority of these artifacts incorporated zoomorphic juncture (combination of animal parts) to create fantistic animals whose multiplied force aided the bearer, often a priestess, in her quest. The most frequent mythical animal, one that was also tattooed on her body, was the mythical griffin: The beak and wings of a raptor were added to the body and legs of a lion. This creature-helper took the priestess on its wings to the Otherworld in search of lost souls and to see into the future; simultaneously, it was an all-powerful protector. Scrolls, a frequent tattoo motif, were incorporated into the griffin image, displayed as coiled beaks with more coils emphasizing the hip and shoulder joints. Similar spirals were a repeat design painted in heat-power red on woven fabric. Most likely this symbol represented infinity while providing energy and means for the priestess to communicate with the spirit world (Davis-Kimball 2002, 77–79; 96–103).

In the burial of the young priestess from the Ural steppes described above, another artifact, a leather appliqué that had been attached to another object (possibly a kubok) was cut in the form of repeating scrolls in silhouette; the artisan had designed the negative space to represent griffin heads. This creative appliqué also emphasizes the priestess's association with shamanic powers.

In the Eurasian steppes, the earliest nomadic priestesses are noted among Sauromatian tribes in the southern Urals beginning about 600 B.C.E. It is not possible to identify accoutrements used by the Bronze Age shaman, such as those seen on the Tamgaly portrayals, but those of the Sauromatian priestesses were excavated from their burials. These objects varied in type, quantity, and value, thus revealing priestesses of various statuses, each of whom had a distinct role within the community. The domestic hearth priestess were charged with guiding rites of passage

within her aul, such as birthing, celebrations marking the advance from puberty to adulthood, and marriage. The hearth was the center of the family and thus of the tribe; sacred oaths were sworn on the hearth. According to Herodotus, the Scythian goddess Tabiti was linked to the fire cult (Herodotus 1975). The dominance of Tabiti and other female deities in the Scythian pantheon not only indicates an earlier matriarchal society, according to some scholars (Ustinova 1999, 69ff), but also can be seen as providing additional evidence of the preeminent positions priestesses attained in nomadic societies.

Some Eurasian nomads became displaced to the north, where their customs are reflected among sedentary tribes, such as the Chukchi, Koryat, and Itelmen. Here, older women perform the shamanic activities. The Siberian Yakuts, who came from the south, worshipped Ayyysyt, goddess of childbirth. According to tradition, she lived in the east, to which the shaman raised a glass of koumiss in her honor. Seven days before the birth of a child, the goddess comes to the mother, safeguarding and speeding her delivery, and flying away three days later. A farewell ceremony takes place at the time of Ayyysyt's departure, a ceremony at which men cannot be present. For the ceremony, a pit is dug near the hearth, and a tent covered with birch bark is built over it. Images of elk and reindeer in birch bark are placed around the tent. The women sit around the tent dressed in their best clothes and a tall fur hat, as Ayyysyt is depicted in epic poems. After building a fire in the tent, a small child shoots an arrow into the representation of a reindeer. During the next phase of the ceremony, women dip a wooden spoon into a bowl of grease and smear the substance on their faces. Then without a word they begin to laugh. The one who laughs the loudest is said to be smiled on by Ayyysyt and will soon bear children (Okladnikov 1970).

The antiquity of the rite, dating to the era of the matriclan, is emphasized by the fact that men are not allowed to be present. The ritual pose of the women is the same as that found on Upper Paleolithic European statuettes of women who have been analyzed as representing conjurers of bewitched animals. Yakut women magically kill the reindeer—the child shooting the arrow is merely the executor, performing at the will of the women, who have cast a spell upon the animal. The three elements fundamental to the survival of a nomadic society—fertility, safe childbirth, and food procurement—are represented in the Ayyysyt ritual.

The skeleton of a young female warrior in situ. A leather bag containing a bronze arrowhead was around her neck (now visible on her chest), and a large boar's tusk amulet was near her feet. Her sword is adjacent to her right femur. Pokrovka Cemetery 2, Kurgan 8, Burial 4. (Courtesy of Jeannine Davis-Kimball)

The Yakut vessel holding the fat for ceremonial smearing may find its antecedents in the *kubok* of nomadic priestesses. Reserved for ritual use, this cup or bowl could never be used for profane food and drink. Made from a reflective precious metal such as silver or gold, the handle was in the form of a fantastic animal. The kubok ritual was similar to the Native American dream quest. After preparing herself with fasting and prayer, the priestess performed the dreamer rite by sitting in a darkened yurt, staring at the reflections of a burning oil light placed on the surface of water in the kubok.

The intent was to diagnose an illness or divine a revelation, which might affect the entire tribe or confederacy (Okladnikov 1970).

Swords and daggers, elaborately embellished with gold pommels and hilts with gold-foil animals displayed along the blood groove, were among the priestesses' ceremonial accoutrements. Other symbols associated with warrior-priestesses were also found among Siberian shamans' repertoire of magic. A. P. Okladnikov noted that tall, conical headgear worn by Yakut women in recent centuries was the attire of shamans during *kamlaniye* (shamanic performance), and that this headdress constitutes one of the most archaic elements of the steppe nomads' cultural heritage (Okladnikov 1970, 258). Not only was it worn by Caucasoid priestesses in western China, it later appears as the witch's hat in medieval Europe. Siberian shamans dancing, beating drums, and singing, along with the use of hallucinogenics, produced a self-induced trance. Eurasian priestesses utilized similar techniques, for they burned and inhaled the smoke from trance-inducing botanical seeds (Davis-Kimball 1997a; Rudenko 1970).

Body markings, paintings, and tattooing have been encountered on the preserved skin of priestesses who were frozen (Polosmak 1996; Rudenko 1970), as well as others who were mummified in Takliamakan Desert, in western China (Barber 1999; Davis-Kimball 2002). Geometricized tattoos or paintings on the temple or across the upper eyelids indicated the hierarchical order of the priestess and her particular calling. Some priestesses had the power to cast spells, or channel; some were seers, healers, or diviners. All would have worked under the direction of the high tribal priestess, who had been trained from childhood by the previous high priestess and had received her appointment before the death of her teacher.

Magical animals were also tattooed on priestesses, as well as being carved from wood and cast in gold. These figures took the form of snow leopards, deer, and birds and were worn on the priestesses' belts and headdresses. These special animals were not only badges of rank, they served as helpers to the healers.

The domesticated sheep and horses that played life-sustaining roles in the nomads' profane lives, with the exception of the ceremonial horned horse, were never portrayed in religious art and therefore remained in the realm of the profane. In contrast, wild, untamed animals, deer and reindeer, snow leopards, and birds, as well as the fantastic griffin, were maintained in a sacrosanct space. Legends of the Deer Man in which a woman (the earth mother) gives birth to a small deer, who eventually leaves her to join the father, abound among Eurasian peoples. Various aspects of the deer are included in priestesses' repertoire. As a shape-shifter, the creature may have been another link to the supernatural.

Large felines, especially the panther, leopard, and cheetah, have always been shamanic helpers. In Eurasia, the Tien Shan snow leopard was assimilated by an affiliation of priestesses; some of these animals were winged mythological creatures (Davis-Kimball 1999).

Mirrors, cast in silver or bronze and associated with priestesses, had a shiny, reflective surface, but were never used for the purposes of vanity. More Eurasian priestesses appear to have been qualified to use a mirror to contact the spirit world than to dream quest. The healing priestess carried a knife of stone or bronze as part of her tool kit, used to collect medicinal herbs for poultices, potions, or infusions.

In preparation for rituals, priestesses ground certain ores and minerals, particularly those that produced the heat-inducing color red (ocher and cinnabar); they also incorporated chalk for white and carbon for black. After grinding the ore on a small stone table or clay palette, they mixed the powder with milk or fat in a natural stone container or fossilized oyster shell before painting on cloth, and on their faces, arms, and bodies. Although the nomads had master wood carvers, a shell (or even a stone shaped as a shell) was preferable to a wooden bowl, as the latter still contained its energy, which would be transmitted to the ritual powder.

Jeannine Davis-Kimball

See also: Ancient North Asian Shamanism; Gender in Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Sakha Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Barber, Elizabeth Wayland. 1999. *The Mummies of Ürümchi.* New York and London: W. W. Norton.

Center for the Study of Eurasian Nomads. 2001. "Statues of Sauromatian and Sarmatian

A Sarmatian crown excavated from a female burial at Khokhlach near the southern Russian city of Novocherkassk. (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

Women." http://csen.org/WomenWarriors/Statuses_Women_Warriors.html (cited 1998).

Charnoluskii, V. V. 1965. *Legenda ob Olene-cheloveke* [Legend of the Deer Man]. Moscow: Academy of Sciences.

Davis-Kimball, Jeannine. 1997a. "Sauro-Sarmatian Nomadic Women: New Gender Identities." *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 25: 327–343.

———. 1997b. "Chieftain or Warrior Priestess?" *Archaeology* (September/October): 44–48.

———. 1997/1998. "Amazons, Priestesses, and Other Women of Status: Females in Eurasian Nomadic Societies." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5: 1–50.

———. 1998. "Statuses of Eastern Early Age Nomads." In *Papers from the EAA Third Annual Meeting at Ravenna 1997.* Edited by Mark Pearce and Maurizio Tosi. BAR International Series 717. Oxford: Archaeopress.

———. 1999. "Priestesses, Enarees, and Other Statuses among Indo-Iranian Peoples." Pp. 231–259 in *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference,* Los Angeles, May 21–23, 1998. *Journal of Indo-European Studies,* monograph series no. 32. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man.

Davis-Kimball, Jeannine, with Mona Behan. 2002. *Warrior Women: An Archaeologist's Search for History's Hidden Heroines.* New York: Warner.

Díoszegi, V. 1968. *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fitzhugh, William W., and Aron Crowell. 1988. "Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska." Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Francfort, Henri. P., et al. 1995. "Les pétroglyphs de Tamgaly." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 9: 167–207.
Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann. 2001. "Amidst Steppe and Taiga: Women Shamans in Hövsgöl Province, Mongolia." Unpublished paper, presented at the 6th Conference of the International Society for Shamanistic Research, Viljandi, Estonia, August 11–17.
———. 2002. "Women Shaman Healers in Inner Asia: Adaptations in a Changing Landscape." Pp. 291–310 in *Handbuch der Ethnotherapien* [Handbook of Ethnotherapies]. Edited by C. E. Gottschalk-Batschkus and J. G. Green. Munich: ETHNOMED.
Herodotus. 1975. *Herodotus.* Translated by A. D. Godley. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Okladnikov, A. P. 1970. *Yakutia before Its Incorporation into the Russian State.* Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America.
Polosmak, Natalia B. 1996. "La Prêtresse Altaïque" [The Altai Priestess]. Pp. 28–35 in *Tombes Gelées de Sibérie* [Frozen Tombs of Siberia]. Edited by B. Bioul, A. Jeannelle, H. Durand, and V. Maily. Dossiers Archéologie 212. Dijon: Editions Faton SA.
Rudenko, Sergei. I. 1970. *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Ustinova, Yulia. 1999. *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

SAKHA (YAKUT) SHAMANISM (NORTHEAST ASIA)

The Sakha people have a long tradition of shamanism, which has survived attempts at Christianization, as well as the persecution of the Soviet state. Certain elements of continuity are evident, but much weaker by contrast with pre-Soviet Sakha shamanism when "Some of the most compelling séance descriptions in all of Siberian ethnographic literature" were recorded by Ivan A. Khudiakov in 1868–1869, citing dialogues between shamans and helper spirits (Balzer 1996, 306). As Marjorie M. Balzer point out, on the basis of her fieldwork in the Sakha Republic in the 1990s, "in the political and social climate of the Sakha Republic in the 1990s, only about seven Sakha, Even and Evank men and women are reported to be shamans. This number is sometimes disputed, with some believers emphasizing that no 'true' shamans are alive today, while others claim many folk healers are undergoing shamanic sickness and using shamanic techniques. For more people have made aspects of shamanism, especially soul and spirit beliefs, integral to their ways of defining themselves and their environment" (Balzer 1996, 310).

Sakha (Yakutia) is the largest newly independent republic in the Russian Federation. Having proclaimed its independence in 1990, the Sakha Republic occupies an area of 3.1 million square kilometers in northeast Asia, with more than 40 percent of its area within the Arctic Circle. It has a population of 1.7 million people (0.3 inhabitant per square kilometer), living within 35 administrative territories, called *uluses* in the Sakha language (which belongs to the Turkic family of languages). The ethnic composition of the Sakha Republic is complex, with more than eighty ethnic groups represented. The largest group are the Sakha (called Yakut by the Russians since czarist times), who comprise 40 percent of the population. The remaining 60 percent consists of many smaller groups from the north, including Evenki, Even, Dolgan, Yukagir, and Chukchi, as well as displaced people and immigrants and their descendants. The history and origins of the Sakha are obscure. Most researchers hold that the Sakha are of Turanian-Mongolian origin and that their migration from southern Siberia to the north follows the history of more general migrations in the regions of Central Asia and southern Siberia. The people of the Sakha Republic make a living fishing, hunting, breeding reindeer, and raising horses and cattle.

Sakha Shamanism: The Essence of the Sakha Religious System

The Sakha philosophy of life was formed by centuries of nomadism, a culture that created its moral leader—the shaman—who also imparted the cultural tradition. Sakha shamanism is a religion in which particular individuals are set apart from ordinary members of the com-

munity. These individuals fall into trance (usually artificially induced) and are credited with the ability to communicate with the spirit world. These people are the shamans, who fill the roles of healer, diviner, and priest. Theorists of cultural evolution hypothesize that Sakha shamanism originated from faith in the highest god in heaven. This faith created the need for a mediator who would maintain connections between heaven and earth. The shaman, as a person charged with mediation, ensured durable communication between heaven and earth, symbolized by the "ascension" of the shaman during trance. As the cult of the Supreme Being receded into the background, a multitude of lower-level gods acquired greater importance. Sakha shamans are distinguished by their ecstatic techniques, used during *kamling,* the séances that incorporate dancing, singing, drumbeating, and reciting.

Ignoring various discrepancies and minor local differences, the world of the Sakha shaman is divided into upper (heaven), middle (earth), and lower (underground). The Upper and the Lower Worlds divide further into many spheres. The higher spheres are seats of good spirits, with superior divinities situated in the highest heavens. Other spheres are occupied by the spirits of deceased humans and by spirits hostile to man. The Middle World (Earth) is inhabited by people, animals, and both good and bad spirits. Connection between the different worlds is via a cosmic tree, a mythical river, or a world column, used by shamans to contact spirits and divinities. The shaman mediates between the people of his community and the spirits, transferring requests from people to the supernatural forces, and communicates in return the will of the various supernatural beings who govern the human world.

The first shamans were appointed by the principal gods and acquired supernatural abilities unobtainable by ordinary people. Since that time, shamans have been able to contact both good and bad spirits. The shaman is considered by his community to be a person of strong character, extraordinary physical condition, and eminent intellect. Traditionally, most Sakha shamans have been men, so the male pronoun is used here. The classic description of Sakha shamanism that follows is based primarily on historical descriptions by ethnographers observing the practice of shamanism among the Sakha peoples at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Many of these practices and much of the belief system have been retained and revitalized in the post-Soviet period of the 1990s and first years of the twenty-first century. However, given the long period of repression from the 1920s until 1992, many of the elements of "classic" Sakha shamanism, as described below, are no longer as clearly in evidence.

The gift of shamanism is ordinarily inherited from notable ancestors, who are seen as choosing the person who will succeed them. The gift of shamanism is not, however, always determined by inheritance; it is also possible for a person whose family has no history of shamanism to become a shaman. When a child falls on its back at the time of birth (Sakha women traditionally give birth to their children while in a kneeling position), or is born with particular physical defects, such as the lack of a finger, these are signs that an extraordinary child, a future shaman, is born. Some of these children, considered by the community to be chosen by the gods, begin to feel their calling for the shaman's role while still young. This "feeling" may take various forms: ghostly dreams or nightmares, hallucinations, apathy, a loss of consciousness, or states during which the child rambles, becomes lost, or escapes into the taiga and reaches a state of physical exhaustion. Such symptoms, along with a general weakening of his mental and physical condition, sometime last for several months (or even years), and are considered by the relatives of the person to be an indication that the spirits have taken his or her soul to prepare it for its future role.

Traditionally, there was and still is a similar period of preparation prior to becoming a shaman, during which every candidate suffers a distinct pathological condition resembling mental illness, symptoms of which may include depression, fainting, convulsions, hallucination, and overexcitability. Someone who did not pass to the Otherworld, who was not acquainted with the secrets of death, who was not familiar with secrets unavailable to ordinary mortals, could not become a shaman. During this preparatory period there are stages that clearly define the initiation process: the separation stage, in which the candidate is separated from everyday living in the community; the transformation stage, including particular ac-

tions undertaken by the community, chiefly an experienced shaman imparting secret knowledge to his successor; the incorporation stage, involving his return to the community as a fully qualified shaman. These stages are repeated by the shaman each time he performs. From the time of his appointment, the shaman oscillates between death and resuscitation. His journey to the Otherworld, to the country of eternal suffering, is a metaphor for death. Although the shaman was born human, his human form must die for him to assume the role of shaman.

The shaman's journey to other worlds may be considered a peregrination into subconscious spheres of the psyche. These spheres are shaped by his culture and manifested in hallucinations, dreams, and visions during trance. The journey is not possible for ordinary people. Techniques for experiencing other realities include using hallucinogenic substances (toadstools, blueberries, a tea made form cedar bark, alcohol), playing instruments, and particular choreographic schemes of dance. Also employed are monotonous repetition of prayers interrupted by exclamations, the use of sharp objects, and finally, the environment: dusk, smoke from a damped fire, and the maximum concentration of those participating in the celebration. All these means enhance the shaman's power. They enable him to travel to the other worlds to contact spirits, to retrieve souls abducted by them, or to lead souls gently to the land of death, neutralizing the anger of gods, obtaining their goodwill, and satisfying human demands.

The ceremony leads to a general change in personality of future shamans, separating them from the profane and moving them into the sacred world, ensuring the shamans' ability to return to the profane along clearly determined paths. The shamans, during the initiation, have trespassed on the borders of another world. Therefore, the ceremony is partly mythological (including the participation of supernatural beings) and partly social (involving the community that is served). Shamans lose contact with profane reality (both mental and physical) and meet forces and languages unknown to ordinary mortals in their quest to reach sacred realities.

Another stage of the shaman's initiation is a waiting period, dangerous both for the shaman and for the community because the sacred power is heightened. The candidate is in direct contact with supernatural world—the good and bad spirits who will decide his future. Only "pure individuals" (i.e., young, unmarried people) are allowed contact with the candidate as the former shaman initiates the young adept. At this stage everyday actions are suspended. The initiated shaman, physically isolated in a place unavailable to ordinary people, is simultaneously inside and outside the social structure. Excluded from the community, he acts outside of the social reality and social time, in abnormal conditions marked with sanctity.

The next initiation phase is the return of the individual to the community in a new form with new status. The shaman is received as a person marked with sacred power. The shaman's mystical experiences in the first initiation journey, being a prologue to further "meetings" and "negotiations" with gods and spirits, bring better understanding of the supernatural world to the community. During the initiation journey the shaman symbolically dies and is reborn, learning the way to death as well as the way of return that leads to rebirth. Not all initiated men can return from their first journey. Some refuse to receive the gift and remain in the land of death, without any chance of return. Those among them who do return provide the community with proof that death may be overcome and the power of bad spirits affecting human lives may be subdued. During his first journey to the Otherworld, the future shaman (guided along dangerous paths by an experienced shaman), acquires shamanic wisdom. The first initiation journey is a kind of experiment, a process of discovering the secrets of the shaman's power and the geography of the world, and of acquiring skill in using the language of supernatural beings. The experiences acquired during the initiation are the first ordeal, preparing the candidate for subsequent professional journeys.

Shaman's Soul and Initiation

In the traditional belief system, it is thought that every human being has multiple souls, and during the period before initiation, the souls of a future shaman are called away. They may be called by the spirits of the Upper, Middle, or Lower Worlds, according to the nature of the shaman's future function. However, irrespective

of the sphere in which the souls are to be located, their education is performed in the nests of the shaman's familial tree. To the neophyte only a fully formed soul known as a *salgyn kut* (air soul) can return. The two other souls, the *buor kut* (earth soul) and *iye kut* (animal mother soul), are kept by the spirits and transformed into other beings: the buor kut into a fish, the iye kut into the shaman's animal mother. These souls never return to their owner, but in their new forms they protect the shaman. This is particularly the case with the iye-kut.

The education and initiation of a future shaman's souls are supervised by the spirits of his ancestors. The human soul changes, taking the features of a shaman's soul, and, consequently, when the future shaman receives his soul back, endowed by the grace of the spirits, he becomes a shaman and is no longer a man. The power the future shaman will have as a shaman depends upon the location where the soul is kept by the spirits. It is believed the shaman's familial tree has hollows, or nests, located at three levels. The lowest level is occupied by nests designed for the souls of future shamans endowed with the lowest power. The middle level is for ordinary shamans, while the nests situated the highest are reserved for the souls endowed with the most power.

The beginning of the future shaman's illness is marked by hallucinations and prophetic dreams in which the spirits of ancestors appear and announce the shamanic calling. The myths just recounted about how a new shaman is born now begin to shape the future shaman's empirical existence. It could be said that from this time the shaman thinks in myths and starts his mythical life. The future shaman's physical suffering before and during his initiation are explained as created by the torments of the birth of his new soul in the mythical shaman's tree. When the spirits consider the soul of the future shaman ready for a final test, they return it to the shaman-to-be, who awaits his second birth in a specially designed place—in a yurt, or in a specially erected *urasa* (construction) in the taiga.

The place selected for the initiation period is subject to many rules and prohibitions. The urasa has to be built by the future shaman himself or by young unmarried men near the shaman's tree. The place is subject to taboos, and nobody, besides those mentioned above, can approach it. Similar restrictions are imposed with regard to the place designated for the person awaiting initiation in a yurt. The future shaman can only be attended by young unblemished boys or "pure" girls or women (that is, boys and girls or women without sexual experience). The future shaman should, if possible, be isolated from the community and protected against the disastrous influence of any impure elements in the environment (people, animals, objects, or food). The neophyte, maintaining all these precautions, awaits the initiation. The initiation, called by the Sakha *ettetii* (the disintegration of the body), lasts three days. (The most powerful among future shamans undergo the ettetii thrice.)

During ettetii the future shaman lies in a stupor, with foam flowing from his mouth, blood flowing from all his joints, and his body covered with bloody swellings. This state reflects the sufferings experienced by the candidate during the initiation, characterized by the disintegration of his body. This physical experience is paralleled by the initiation process in the supernatural world, which consists of cutting the candidate's body into pieces. Then, when he gains the status of shaman, his body is made whole again. The disintegration and second creation of the body symbolizes the death of the ordinary man and the birth of a shaman. The spirits cut off the candidate's head and place it on a stake, to let it observe the activities performed on the rest of the body. Then the spirits begin separating particular parts of the body from the bones. These parts are divided into three piles. The spirits take each piece, chew it, and spit it out toward places where the spirits of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Worlds are present. Each piece is directed to the spirits representing various categories of sickness and, therefore, the particular part of the shaman's body becomes acquainted with the secrets of how to heal each illness, along with learning the secrets of the death and the ways leading to the Otherworld.

During the disintegration rite, future shamans are endowed by the spirits with particular qualities of their bodies known as *oibon* and *kiali. Oibone* is a hole in the body covered with skin, literally a "particular place." Historical accounts of Sakha shamanism describe these holes; the most powerful shamans had

nine such holes: at the fontanel, on the back, in the armpits, at the heels. These the shaman pierced with a knife in order to admit his assistant spirits into his body. Kiali is a certain place on the abdomen, through which the shaman during kamling can suck in the sickness of the patient. When the illness spirits admit the shaman to their secret world, the spirits dismembering his body scrupulously count his bones. The number of missing bones determine the number of the members of the family and closest friends (of the shaman) who will have to die. After having counted all the bones, the spirits regain from the illness spirits the parts of the body, put them on the naked skeleton (connecting them together with saliva), and, having reconstructed the body, replace the head on the trunk. In this way, the future shaman is initiated by the spirits. Every part of his body, every bone, has been given a special benediction by the spirits (see Elaide 1989, 113–114).

Inclusion of Shaman into Community

In this second stage of the ritual, the community has not been involved. The initiated person, excluded from the community and deprived of his normal status, has been subject to the authority of the spirits. He has surrendered to ritual death, expecting resuscitation, and his body has undergone a slow change. After this ordeal, the shaman is reintegrated into the community. Historical accounts relate that this inclusion act is effected through the ritual of "body elevation," celebrated by an experienced old shaman in the presence of the whole community. During the ceremony, the old shaman started kamling, to contact those spirits who "disintegrated" the body of the candidate and to obtain their permission for his resuscitation. During kamling, participants sang songs addressed to the spirits. At the same time, they raised the shaman, tied with a rope and fixed to a drum, from his bed. Once the elevation ceremonial concluded, the old shaman began the ordination ceremony of the neophyte, his presentation to the spirits of his ancestors. The old shaman sacrificed a horse to the spirits who have initiated his successor. He burned the heart and the liver of a horse in a fire and asked the spirits for permission for the first initiation-kamling of the newly initiated shaman.

After acceptance by the community, the young shaman, together with the old one, for the first time undertakes kamling to the spirits that have chosen him. He calls his protective spirits and, in the presence of all the gathered participants, repeats, after his guide, an oath in which he promises to be a guardian for all unhappy people, father of poor people, and mother of orphans. He vows to worship the demons residing at mountain summits, to serve them with his body and soul. Moreover, mentioning the names of the demons of diseases and all the disasters caused by them among the people, he promises to worship and give suitable sacrifices to appease them. Thus, after the kamling and the oath, the initiate is accepted into the community as a new shaman.

The culminating stage of the ritual of the future shaman's body disintegration and his symbolic death lasts three days, measured by a lunar calendar. The time is considered to be "living time." The shaman's existence, similar to the moon's, whose life cycles between birth and the death, is subject to the same rhythm. Appearance and disappearance of the moon is considered symbolic dismembering or disintegration. Death is overcome by cyclic regeneration.

Shamanic Cosmology

In Sakha cosmology, the world was formed when the highest god of the pantheon, Urung-Ayee-Toyon, created the Earth by obtaining it from deep waters by means of a *nur.* Afterwards, he created the first humans, leading to a conflict with his brother, Uwoo-Toyon. He expelled his brother to the netherworld and went to heaven. Another version, which perhaps refers to historical events, explains the formation of the peoples of Central Asia and Siberia. The universe was divided into three spheres (upper, middle, and lower) following a war among three nations under the command of Urung-Aar-Toyon, Uwoo-Toyon, and Arsan-Duoway. One element balancing such a world system, defined as the center of the world, is a cosmic tree, the roots of which reach down to the Lower World while its branches reach all levels of heaven. It is identified with the shaman's tree, and in its branches, nests, or hollows, the soul of the future shaman undergoes its initiation. The tree also serves the shaman as

a platform guiding him (during kamling) to the land of the spirits. Every shaman has his own tree (equivalent to the cosmic tree) in the taiga, from whose wood the hoops of his drum are made.

A near equivalent of the cosmic tree, which is the axis of the world, although not so prevalent in Sakha philosophy is the pole that is the "horse-tie" (a pole to which horses are tied) of the highest god Urung-Ayee-Toyon. The horse-ties placed near yurts are an extension of the heavenly horse-tie. They usually have a horse's head carved at one end. An interesting relationship between the horse-tie and the cosmic tree can be found in one of the Sakha epics, in which the hero, seeking to find where the tree branches reach, discovers that "the tree pierced through the azure of the Sakha sky, through the white shiny heaven, through tripartite white heaven and, at its Eastern part, becomes the main silvery horse-tie of the White Lord sitting on the milk-white throne." Trying to discover where the bottom part of the tree reaches, he found that "it serves the Dairymaid Lady as a pole for celebrating the *ysah.*"

In the Ysah ceremony, the connection between the horse-tie pole and the cosmic tree is made clear. The *ysah* ceremony, originating from an old tradition of the breeder-nomads (at present the *koumiss* feast, celebrated in spring and in autumn) was initially related to the cult of the good *(ayee)* gods: Urung-Ayee-Toyon, the heavenly god; Jasegay, the horse keeper; and Eenahset Hotoun, the cattle keeper. The actual connection made during the ceremony between the horse-tie pole and the cosmic tree with the heavenly sphere above reflects the bond between human being and the sacred cosmos. The main elements of the ysah ceremonial stage are the horse-tie poles—the number of which is restricted to the number of donors. Two birches with interlaced branches are tied to each pole. Between the poles and the birches, ropes decorated with colored rags and white horse hair are stretched. The Sakha consider the birch to be sacred. Hence, the poles and the sacred birch trees are connected literally in order to appeal to the spirits above. The sacredness of birches is reflected not only by the ysah, but also in other ceremonies in which shamans appeal to the heavenly gods with birches while kamling over an ill person.

The Middle World, Earth, plays an important role in the structure of the universe. It is inhabited not only by humans, but by many ayee and *abaas* (ghosts). These ghosts are the presiding deities, known as master spirits, of mountains, rivers, rocks, lakes, fire, and trees. The main figure of this world is the Earth Lady, a wise old woman residing in shapely birches. Her children are master-spirits of all plants. They live under bundles of grass blades and leaves, rejuvenating them in the spring with their warm breath. The gods inhabit old, shapely trees growing in open spaces. The Earth Lady protects all living beings (humans, animals, and the whole of nature) from bad spirits.

Every place has its master spirit. Some of the spirits may become gods. The area where a yurt is to be built is owned by a spirit, whose permission is necessary before establishing the yurt. Appropriate respect is due to all spirits, helping to avoid cases where they might be offended and punish the erring landowner. The most important of these spirits is that of the hearth. Fire is held by the Sakha in particular esteem. They believe it to have supernatural powers capable of neutralizing the activities of bad spirits.

Among the gods helping or caring for people, the Baay Baayanay, the god of hunters, often called the Spirit of the Taiga, is very popular in Sakha belief. He decides who will succeed in hunting, so hunters sacrifice to him before the chase. They make a fire and place offerings in it, including pieces of butter, fatty meat, and bread. Blood from an animal sacrificed to Baay Baayanay is spread on a previously prepared wooden figure representing the god.

Transformation of Sakha Belief Systems

The original belief system determined by shamanism was progressively affected by Christianity and the advent of the "political religion" of Soviet state atheism. The Siberian nations were subject to these influences, which led to important transformations of their belief systems. However, attempts to convert Sakha to Christianity were not related to widespread missionary activity. The main goal of the Russian Empire's colonial policy was to obtain money through taxation. Had the Sakha people been baptized, such a goal would not have been

possible, since such taxation was not levied on Christians. The situation changed at the turn of the seventeenth century with a policy instigated by Peter I (Peter the Great), who wanted to build close relations between the state, the Orthodox religion, and spiritual values. Devotion became an important principle of state power. Accordingly, the policy with regard to native peoples in colonized Siberia underwent a major change.

First, a decision was made to eliminate pagan beliefs and introduce Orthodox religion. Missionaries were dispatched with the idea that a sole God is in Heaven, and a sole Czar is to reign on Earth. There was compulsory baptism, and the state persecuted and sought to destroy traditional forms of religion. The bishopric of Irkutsk was established in 1731. However, though the Sakha accepted baptism, they considered it a change in citizenship rather than a change in religion.The newly baptized were given Russian first names and surnames. Moreover, acceptance of baptism offered a chance for a higher social status and provided material advantages. They were officially considered Christian once they were baptized, but the natives maintained their former traditional beliefs and values, which were not affected by the Orthodox Church.

By organizing medical help and pharmacies, the missionaries attempted to take over the shamans' functions, to lessen their usefulness and authority, but they met with little success. By the time of Russian subjugation, the Sakha had already gone through a critical stage of change, with the disintegration of the tribal community, but they had developed a strong political authority of *toyons* (leaders) and an equally strong spiritual authority of shamans. During the czarist period these institutions retained their roles. The toyons, using all possible means (even collaborating with the czarist authority), sought to maintain their influence, while the shamans remained spiritual leaders of the Sakha. Shamans were among the initiators and ringleaders of the 1642 Yakut insurrection, and in 1696, kamling was officially forbidden in the city of Yakutsk and its environs. Although the Orthodox Church had little success in changing the philosophical orientation of the people, it was instrumental in developing the national consciousness by enriching the Sakha language in the nineteenth century with the alphabet. This was the situation encountered by the Bolshevik authorities in 1917.

The revolution of 1917 accelerated social change among the Siberian peoples. The "gods" of the revolution were written into the folklore of the Siberian peoples as beings who had crossed the border from the profane to the sacred, heroes replacing the highest gods. One of the most difficult problems encountered by the new authority in its introduction of this "cultural revolution" in Siberian territory was the activity of shamans. The shamans, from the beginning of Bolshevik authority, proved hostile, even predicting a quick victory of the Whites over the Reds. They openly opposed the institutions established by the new authority and threatened vengeance from the spirits on those Sakha who applied, even for medical or veterinary help, to the "new colonizers." Consequently, shamans were considered by the Bolsheviks to be class enemies who deliberately impeded progress among natives. Shamans were forcefully deprived of their paraphernalia (including jerkins, headgear, drums, flappers, and staffs) and induced by threats of imprisonment to renounce their profession. The Sakha, faithful to their traditions, prepared new ceremonial equipment for their spiritual leaders and secretly celebrated in the traditional manner.

The new authority from the very beginning had no confidence in the Sakha because of their nationalism, their Turkish origin, and their dominant role with regard to other tribes. The failure of the Bolsheviks to destroy traditional forms of Sakha culture suggests that this lack of confidence was well justified. Various sociotechnical experiments were undertaken to destroy traditional culture. For example, important traditional ceremonial days were given new secular identities. Thus, the rite of ysah became not only the Feast to Celebrate the Beginning of Summer, but also War Veterans Day and the Leaders of Work Day, accompanied by typical Soviet ostentation and pomp, with meetings, awards of decorations and orders. A measure of how little effect these experiments had is the recovery of traditional cultural forms in recent years. Instances of returning to the shamans' genealogies and traditions as a base of national identity are ever more frequent.

Maria Kósko

Translated by Jerzy Lewinski

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); Art and Shamanism; "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Colonialism and Shamanism; Costume, Shaman; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Horses; Initiation; Priestesses of Eurasia; Russian Folklore and Shamanism; Russian Shamanism Today; Siberian Shamanism; Transformation; Trees

References and further reading:

Alekseev, Nikolai A. 1975. *Tradisjonelle religiozne wierowanija Iakutow v XIX–nachale XXv* [Traditional religious beliefs of the Yakuts in the nineteenth–beginning twentieth century]. Nowosybirsk: Nauka.

———. 1984. *Szamanizm tiurkojazycznych narodow Sibiri* [Shamanism among the Turkic Peoples of Siberia]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

———. 1997. "Shamans and their Religious Practices." Pp. 49–109 in *Shamanic Worlds.* Edited by Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer. New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam. 1992. "Dilemmas of the Spirit: Religion and Atheism in the Yakut-Sakha Republic." Pp. 231–251 in *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union.* Edited by Sabrina Ramet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1993. "Shamanism and the Politics of Culture." *Shaman* 1, no. 2: 71–96.

———. 1995. *Culture Incarnate: Native Anthropology from Russia.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

———. 1996. "Flights of the Sacred." *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 2 (June): 305–318.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam, ed. 1997. *Shamanic Worlds.* New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1984. *Izbranniki duchow* [Chosen by the Spirits]. Moscow: Politizdat.

———. 1989. *Nomads of Eurasia.* Los Angeles: Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County; Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Ergis, G. U. 1974. *Ocherki po iakutskomu folkloru* [Essay on Yakut folklore]. Moscow: Nauka.

———. 1977. *Kultura severnykh iakutow-olenovodov* [Culture of the northern Yakut-reindeer herders]. Kvoprosy o pozdnykh etapach formirovaniia iakutskogo naroda. Moscow: Nauka.

Ionov, V. M. 1918. "Kvopros ob izuchenii dokhristianskikh verovanii iakutow" [To the question of the study of pre-Christian Yakut beliefs]. *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii* [Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography] 5, no.1.

Kósko, Maria. 1990. *Mitologia ludow Syberii* [Mythology of the people of Siberia]. Warsaw.

Kotkin, Stephen, and David Wolff. 1995. *Rediscovering Russia in Asia.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Levin, M. G., and L. P. Potapov. 1964. *The Peoples of Siberia.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Slezkine, Yuri. 1994. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

SIBE SHAMANISM (MANCHURIA)

The Sibe, a people in northwest China closely related both linguistically and ethnically to the Manchu people, have preserved a living tradition of shamanism into the present day. Written texts from the nineteenth century also give insight into the nature of their tradition.

Background

The autochthonous ethnonym *Sibe,* generally rendered as Xibo (or erroneously as Xibe) in Chinese texts, indicates one of the fifty-five ethnic minorities officially recognized by the People's Republic of China. The Sibe originated in Central Manchuria. Linguistically, Sibe belongs to the Manchu-Tungus branch of Altaic languages.

The Sibe make their first appearance in history around the end of the sixteenth century, being mentioned among the enemies of Nurhachi, the founder of the Manchu imperial dynasty. The Sibe were defeated by Nurhachi and subsequently fell under the power of the Korqin Mongols, from the dominance of whom they were freed only after 1692, when

they were annexed within the structure of the Manchu Eight Banners. This late annexation into the social and military structures of the Manchu Qing Empire probably explains why the Sibe maintained a basic autonomy and, as a final consequence, obtained recognition as an "ethnic minority" *(shaoshu minzu)* clearly separated from the Manchus. After the destruction of the Dzungar Empire and the conquest of Turkestan (later called Xinjiang, "New Territories") by the Qing troops (1757–1759), the Peking court decided to send more than 4,000 Sibe families away from the Mukden area, today's Shenyang, into the newly acquired territories. The Sibe were given military control of the area and charged with the responsibility of protecting its frontiers from invasions. This mass transfer took place between May 1764 and September 1765, and it led to the separation of the Sibe people into two branches.

The Sibe who remained in Manchuria had to submit themselves (as did all Manchus) to Chinese influence—the most significant of which was that Chinese supplanted their mother tongue. The Western Sibe, who established themselves in the valley of the Ili River, due to their isolation and to local factors (especially the Turkish-speaking milieu), were able to keep intact both their language, which was considered a Manchu dialect or "spoken Manchu," and their original, shamanic culture. In 1954, Western Sibe territory was transformed into the "Sibe Cabcal Autonomous County," which extends from the southern banks of the Ili River up to the frontiers with Kazakstan.

Therefore, all references to Sibe shamanism are limited to the branch of the Sibe that moved to the Ili valley, that is, the Sibe Cabcal Autonomous County.

According to recent research (Qi Cheshan 1997), contemporary shamanic practices are performed by more than ten shamans, the majority of whom are women. Shamanic activity is limited to medical and psychological assistance, and to the performance of ancestral sacrifices. A person is thought to become a shaman due to a special calling, after having experienced some kind of illness or a psychological crisis. The chosen one is then instructed for several years by an old shaman, after which time the candidate traditionally had to take the test of the "knife-ladder" *(cakūran).* The Sibe still believe that it was only after passing the knife-ladder test that the candidate could become an *iletu saman* (enlightened shaman); those who failed the test were assigned a lower shamanic rank (see below). Owing to thirty years (from the 1950s to the 1980s) of persecution against shamans and shamanism, during which the knife-ladder ceremony could not be performed, very few of the higher-ranked enlightened shamans exist today. None of the contemporary Sibe shamans, as noted by Qi Cheshan (1997, 80), have climbed the knife ladder. Memories remain among the Sibe of famous shamans who did it in the past. The last great Sibe shaman, Mouisang (also known as Huk Saiuan, Lady shaman), died in 1976 (Qi Cheshan 1997, 71, 72).

The cakūran was a sort of ladder, made of a varying number of sharp knives, that the future shaman, in a state of trance, had to climb and descend without falling and without being hurt. At the top of the ladder, the candidate would meet with the supreme shamanic deity of the Sibe, Iletu Mama, to whom the person had to present himself or herself in order to receive her blessings and to be registered in a special book. The climbing of the ladder corresponded to the passing of eighteen "sentry posts" *(karun)* guarded by hostile spirits that the shaman had to overcome through the aid of guardian spirits. Those who passed this test attained the rank of enlightened shaman. Those who failed had to content themselves with an inferior status, that is, in the case of a man, that of *anelci/elcin* or *deoci,* or, in the case of a woman, that of a *xiangtong.*

Traditional Healing Practices

Traditionally, as is the case today, Sibe shamans have concentrated their activity mainly on therapeutic practices and less on ecstatic performances (such as journeys to the hells). As healers, shamans perform rituals of exorcism (sometimes on behalf of many people) for those who are mentally ill, or prepare medicines for the cure of specific ailments. Instructions for the performance of exorcisms, prayers, and magical formulas, as well as descriptions of initiation and ecstatic journeys, can be found, along with the healing remedies discussed below, in the two secret handbooks that became accessible in 1992 in two facsimile editions and in German translation (Pang 1992; Stary 1992).

One of the handbooks, a nineteenth-century "secret" handbook of a Sibe shaman (Stary 1992), reveals the existence of eight different types of ointments or syrups *(ijuyan),* all of which had as their main ingredients flour and animal fat. In order to cure a sore throat, antelope fat was mixed with hulled rice flour. In order to cure any disease of the tongue, the fat of the ox was combined with wheat flour. For illnesses of the mouth, the chaff of the wheat was reduced to a powder (milled) and mixed with boar fat. For illnesses of the nose, flour obtained from herbal seeds was mixed with pheasant fat. Rice flour mixed together with squirrel fat was used to treat heart diseases. Liver treatments involved the use of a mixture of sorghum flour and lynx's fat, whereas lung treatments required a mixture of fish oil and wheat flour. The spleen was treated with a mixture of veal fat and bean flour (Stary 1992, 86–87).

Mental illnesses (most often hysteria, "the demons' sickness": *ibagan nimeku*) were sometimes treated in "group therapy" rituals held at night, during which the ill person was forced to undergo constant physical strain. For instance, the patient might be forced to run around a wheel until exhaustion set in, while the shaman beat his or her drum and chanted rhythmically, and those present at the séance joined in. A typical performance for driving away evil spirits who have caused an illness is described in the secret handbook. It consisted of the recitation of a long invocation with an accentuated rhythm and two constant refrains, in which the shaman described extraordinary feats believed to cure the ill person, singing rhythmically about his or her journey to eight different places, in each of which he or she stole an animal (a camel, a horse, an ox, a pig, a goat, a sheep, a hen, and a duck, in that order). The shaman offered the meat of each of these animals to the protecting spirits. The bones were reduced to a powder and mixed with water to make a paste that the shaman used to fashion a kind of vessel to attract and then contain the evil spirits (a process described as giving hospitality). The shaman then prayed to three deities to take the evil spirit away, in order to effect a cure of the ill person (Stary 1992, 74–84).

The handbook informs us that in order to protect themselves from dangerous spirits, shamans used a magic formula that was to be handed down exclusively to other shamans. It was made up of unintelligible words that formed a spell: "Om basar batma / daring basuruda / hayang kiruwa / holt holt hom pat." The spell would only be effective if the shaman recited it for a period of a hundred days early in the morning before dressing. Then he or she had to sit down, bow three times, and blow upon himself or herself. The presence of other people during this recitation was strictly forbidden (Stary 1992, 53–54; 1993, 230).

Surprisingly, information in the texts concerning the afterworld and the realm of deities and shamanic spirits is quite scant. The texts simply mention the names of deities and spirits, and only from the context can one determine if they were evil spirits or the shaman's helpers. In very general terms, the Sibe pantheon can be divided up into four categories: the *enduri* (deities), the *manggin* (demons or spirits, both good and evil), the *ibagan* (monsters, evil spirits), and the *weceku* (family spirits). Following a well-known "shamanic chart" (*saman nirugan:* Stary 1992, 44–45), Sibe shamanic cosmology presents three circles governed by "Heaven" *(abka).* This Heaven, the residence of the deified sun and moon, is the abode of a divinity called Burkhan baksi and of other male or female deities: Some of these deities exhibit clear Buddhist influence. Below the celestial vault is the superior circle, abode of the highest shamanic deity of the Sibe: Isanju Mama (see above). By her side, we find a cohort of other deities and spirits, some of whom are in the form of animals such as snakes, tigers, wolves, and eagles. The inferior circle is the abode of spirits who have the function of guarding the doors leading to the transcendental world, such as the Selei Sain Janggin (Good Iron General) and the Wehei Sain Manggin (Good Stone Demon). This cosmic structure, however, is not uniform, but varies from clan to clan, due to the presence of specific protecting spirits, that is, of former famous shamans linked to specific clans and venerated by these only (See Qi Cheshan 1997, 85).

Types of Lower-Ranking Shamans

The *elci* or *elcin* shaman (male as well as female) acts as a mediator between humans and those spirits thought to cause illnesses, especially smallpox, believed to be brought by

Mama Enduri. The elci are not allowed to eat meat taken from the head, legs, or paws of animals. Moreover, they cannot be buried in a cemetery. When a hundred years have passed from the day the elci was born, his or her bones are gathered and burned (Pang 1994, 62).

The deoci shaman is usually a man, whose intervention is needed in case of mental illnesses. His therapy, described in part above, utilizes the recitation of magical formulas as well as shocking treatments, involving the beating up of the patient or physically exhausting the patient by forcing him or her to run in circles for many hours. Like the elci, the deoci must avoid eating certain parts of an animal, and must always avoid beef and mutton. The word derives from Mongol *doo* ("song"), and *deoci* means "singer"; *elci* is usually translated as "messenger," but its etymology is probably connected with Mongol *emci,* "healer" (Qi Cheshan 1997, 88).

The *xiangtong,* a female shaman, ranks below the deoci in her capacities as a healer. According to Qi Cheshan, this word clearly derives "from the Chinese xiangtou, literally 'incense head,' a title used for ritual practitioners throughout northern China" (1997, 89). Her aid is requested in the case of illnesses thought to be brought by the Fox Spirit, called by its taboo-name *has boo jaka* (animal of the storage room). For her healing practices, the xiangtong, besides other items, utilizes anthropomorphic paper figures and oracles represented by stones and branches. Her healing practice is thought to be successful if she is able to force the evil spirit into a box, which will eventually be taken into the open fields or to a cemetery.

Giovanni Stary

See also: Manchu Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Pang, Tatjana Aleksandrovna. 1992. *Die sibemandschurische Handschrift "Der Schamanenhof"* [The Sibe-Manchu manuscript "The Shaman's Court"]. Shamanica Manchurica Collecta, no. 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

———. 1993. "New Evidence about Shaman Practices among the Sibe-Manchu People in Xinjiang." Pp. 453–462 in *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference.* Edited by Ch'en Chieh-hsien. Taipei: Center for Chinese Studies Materials.

———. 1994. "A 'Classification' of the Sibe Shamans." *Shaman* 2, no. 1: 61–66.

Qi Cheshan. 1997. "Contemporary Shamans and the 'Shaman's Handbook' of the Sibe." *Shaman* 5, no. 1: 69–90.

Stary, Giovanni. 1985. "Schamanentexte der Sibe-Mandschuren aus Sinkiang" [Shamanic texts of the Sibe-Manchus from Xinjiang]. *Zentralasiatische Studien* 18: 165–191.

———. 1992. *Das "Schamanenbuch" der Sibe-Mandschuren* [The "Shaman's Book" of the Sibe-Manchus]. Shamanica Manchurica Collecta, no. 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

———. 1993. "The 'Secret Handbook' of a Sibe Shaman." Pp. 229–239 in *Shamans and Cultures.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Keith D. Howard. Los Angeles: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

SIBERIAN SHAMANISM

Siberia has a special place in the study of shamanism as the area where it was first recorded. The word *shaman* originates from the Tungus, a native people living in eastern Siberia. Its first occurrence is found in the *Record of Exile,* written in 1672–1675 by the Russian Orthodox archpriest Avvakum, who engaged in a weather prediction competition with a Tungus shaman: He considered him to be a rival serving the Devil instead of God (Narby and Huxley 2001, 18–20). The term *shaman* was then extended to all Siberian native peoples as the czarist empire's colonization proceeded. Thus Siberian shamanism has been documented, as well as undergone outside influences, for several centuries.

Background

Shamanism did not change much under czarism, since imperial policies were mainly directed at exploiting the natural riches of this immense territory (12,765 square kilometers). These policies favored settlers and imposed only superficial Russianization and Christianization on the natives, whose traditional nomadic way of life was preserved to a large extent. Changes

were more radical under the Soviet regime, which carried out general collectivization and atheist propaganda with the aim of eradicating shamanism along with other religions. The exchange of a nomadic way of life for a sedentary one, displacements, and interethnic marriages introduced additional changes. During the Soviet period, some private shamanic practices were, however, still performed clandestinely, and elements of collective rituals (such as sports and games) were integrated into local Communist festivals. Moreover, the belief in an intimate relationship between human beings and nature inherent in shamanism survived in popular thinking. Since the Soviet Union collapsed at the end of 1991, shamanism, along with other local traditions, has been reviving.

Sources

Data collected over more than two centuries allow inferences on the nature of shamanism and shamanic practice in the "traditional," pre-Soviet world. They include various kinds of sources such as local government and missionary accounts, travel records, Soviet atheist propaganda, ethnographical descriptions, and collections of folk traditions in both Russian and native languages. The references at the end of this entry, as well as the author's own research in Siberia, are the sources for the material that follows. The most important source for the author was Matvej N. Khangalov, who published a series of small articles in various periodical journals at the turn of the twentieth century. They were republished as its *Sobranie sochinenij* [Collected works] in 1958–1960, in three volumes, by the Buryat Institute of the Buryat filial of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Other important sources have been various missionary periodicals read in Siberian libraries and publications by the first Buryat and Yakut intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century. But what was really determining for bringing to light the symbolic system was the analysis of Buryat oral literature, in particular the epics. Some have been translated into Russian, none into English.

Population

According to the 1989 census, native peoples make up 1.5 million, or 5 percent, of the 32 million total population of Siberia (compared with 870,500 people, 21 percent of 5.6 million in 1897). Apart from isolated small groups in the far northeast (Chukchee, Koryak, Nivkh), they mostly belong to two related linguistic families: the smaller Uralic family in the west (Khanty, Mansi, and all Samoyeds) and the larger Altaic family in the east, divided up into three branches: Turks (Yakut [Sakha], Tuva, Khakass, and others), Mongols (Buryat), Manchu-Tungus (Evenki), and others.

General Features

In general, it can be understood that shamanism varies according to the way of life, depending on whether it is based on hunting (in the forest, or taiga) or on stockbreeding (in steppe or tundra areas). Although small hunting groups also have domestic animals and larger pastoral groups also go hunting, these classifications hold. The Tungus who live on hunting in the Yenisey valley are more similar to the Selkups (Samoyeds), who also live on hunting nearby in the forest, than they are to those Tungus who practice extensive reindeer breeding in southeast Yakutia. The latter, who breed the same species as the one they hunt (reindeer), differ from the Buryat, who breed other species (horses, cows, sheep).

In small-sized, noncentralized societies of the Siberian forest that depend on hunting, shamanism is a central institution mainly aimed at obtaining good luck in hunting for the community through large collective rituals. The importance of shamanism decreases with the expansion of clan institutions in larger pastoral societies in steppe areas on the border of the forest, and it becomes more directed to private ends. Healing particularly becomes more important in the context of colonization, since it is better tolerated by the dominant power than religious rituals are. In the modernizing post-Soviet context, shamanism is claimed as a native ideology of harmony with nature, as one way of supporting ethnic identity. It also takes the form of a variety of private practices that reflect Western influence. Nevertheless, only the traditional background as described below can account for many features found today.

Shamanism in Hunting Life

Shamanism is central in hunting societies because of the beliefs they hold about hunting. In

their view, killing game and taking it away would be stealing from the animal realm. This theft would entail some kind of revenge from the killed animals' fellows, and to continue this behavior would eventually preclude any further hunting. Thus, members of hunting societies never say "to kill" but "to obtain" game. Only in the framework of an exchange relationship is "taking" legitimate and hence sustainable for future game. It is the purpose of the shamanic function to establish and handle an exchange relationship at a symbolic level. Animals are conceived of as animated by spirits in the same way as souls animate human bodies, which allows humans to engage in the same kind of social relations with animal spirits as with other humans. Thus, the notion of animal spirits makes living on hunting possible by turning it into an exchange in which the animal spirits serve as partners. The symbolic construction of "exchange with wild animal spirits" organizes social and ritual life much more highly than would be required to simply meet basic needs. The exchange law applies to society in relation to its vital environment, and it is carried out in collective rituals.

A Full Partnership between Hunters and Game-Giving Spirits

The exchange is conceived of as reciprocal and symmetric at the group's level. Just as humans live on game, consuming the meat and vital force of animals, so animal spirits are supposed to feed on humans, devouring their flesh and sucking the vital force in their blood. At the individual level, the exchange reflects the alternation of life and death, with a time lag between "taking" (associated with living) and "giving back" (perceived in terms of spirits' taking and associated with dying). The progressive loss of vitality linked to aging, like death, is considered to be part of the natural order of things: Humans naturally become quarry for animal spirits. Sickness, experienced as loss of vital force, and death are not only a kind of payment to the spirits for the food they gave, but also the prerequisite for the provision of food for future generations. Thus, life is perpetuated among both humans and animals, in the shape of an everlasting mutual consumption that brings death to both. The exchange law makes them partners as well as objects of exchange for one another: They are both hunters and quarry in a reciprocal hunt. Thus, humans are just one species among others, living in the same world as animals, and a link in the food chain like any other species.

This view makes a limited place for healing as a by-product of the main function, since the task of managing the whole exchange relationship includes that of ensuring that the human partner normally survives until natural death.

Souls are believed to be reused from generation to generation within the same human line. So are the spiritual components of animals in the same species, which is held to explain the periodic reappearance of game. This reuse should not be called reincarnation. It is simply said that another person of the same family or another animal of the same species as the dead one is born. As a rule, a soul normally returns for a new life only in the offspring of the one who has died. This is a good reason for the emphasis on having children. However, every newborn child is related to a dead member of his or her family, without being considered to actually be the dead person reborn. Souls are located in the bones in the same way as vital force is located in the meat (or flesh) and blood. Although vital force disappears with death, the soul remains attached to the bones for a certain time; then it is held in reserve until it can be reused in a new individual. For this reason, funeral rites consist in preserving the bones and treating them in such a way that the soul they convey can reappear in a new body for a new life. Similarly, the hunters take meticulous care not to damage the bones of hunted animals and to perform the necessary rites for them so that the soul they are held to convey can be revived in a new animal. Not to preserve the bones would be detrimental to the success of further hunting.

The exchange perspective is reflected in language and representations. In the course of hunting, animals are said to "give themselves" to the hunters. Upon dying, humans are supposed to be "taken" by spirits eager for human repayment. For this reason, someone who gets lost in the forest or drowned in a lake or river is not searched for. A place for offerings is eventually set up near a big tree or on the shore. Hunting societies praise this kind of death as a hunter's ideal death: going alone far away into the depth of the forest in order to be taken and

then eaten by the spirits. More an ideal than a real practice, it is well known in ethnographic literature as "voluntary death." It is absolutely forbidden for young people and exalted only for those who have two generations of progeny. It is clearly distinguished from suicide committed by people in or near their homes; the soul of such a suicide is considered vengeful and receives offerings dedicated to calming down its thirst for revenge.

The object of the exchange is vital force: It is conveyed by animal meat when taken by hunters from game, by human flesh and blood when taken by spirits from humans. Hunting rites are meant to reduce hunting to just "taking meat," along with precluding any idea of murder.

The Shamanic Management of the Exchange Relation with Animal Spirits

The rituals staging the exchange process are the main collective periodic rituals in hunting societies. They are often conducted by a shaman, but can be conducted as well by the hunters or by the whole group. The community invests someone as shaman, with the charge of conducting the ritual as its representative and under its control. In principle, anyone can become a shaman, but in these hunting societies, only male shamans may perform certain key rituals, and thus female shamans are confined to small private practices. Moreover, among male shamans, no one remains a shaman for his whole life; he has to requalify periodically. In Siberian languages, "shamanizing" refers to the ritual mode of behavior and is not reserved for the shaman.

The shaman's carrying out of the exchange at the symbolic level is conceived of as determining and foreshadowing the actions of the hunters at the real level. Thus the shaman's acting on spirits is a prerequisite for the hunter's acting on animals. In the words of Siberian hunters, the shaman's action is aimed at obtaining "good luck" for the hunting season to come, that is promises of game, in the shape of animal vital force. What is expected from the shamanic ritual performance is that the promises of game will become a reality for the hunters when they go hunting. Hunters hold the amount of meat they get to be the concrete expression of the amount of animal vital force previously obtained by the shaman from the spirits.

A Marriage Alliance with Spirits to Guarantee the Exchange Relationship

At first, the ritual proceeds to set the terms of the exchange. Siberian hunting societies consider a marriage alliance to be the most appropriate institutional frame for carrying out an exchange. Therefore, the shaman must "marry" a game-giving spirit's sister or daughter during the ritual: a female reindeer or moose in these areas where they are the game par excellence. He also marries a fish-giving spirit's sister or daughter if fishing is important for their living. Only in his capacity as husband (in contrast to an abductor) is the shaman entitled to rightfully obtain promises of game (or of fish) from his spiritual wife: His legitimacy as shaman comes from his marrying a spirit. Only male shamans may perform these essential rituals, either a wedding as such (in the Altai area) or a hunting party with one's in-laws (the way a marriage relation is ritually marked out among the Yenisey Tungus). Their symbolic contents account for the shaman's ritual behavior. They are explicitly stated in Siberian languages; no allusion is made to a particular "state of mind" or "trance."

Since the shaman's spiritual wife is thought of as an animal, he playacts his husband's part in a male animal's shape by assuming the role of the male of the same species: For example, he adopts a stag's appearance and mode of behavior. His costume is made out of the skin of a reindeer or moose. His headgear is a crown adorned with antlers. He jumps and prances, jerks and twists, moves his hips and shakes his head. He also bellows and snorts as a stag does when preparing to repel rivals and to mate. The vocabulary for his ritual behavior is derived from that associated with rutting (understood as both fighting against rivals and coupling with a female), the language used of wild horned ruminants or cock birds: rutting (Samoyed), leaping (Yakut), moving legs (Tungus), moving horns as if to gore (Buryat), and so on. Some of these verbs are also used for participants in these rituals and in other contexts. The Yakut root *oju-* (to leap) is used for playing. In Buryat, *mürge-* (to move horns as if to gore) is used for a type of hold at wrestling and

for a praying attitude in Buddhism, and *naada-* (to mate, particularly speaking of birds and fish) for a type of shamanic dancing and all types of playing. It is a compelling duty for all participants in these rituals to "play" (dancing and fighting) on the model of animals. These "games," isolated from shamanic context, were integrated in local festivals under the Soviet regime.

In addition to his basic role as a stag, the shaman also enacts the figures of his spiritual brothers-in-law, who are supposed to help him at hunting as ordinary brothers-in-law do in ordinary human life. The shaman's spiritual in-laws are various types of animals perceived as hunters themselves or as helpers in hunting (represented in the shape of iron figures attached to his gear). Thus he may mime a raven whose flight and calls indicate where game animals are located. At the end of the ritual, he lies for some time completely motionless on his back on a rug depicting a forest with wild animals, a time during which he is held to be devoured by spirits; afterwards he is ritually revived.

This part of the ritual, which symbolically unfolds in the realm of animals, has currently been referred to by scholars as the shaman's journey. The shaman relates its events after he is "back," revived.

In sum, during this type of ritual the shaman behaves as if he were an animal, first playing a stag's part by pushing his rivals away and copulating with his female spirit-wife, and lastly as self-offered quarry, thus completing the whole exchange process on his own. His symbolic self-offering is intended to serve as a token of the group's future repayment to the spirits. The ritual ends with a divinatory sequence, during which the shaman proceeds to determine the supposed life expectancy of the participants. Some of them may then be marked out for dying soon. Thus among the Tungus, from inside the hut the shaman shoots a small arrow through the smoke hole for each participant; if the arrow falls outside close to the hut, it means that the participant concerned will die soon. One's life expectancy is longer the farther the arrow falls from the hut. The shaman's personal feelings may prompt him to shoot with more or less strength. Any subsequent death will be interpreted in terms of payment to the spirits, like the old hunter's "voluntary death": It is necessary that some members die for the group to survive. Thus, repayment to the spirits is individualized, whereas the meat obtained from them is shared out among all members of the group.

The Duty of Trading with Animal Spirits and the Presence of a Play Element

Now, although absolute loyalty to the principle of exchange is compulsory (and there can be no substitute for human vital force owed to the animal spirits), this does not preclude the possibility of seeking to put the principle into practice in the most beneficial manner. In this perspective, the shaman is to try to take as much animal vital force as possible as soon as possible. In like manner, he tries to have the spirits take back as little human vital force as possible at the last possible moment. In other words, the shaman is expected to use the delay between taking and giving back to act both on the timing and the amount of human vital force to be repaid to the spirits. This explains why shamanic practice is not a highly prescribed liturgy to be carried out faithfully, but rather an art to be perpetually renewed in a personalized way, an art made up of seduction and cleverness, and allowing some trickery in applying the rule of paying the spirits.

This accounts for the presence of a play element in shamanism. Even the vocabulary is permeated with the notion of playing; performing the ritual for obtaining good luck is likened to playing a game—to playing it, moreover, so as to be the winner. In this framework various games, sports, and playing scenes take place so as to entertain and delight spirits, and thus to render them favorable to humans. In spite of differences among ethnic groups, these collective rituals are uniformly associated with "playing games" at several levels: dancing and wrestling, mimicking, enacting conventional gestures of reproduction and defense, and entertaining spirits to achieve victory over them. Playful rituals fit the view that humans may influence the course of events, as long as they leave room to trade with spirit partners.

Thus, taking comes first in the process. It is embraced as the ideal attitude and equated with winning. According to native folk literature, Siberian hunting peoples think of themselves as takers and perceive giving as losing.

While claiming a taker's position, they keep silent on the duty of giving back. For this reason the shaman lies motionless and speechless at the end of the ritual when he is devoured by spirits.

Cooperation and Redistribution within Society as Associated Duties

The primacy of taking makes redistribution into a duty. The moral connotation of the term *duty* is appropriate here. Not only must the taker not keep for himself a good taken from wild resources, but eating one's own game would be equated with committing incest. As a rule, the hunter passes on the game that he has obtained to his in-laws, who then divide it up. The hunter is also led to consider cooperation among hunters to be the most essential relationship within society: Marrying a wife is first of all perceived as acquiring in-laws with whom to live and hunt. In the same way, the shaman's ritual activity is destined for and closely controlled by the community—to the point that performing rituals for his own family is prohibited. In other words, the duty of the taker, whether hunter or shaman, is to act as a provider for the benefit of his group, while he is at the same time fully entitled to expect benefits from his fellows' takings.

Thus, the life-exchange process precludes any monopolizing and subordinates individual actions to collective interest. Individual shots provide the whole group with game, individual deaths repay the spirits on behalf of the whole group. While absolute solidarity prevails within the group, rivalry reigns between groups. For all these reasons shamanism in this type of society remains pragmatic, oral, based on ritual performance, sensitive to differences between individuals, and structurally incompatible with any type of political or religious centralizing power.

Shamanic Practices in Pastoral Societies

Changes occur with the vanishing of hunting as a way of life and the adoption of stockbreeding. The idea of a life-exchange process with spirits is still operative, but the nature of the process has changed. Food is no longer obtained and shared out but produced and possessed, in the sense that it is considered the property of the individual, to be used and accumulated by the individual and handed down to the individual's children. The relationship with the natural environment is modified. The impulse to the exchange process shifts from taking to giving, and this new approach gives rise to the practice of sacrifice.

Exchanging with Ancestors

The spirits involved in the life-exchange process are the souls of ancestors from whom herds and pasturelands have been inherited. Reference to ancestors is used to legitimate property rights and to control morality: Ancestors are supposed to inflict sickness on their descendants in case of violation, causing in particular skin diseases that are conspicuous and mark the person out for social disapproval. What is solicited from ancestors is protection from all that would hinder stockbreeding (drought, excessive cold wind, epidemics, wolves, thieves, and so on), not the domestic animals themselves. In a way, ancestors as governing the main economic activity are conceived of along the same lines as game-giving spirits: as providers of uncertain goods. The difference is that they are human spirits, and they are assigned a fixed superior position. Their help is expressed in a negative way (protection from any possible harm or hindrance) in contrast to the giving of good luck at hunting.

Prayer and Sacrifice

The exchange relationship is perceived as reflecting a fixed hierarchy in which positions are not reversible. Unlike hunters, who hoped to win in their exchanges with animal spirits, stockbreeders feel subordinate to and dependent on their ancestors. What they receive is not identical in essence and function to what they offer. They offer the fruit of their breeding activity to compel ancestors to grant their protection, along with addressing them prayers abounding in complaints and requests. They sacrifice domestic animals. Domestic animals occupy an inferior position because they are bred by humans, unlike wild animals, which were considered on an equal footing with humans. Thus, sacrificing animals in the pastoral way of life takes over from paying human vital force in the hunting way of life. The dynamic

Evenk ongons (spirit figures) in a *chum* (tent): Ethnographic park, Ulan Ude, Buryatia, Siberia, Russia. (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman)

of the exchange process is reversed: It is the act of giving that triggers the process and receives ideological emphasis.

There are variations within this general pattern. For some groups, sacrificing domestic animals is tricky, since it consists in replacing a human by a less valued being. Members of such groups are fond of stories in which shamans offer themselves when spirits have refused sacrificed domestic reindeer. Other groups consider sacrifice as a token of wealth in flocks, hence as a possible source of more wealth and prestige. All groups consider their shamans weaker than those of hunting societies, and all are more receptive to external influences. Their practices are permeated with Christian or Buddhist elements.

The exchange with ancestors is the aim of periodic collective rituals, which are conducted by clan elders. Elders fill a more priestlike function, while shamans have a small, although still specific part in these rituals. Thus, shamanism as institution and function is submitted to clan law. The elders' ritual action obeys a liturgical pattern of worship, while the shaman's rituals remain based on individual performance aimed at obtaining uncertain goods, as noted in the shift of the shaman's activities from hunting rituals to healing practices.

Treating Restless Dead Human Souls

While the role of the shaman in collective rituals has decreased in importance, shamanic activity has increased in the areas of private divining and healing in relation to the souls of dead people who have died a violent and untimely death. These souls are presumed to be vengeful because they died with no hope of progeny through whom to be reborn into a new life. Many types of sickness and misfortune are at-

tributed to their search for care. Shamans calm them down with invocations, offerings, and sacrifices to make them stop harming the living and start helping them. Thus it is by comforting the unfortunate dead that shamans heal the sick living. Under colonization of Siberia, healing became more important than collective rituals, and wandering dead souls were perceived as potentially more helpful than ancestors. In this situation, female shamans, whose legitimacy rests on an intimate relation to a dead soul, have tended to outnumber male shamans.

Shamanic Practices as Peripheral Counterpowers in Society

Healing and divining are occasional rituals for which shamans are paid. Theirs is a low-valued profession, allegedly opposing all types of power in society. However, whatever the context, shamanic practices are adaptive, more especially in periods of crisis and change, insofar as they consist in subjecting the factor of chance to symbolic action. They allow people to obtain types of goods thought of as uncertain and limited (since they cannot be produced and have to be provided for) from infinitely renewed supernatural providers. This category of goods, which extends to good health, wealth, happiness, and all kinds of success, may be characterized as encompassing all that is considered to depend on attracting good luck, or fortune, or repelling bad luck, or misfortune.

The Post-Soviet Revival of Shamanism

The revival of shamanism has taken on a full range of forms, from abstract evocations to concrete practices that are hardly connected with each other within the same region and, moreover, greatly vary from region to region.

In the whole of Siberia, native intellectual circles related to political power have attempted to restore shamanism as an ideology to support ethnic identity. In Yakutia, however, there has been a short-lived attempt to make it into a state religion with a written doctrine concerning all types of spiritual beings, and with shamanic schools and a House of Spirits. In most other regions, intellectual circles have confined themselves to encouraging cultural manifestations exalting shamanism as the specific religion of their people in former times. Everywhere shamanism is promoted as an ideology of harmony with nature, one that supports territorial claims and ethnic identity.

"Traditional" shamans are no longer found, except in a few remote rural areas, where they take care to remain hidden from all types of people foreign to the small group of kin and neighbors around them. They mostly perform private rituals, which are reduced in time, settings, and contents compared to pre-Soviet ones. These rituals are mainly intended to ensure or restore a family's welfare, especially in relation to its social and material plans. To this end, they include some kinds of purification and divination. If people can afford it, they will use biomedicine at hospitals for healing physical diseases. Traditional drums, headgear, and costumes made of animal skins are mostly found in museums and on stage in theaters, where shamanic rituals are exhibited as spectacles. Such items are, however, reappearing in the framework of newly recreated practices involving tourist relations.

New practitioners claiming shamanic heritage have emerged in the cities. Although self-proclaimed and taking fees from clients, they consider they "bring help to people" as former shamans did. Only rarely do they call themselves the traditional name for shaman in their language. They use the now worldwide term *shaman* or new terms such as *ekstrasens* in Yakutia. Only rarely do they retain something of former shamans' gestures and attire. They recreate mixed techniques with borrowings from various cultures. They mainly receive clients in professional offices.

A large number of such new shamans have also engaged in collective activities. They have created professional associations, Kut Sür in Yakutia, Xese Xengereg in Buryatia, Düngür in Tuva, often with financial support and under the influence of neo-shamanist Western private foundations. Along with promoting individualist concerns, these associations introduce the Western postmodern understanding of shamanism as a question of "states of consciousness." Their artificial basis and internal rivalries, however, deprive these associations of real impact on society. Some new shamans have attempted to restore former collective rituals dedicated to ancestors and to spirits of the local natural environment, although these two types of spirits are no longer relevant to social and economic life in present-day cities.

An aspect of shamanism that does not involve individual shamans seems to be more genuinely reviving: collective rituals and festivals based on games and more generally all types of performances implying imitation of animal gestures and sounds. Local authorities and intellectuals strive to re-create such festivals on the base of old descriptions along with modernizing their appearance, and to instill the ideal of harmony (or symbiosis) with nature in them. Such games are the basis of national festivals in most Siberian republics and districts today.

Roberte Hamayon

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Buryat Shamanism; Colonialism and Shamanism; Costume, Shaman; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Evenki Shamanism; Gender in Shamanism; Horses; Khakass Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Sakha Shamanism; Sibe Shamanism; Teleutian Shamanism; Tuvan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Balzer, Marjorie M., ed. 1997. *Shamanic Worlds. Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia.* Armonk, NY, and London: North Castle Books.

Beffa, Marie-Lise, and Laurence Delaby. 1999. *Festins d'âmes et robes d'esprits. Les objets chamaniques du Musée de l'Homme* [Feasts of souls and robes of spirits. The shamanic objects of the Museum of Man]. Paris: Museum national d'histoire naturelle.

Czaplicka, Marie-Antoinette. 1914. *Aboriginal Siberia. A Study in Social Anthropology.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Delaby, Laurence. 1997 and 1998. *Bataclan chamanique raisonné* [Descriptive shamanic caboodle]. Études mongoles et sibériennes [Mongolian and Siberian Studies], vols. 28 and 29.

Diózegi, Vilmos, ed. 1968. *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Traditions in Siberia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Diószegi, Vilmos, and Mihály Hoppál, eds. 1978. *Shamanism in Siberia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann. 2004. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism among the Buddhist Peoples of Russia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1990. *La chasse à l'âme: Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien* [Hunt for the soul: Sketch of a theory of Siberian Shamanism]. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

Harva, Uno (Holmberg). 1938. *Die religiosen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* [The religious conceptions of the Altaic peoples]. Helsinki: Folklore Fellows Communications.

Hoppál, Mihály. 2000. *Shaman: Tradition in Transition.* Budapest: International Society for Shamanistic Research.

Hoppál, Mihály, ed. 1984. *Shamanism in Eurasia.* 2 vols. Göttingen: Herodot.

Hoppál, Mihály, and Keith Howard, eds. 1993. *Shamans and Cultures.* Budapest and Los Angeles: Akadémiai Kiadó and ISTOR.

Hoppál, Mihály, and Juha Pentikäinen, eds. 1992. *Northern Religions and Shamanism.* Budapest and Helsinki: Akadémiai Kiadó and Finnish Literature Society.

Kim, Tae-gon, and Mihály Hoppál, eds. 1995. *Shamanism in Performing Arts.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Michael, Henry N., ed. *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mikhailowski, V. M. 1894. "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 24: 62–100, 126–158.

Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley, eds. 2001. *Shamans through Time.* New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam.

Nioradze, Georgii. 1925. *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern* [Shamanism of the Siberian Peoples]. Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

Shternberg, Leo Ja. 1925. "Divine Election in Primitive Religion." Pp. 472–512 in *Proceedings of the Twenty-First International Congress of Americanists.* Göteborg.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1978. *The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman.* Helsinki: Folklore Fellows Communications.

Siikala, Anna-Leena, and Mihály Hoppál. 1992. *Studies in Shamanism.* Helsinki and Budapest: Finnish Anthropological Society and Akadémiai Kiadó.

Voyages chamaniques I & II. 1977 and 1982. *L'Ethnographie,* 74–75 & 87–88, Paris.

SPIRITS AND GHOSTS IN MONGOLIA

Although spirits and ghosts are a reality in Mongolia, they are nevertheless the object of a wealth of speculation and open to differing interpretations. The notion of what spirits and ghosts are depends to a large extent on the individual's dominant belief system, whether it follows one of the forms of the indigenous shamanic religion, or Buddhism, which was introduced from Tibet. According to shamanic belief, the term *spirit* is used to denote an ancestral or guardian spirit that has a protective function for families and society. These "master spirits," which often inhabit natural sites, are said to be reborn as human beings. A ghost, on the other hand, is regarded in shamanic society as the soul of a person who has died without receiving any love or respect from fellow human beings, and which wanders about lost and invisible in the human world, and perhaps will possess weaker persons.

For the people of Outer Mongolia, there is no question about whether spirits and ghosts exist or not, because not only is the concept of such entities rooted in their daily thoughts, they actually experience them as a concrete reality. People see spiritual and ghostly influence in their daily encounters, in people's behavior, in their troubles and adversities, and in their moments of good fortune, as well as in the ever-changing facets of the cycle of life about them. Everything in nature, from clouds and mountains to grass, rivers, and trees, is believed to be inhabited by a departed soul or "spirit master," which has the power to protect or harm, to bring peace and happiness, or even to bring about premature death for generations to come. These deeply ingrained beliefs also have very practical consequences in daily life: Failure to show due respect or to make an offering to a spirit of the mountains, for instance, or to walk three times around a shrine that is home to a particular deity, may result in stormy weather, flat tires, measles, or worse. A very concrete demonstration of these beliefs can be seen in the two hitching posts that Mongolians have outside their tents: One is for their horses, while the other, empty post is reserved for the horse of a spirit as a sign of welcome and respect.

Buddhist thought differs in that it makes no major distinction between ghosts and spirits, arguing that spirits are by no means all good, and that even an ancestral spirit may cast a curse on somebody through a shaman, which is the kind of deed a ghost would do. Accordingly, the categories *spirit* and *ghost* are therefore thought by Buddhists to be both profane and also to overlook the more important spiritual dimension. According to Buddhist practice in Mongolia, when a person dies the relatives must ask a lama for the reasons for his death, the time when the soul left the body (which may in fact be long before actual physical death), the attributes or people that the departed soul wishes to take with it, and where the soul is headed in the next life. This information allows special rituals to be performed that help the soul find the spirit world to which it is destined as determined by the good or bad deeds it performed during its mortal life. It is believed that souls can be reborn either into the human world, into a higher world called Asuri, or into Tenger, the world of the gods, or heaven. Alternatively, the soul may get lost in the human world without finding its way to the next; this usually occurs when the necessary rituals have been neglected. In such cases, the soul may overpower and possess the souls of loved ones by killing their owners, or it may return and haunt the places to which it was especially attached during its mortal existence, such as those connected with riches or sensual pleasures.

It should be noted that in both shamanic and Buddhist thought, the main difference between a soul and a spirit or ghost is that a soul is an entity connected with a living being, while spirits or ghosts are the soul transformed after death. Thus the various terms could be said to describe different states of the same thing. This is, however, a great oversimplification when we look, for distance, at Darkhad shamanism in the north of Mongolia, where it is claimed that a person has three souls: the "soul of the flesh," which comes from the maternal side, the "soul of bone," which comes from the paternal side, and the "soul of mind,"

which is bestowed from heaven (Tenger). These three souls reside in the heart, pelvis, and fontanel, respectively, and differ as regards their fate after death. When a shaman dies, the "soul of flesh" remains with the body until the heart has disintegrated, and the "soul of bone" watches over the corpse until that, too, has disintegrated. According to Darkhad shamans, this takes three years if the body is left unburied on the open ground, as is the normal practice. Only then will this "soul of bone" awaken the "soul of mind" with the help of water and land spirits (Purev 2002, 138–142).

With this awakening, the "soul of mind" of the dead shaman transforms into an ancestral spirit for the deceased's descendants. In this form it will visit and possess new generations of shamans as they enter into trance, and being truly ancestral it speaks the same dialect it had spoken in human form, which by contemporary standards will often be ancient and almost incomprehensible, and thus require the services of an interpreter. The ancestral spirit may call for food and drink after its long journey to the shaman, but then it will be ready to give advice and above all to effect cures by removing curses or reestablishing a lost balance between body and soul. Such sessions can prove very exhausting for the shaman host, not least when the sometimes capricious ancestor spirit feels at home and wants to stay, and flies into a rage at any suggestion that it should leave.

The system of the Buryat shamans from Eastern Mongolia is somewhat different, for they consider that people have five souls, comprising a "black soul," which is like the "soul of bone" of Darkhad shamanism and guards the body after death; a "white soul," which wanders after death, associating with the places and objects it loves until finally disappearing after forty-nine days; a soul that goes to heaven, and that equates with the shamanistic "soul of mind"; a "white soul" that is reborn in a human body; and a "lost soul" that has to endure "five kinds of hardship" to pay for misdeeds in its previous life. These five souls are in fact a syncretic mixture of both shamanic and Buddhist thought.

Buddhism in Mongolia likewise teaches that a dead person's soul remains close to where it lived during human life for a further forty-nine days in order to finish its affairs, leave messages, and dally among the things it loves; beliefs about it are similar to those about the white soul in its doctrine of reincarnation. Moreover, Buddhist thought also describes five kinds of hardship that can be faced by those who have left the human world through suicide or other inauspicious means, and still have to endure human sufferings. But ultimately the five different souls described in Buryat shamanism should be understood as different aspects of one and the same soul.

Essentially the notion of the soul is important to all these schools of thought because all actions in life, all states of happiness or suffering, adversity or good fortune, stem first and foremost from someone's soul. Thus if individuals fall ill their first action will be to consult a shaman or Buddhist lama to discover what is happening to their soul and what should be done to make matters right. Thus in both shamanism and Buddhism, a sickness will usually be healed by first attending to the person's soul, and only then to the body. While this might at first sight seem a rather dualist notion, it should be stressed that the general belief is that a person is defined as a human being with both body and soul. Thus the important role assigned to the shaman or lama in cases of illness or misfortune is to mediate between these two parts of the human, the visible and the invisible, to harmonize the connection between them, and to balance the specific influence each exerts on the individual person's fate.

In the same way, the shaman or lama is also called on to mediate between humans and the spirits and ghosts that reside in their surroundings or come to haunt them; in the case of shamans the mediation is in fact performed ultimately by a spirit, in this case by a departed shaman ancestor.

Sendenjav Dulam

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Buryat Shamanism; Darkhad Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Texts; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Dulam, Bumochir. 2002. *Mongol Shamanic Ritual.* Ulaan-Baatar: Monkhiin Useg.

Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann. 2002. "Women Healers in Inner Asia." Pp. 291–310 in *Handbuch der Ethnotherapien* [Handbook of Ethnotherapies]. Edited by C. E. Gottschalk-

Batschkus and J. G. Green. Munich: ETHNOMED.
———. 2004. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism among the Buddhist Peoples of Russia.* Bibliotheca Shamanistica. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
Heissig, Walter. 1953. "A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the 17th Century." *Anthropos: Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie et do Linguistique* 48, fasc. 1–2: 1–29; fasc. 3–4: 493–536.
Purev, Otgony. 2002. *The Religion of Mongolian Shamanism.* Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia: "Genco" University College.
Sarangarel (Stewart, Julie Ann). 2000. *Riding Windhorses.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

TAJIK SHAMANISM (CENTRAL ASIA)

Tajik shamanism is a relic of pre-Islamic, ancient Iranian culture. The Tajik people are one of the most ancient ethnic groups inhabiting Central Asia. The process of Islamization began after the intrusion of Arabs into Central Asia in the seventh century, and was accompanied by the destruction of ancient Iranian culture and by the replacement of the area's various former religions—Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Manichaeism, among others. Nevertheless, in the ninth–tenth centuries C.E. the Tajik founded the Samanid Empire, with its capital in Bukhara, where the Iranian culture and language prospered. During that time, the formation of the Tajik ethnicity became complete. The modern Tajik (originally *Todjik*) live mainly in Tajikistan (3,172,000), Afghanistan (3,700,000), Uzbekistan (934,500), and the Russian Federation (938,000). They are largely agricultural people, based on an extensive irrigation system and cattle herding.

The urbanization of Central Asia began at the end of the nineteenth century when the region became a part of the Russian Empire, and was especially intensive during the Soviet period. This urbanization has substantially transformed the traditional lifestyle of the Tajik in Tajikistan and in other republics of the former Soviet Union, but the majority of them (65–70 percent) are still engaged in agriculture. The Tajik language is essentially identical to Farsi (Persian). Most Tajik are Sunni Muslims; some are followers of Shiism; and Ismailism prevails among inhabitants of the Gorno-Badakhshan district in Tajikistan. Though Islam had a huge influence on cultural and religious life of the Tajik, Islamic ideology could not completely supersede Tajik culture's archaic religious belief and cults. Shamanism, widely distributed among Tajik, is one of these traditional religious phenomena.

History

Tajik shamanism is less studied than Kazak and Uzbek shamanism. Up to rather recent times, the prevailing scholarly opinion was that shamanic cults were not characteristic of agricultural peoples and that this tradition was borrowed by the local Iranian population from their Turkic neighbors. However, this theory was challenged by Olga Sukhareva, who in the 1930s discovered shamanism among the Tajik of the plains and proved that Central Asian shamanism has local roots going back to the traditions of the pastoral Iranian-speaking population (Sukhareva 1975). Subsequently Vladimir Basilov discovered differences in the shamanic complexes among the various Central Asian indigenous groups and marked out two different local variants of shamanism: Turkic nomadic shamanism and Tajik agricultural shamanism (Basilov 1992, 198–200). Among the Tajik, shamanism is primarily a woman's occupation, though both men and women can perform as shamans. If only modern history were considered, this phenomenon might be explained by the fact that during the Soviet period only male shamans were persecuted for their shamanic activities, since the Soviet political leadership generally left female shamans alone for various reasons. Some scholars insist that feminization of shamanic duties is rather a result of the influence of Islam, which reduced the social scope of shamanism and led in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the transfer of shamanic activity to the private, female sphere. However, female shamanism includes many archaic elements, which support the conclusion that female shamanism was in existence long before Islam appeared in the region.

Cosmology

As a result of Islamization, shamanic cosmology among the Tajik has almost completely lost its tradition. According to contemporary Tajik shamans the heavens belong completely to God and the angels, whereas the spirits inhabit this mundane world (mountains, caves, reservoirs, and the like). This view explains the fact that Tajik shamans do not travel to the other worlds during their trance rituals.

The Tajik believe that there are many different spirits, which cause both good and negative things in their lives. They do not have a generic term for "spirits" in their language, but the types of spirits are known by their specific names, such as *pari* or *chil'tans.* According to Sukhareva (1975, 5–93), these spirits' names and functions vary according to regions. In general there are three types of spirits believed to exist among the Tajik. The first type are the spirits of saints and ancestors, which reside in the *mazar* (tomb). Among them are *pir,* the saint founders of handcrafts in the Tajik myth, ancestral spirits, chil'tans and *arvokh* (spirits of the deceased or ghostly spirits), and mother spirits, *momo,* which are in charge of safe childbirth. The second type of spirits are evil spirits, which bring sickness and death. These are *albasty, adjina,* or *jin,* and *dev* (often represented as a snake or human monster), whose negative powers must be controlled by shamans. Shamans can affect these evil spirits so that they may act benevolently toward humans. The third kind are pari spirits, which sometimes fall in love with humans (male or female). If a human being ignores a pari's affection, the spirit gets angry and may cause sickness. If the person responds to the pari positively, then that person will receive supernatural powers to be a shaman from the pari. The chosen person could have some kind of sexual relationship with a pari in the dream or in the spirit world.

These and other shamans' spirits can change their appearance and turn into animals, birds, or plants. The pari spirit, for example, can turn into a bird, while the chil'tans may become flies. These metamorphoses probably reflect a stage of evolution when shamanism was still closely connected to nature, but the process of rupture had already begun. The adopted spirits are anthropomorphic and associated with concrete persons such as ancestors, shamans, and saints. Note that the Tajik distinction between good and evil spirits is not so clear. "Good" spirits can punish a person with illness or harm, whereas some shamans draw upon evil spirits as their helper spirits.

Shamans

There are several terms by which the Tajik refer to shamans. Alongside the widely spread word *bakhshi* (descended, perhaps, from the Sanskrit *bhikshu,* which initially designated the Buddhist clergy), a shaman may also often be called a *folbin* (combining the Arabian *fol,* "destiny," and the Tajik *bin,* from *didan,* "to see"). The term *bakhshi* may also have its origins in the Turkic word *bakmak* (to look, to see), and hence refer to someone who is able to see in a special way, or a "seer" of future knowledge. Some scholars also argue that Turkic *bakhshi* derived from the Chinese word for a learned person or doctor, *bo-shi.*

According to medieval sources, one of the most commonly used names of shamans at that time was the term *parihon,* coming from the Persian *pari,* "spirit," and the Tajik *hondan,* "to read" (Jarring 1961, 3–4; Sukhareva 1975, 79), but today this word is rarely used.

The hereditary transmission of shamanic knowledge is ubiquitous in Tajik shamanism. Though this way of becoming of a shaman is not the only one, it is widely believed that only a person who has inherited the shamanic ability from a relative or an ancestor can become a real shaman. The successor receives from the predecessor also her accessories and her helping spirits. These family spirits, passed from one family member to another, often are identified by the word for "family lineage." Ethnographic sources testify that the transmission of the shamanic tradition at the end of the nineteenth century was done mainly through women, that is, from a mother to her daughter or son, from a grandmother to her grandchildren, and so on. This tradition is preserved to this very day.

Irrespective of the way in which one becomes a shaman, the candidate should possess certain indicators proving that the spirits have chosen her. One of these is the "shaman's illness," which may show up in various forms (epileptic seizure, paralysis, infertility, blindness, deafness, and others). There is no special term designating the shaman's illness in Tajik shamanism. The person who shows this sign is called "one

touched by spirits." Dreams, hallucinations, and visions are also considered as summons by the spirits.

Among the Tajik, training does not play a significant role in becoming a shaman; each candidate, however, has a preceptor who blesses her and who manages the initiation ceremony *(chillia).* The initiation ceremony as a rule consists of two main stages. First there is a sacrifice of an animal (usually a black sheep), which customarily is done according to Muslim ritual. The animal should be drained of blood by cutting its throat; its head should be directed toward Mecca. The second part of the shaman's initiation is a forty-day seclusion that has special importance: Any candidate who omits this seclusion risks missing the opportunity to bring the spirits under her control. It is believed that during the first twenty days *(kichik chillia),* spirits attack the shaman, causing her strong spiritual and physical sufferings. The initiator's purpose at the moment is not only to sustain these tortures but also to acquire the skill of controlling the spirits. During the second twenty days, the candidate must gain an understanding of the spirits' "language"—bodily sensations and symbolic signs appearing in dreams and visions.

Amongst the Tajik shamans' materials, a drum holds the central place. Some of the archaic shamanic accessories and artifacts have been replaced with objects belonging to Islamic observance (the Quran, prayer beads). Although the shamans have lost their original costume, their dress still contains some traditional characteristics. For example, a female shaman usually wears a white dress, or veils her head with a white scarf. Up to rather recent times, some male shamans used female dress also. This ritual gender change, or transvestism, among male shamans has attracted the attention of many researchers, but the question of its nature remains in dispute. Some scholars explain this phenomenon by sexual relationships between male shamans and their female spirits, while others, on the contrary, exclude any sexual motives and assert that by changing his dress the shaman imitates his female helping spirits in order to facilitate his dialogue with these spirits.

Trance and Ritual

Today many Tajik shamans never enter into a trance, considering the ecstatic condition or trance as an illness provoked by the evil spirits or as evidence of an inability of a shaman to guide his or her spirits. Others, on the contrary, interpret this key moment of shamanic practice as proof of the shaman's power. Altered states of consciousness are particularly typical for collective rituals, sometimes called by the Arabic term *zikr,* which is a distinguishing feature of female shamanism. These rituals are carried out both for the initiation of a shaman and for the healing of patients. The shamans use various techniques to enter into a trance. Usually, this state of altered consciousness is created by repetitive drumming, or by monotonous chanting and singing.

Tajik shamans use a vast spectrum of methods and remedies for healing and divination: magic, reading the Quranic suras, or rational methods based on knowledge of the healing power of plants, minerals, and the like. The basic concern and ritual of the shamans, however, is directed toward exorcism, since it is believed that spirits cause various illnesses and misfortunes. In the Tajik language, the exorcism ritual is named by borrowed terms occurring from the Turkic word *kiochmak* (to run). In most cases the exorcism rituals include three main acts: animal sacrifice (a sheep, a young goat, a hen), "linkage" of the harmful spirits by means of amulets made by interlacing of seven multicolored threads, and the final procedure, *khaida* (exile). Throughout the exorcism, the shaman carries out various manipulations using the drum, fire, water, soap with needles thrust in it, and other means, in order to frighten away the spirits that caused the illness and to force them to leave a patient's body. In addition, the shaman often covers the patient's body with the sacrificial blood from the animal in order to feed and propitiate the invasive spirits. Even the sacrificial animal's bones come into play, serving in diagnosis, divination, and other purposes.

Coexistence with Islam

The social position of Tajik shamans is ambiguous. On the one hand, where strict Islam dominates, it condemns shamans, considering their activity as apostasy, and shamans have no formal status in the society. The shamans' authority is limited to the private sphere. Elsewhere, however, the shamans have kept their status in

the local Muslim environment, as Tajik shamanism has substantially adapted and linked itself to local "folk" Islam. The shamans' position is secure, because their specific functions are directed to the resolution of people's most vital problems. This factor is an important one, especially in rural areas where medical service is poor. By virtue of these circumstances, shamans are welcomed in Tajik society, and some of them have real authority in their communities.

Olga Gorshunova

See also: Ancient Iranian Religions and Shamanism; Transvestism in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Andreev, Michail. 1953. *Tajiki doliny Khyf* [The Tajiks of Khuf Valley]. Dushanbe: Izdatel'stvo AN Tajikskoy SSR.

Basilov, Vladimir Nikolaevich. 1992. *Shamanstvo u narodov Sredney Azii i Kazahstana* [Shamanism among peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan]. Moscow: Nauka.

Jarring, Gunnar. 1961. "A Note on Shamanism in Eastern Turkestan." *Ethnos* 26, nos. 1–2: 1–4.

Murodov, Otamurod. 1975. "Shamanskiy obriadovyi fol'klor u tajikov srednei chasti doliny Zeravshan" [Shamanic Ritual Folklore among the Tajiks of the Middle Zeravshan Valley]. Pp. 94–122 in *Drevnie verovaniya i obriady v Srednei Azii* [Ancient beliefs and rituals in Central Asia]. Moscow: Nauka.

———. 1979. *Drevniye obrazy mifologii u tajikov doliny Zeravshana.* [Archaic mythological images among Tajiks of the Zeravshan Valley]. Dushanbe: Donish.

Sukhareva, Olga. 1975. "Perezjitki demonologii i shamanstva u ravninnyh tajikov" [Vestiges of Demonology and Shamanism among the Plains Tajiks]. Pp. 5–93 in *Drevniye verovaniya i obryady v Credney Azii* [Ancient beliefs and rituals in Central Asia]. Moscow: Nauka.

TELEUTIAN SHAMANISM (SIBERIA)

Small as the number of Teleut still living in Siberia is, they have maintained a strong and distinctive shamanistic tradition. Though shamans no longer practice, they did so within living memory, and shamanistic beliefs are still common.

Background

The Teleut culture, one of Siberia's smallest native populations, consists of approximately 2,658 people (2002 census), living principally in villages of the Kemerovo area in the southern portion of western Siberia. The Teleut call themselves *telenget* and *tadar* in their own Teleut language and *teleuts* in Russian. Adjacent Turkic culture groups know them as *baiattar,* or *pachattar,* from the name of the Bachat River by which they live. Their Turkic language falls morphologically and lexically between the Shors and Altaic languages. The origin of the name *Teleut,* as well, probably, as that of several clans, dates back to the Tele peoples of the time of the ancient Turkic Kaganat during the second half of the first millennium C.E. Their ancient origin may reach even to the time of the Dinlin, first mentioned in ancient Chinese writings in the year 201 B.C.E.

The present-day Teleut community was formed in the nineteenth century on the basis of various groups that occupied the Kusnetsk valley (Ach-Kishtimi, Tulber, Togul, and others) and nomadic Teleut who invaded the region. From the seventeenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century there existed a strong Teleut ethnopolitical union, including the princedom Teleng Orda, which was later destroyed by western Mongols. Until 1924 most Teleut peoples were governed within the Teleutian Volosts (smallest administrative division of csarist Russia) of the Kusnetsk district in Tomskaya province. They had no structural autonomy of their own during the Soviet years, and their ethnicity was ignored in their own official passports, which identified them simply as Tatars. Further, in USSR census accounts they were referred to as Altais. The national revival movement began at the end of the 1980s, and in 1993 the Teleut peoples were officially recognized for inclusion under legislation as members of the "Small [in number] Indigenous Peoples of the North" (Funk 1999, 115–116).

Cattle breeding and plow agriculture, along with hunting, fishing, and gathering, were the main livelihood traditions of the Teleuts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In

the second half of the twentieth century they faced transformation during a period of intensive Soviet-dominated industrial exploitation of the region; Teleut came to be employed in a range of industrial enterprises, though mostly in the burgeoning coal industry.

Even today, the ancient lineages, involving loyalties to the Teleut clan divisions, are traced back, with the most significant lineages bearing such names as Merkit, Naiman, Ochu, Togul, Todosh, Tölös, Tumat, Choros, Chalmalu, and Yuti. Teleut families are monogamous, with relatively few children, living typically at the husband's heritage settlement. Marriage within a related group united with the same surname is forbidden, as well as sometimes marriage within the limits of a clan (in technical language, they observe clan exogamy).

Since the nineteenth century, Teleuts have lived a stationary existence, and they settled in small villages. Their dwellings are both wooden and brick, of one or two stories. Modern dress is more the fashion today among Teleut men, though some women, typically in older generations, can still be seen wearing traditional Teleut garments. Teleut youth may wear traditional clothing only on special occasions, such as wedding ceremonies and festivals of Teleut folk art and music.

In both diet and preparation of meals, Teleut habits are quite similar to those of surrounding ethnic groups, in particular those of the long-established Russian population, although the tradition of cooking many national dishes of meat, milk, and flour products is still retained. Domestic crafts continue and are of high quality, including traditional sewing, weaving of belts, manufacturing of leather footwear, metalworking, and jewelry making, as well as composite weaving of rawhide belts. The practice of writing in the old script used in Teleut literature, which was based on the old Mongolian writing system, persisted in princely families until the end of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Teleut oral folklore remains especially rich in traditional song.

The Teleuts, originally shamanists, were eventually influenced by Russian Orthodox Christianity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, so completely had they adopted Orthodox Christianity, the Teleut even helped evangelize the neighboring Altai indigenous population. The first members of the Altaic intelligentsia were in fact those people educated by Orthodox Christian Teleut, including the well-known Teleut writer Chevalkov and artist-painter Gurkin, for example.

The History of Teleutian Shamanism

In 1910, there were five known practicing shamans located across the two large Teleutian villages of Cheluhoevo and Shanda. Two years later only three aged shamans remained. By the 1930s all traditionally trained and practicing Teleut shamans were gone, and only certain gifted people periodically conducted healing or clairvoyant, future-sight ceremonies. Despite atheistic propaganda, the shamanic worldview of the Teleut and their belief in the spirits inhabiting it still remained, continuing even into the early twenty-first century, as well as beliefs about struggle with evil spirits, family and clan or guardian spirits, and the ritual of feeding the fire, to name a few. Neo-Shamanistic movements are not significant at present, and the start of 1990 saw an active movement for the revival of Orthodox Christianity, as expressed in the restoration of the ancient Orthodox Church in the Teleut village of Bekovo.

In the past, relations of the shamanic community with the Orthodox Christian Church were indeed complicated, though not always antagonistic. Perhaps the most recognized enemy of Christianity Orthodoxy and assimilative Russification could be found in the Teleut shaman Markel Mazhin, born in 1849. Furthermore, the shaman was not always recognized as the social leader of his clan or community. If the shamanic séance failed, or the shaman refused to help his neighbors, he might be abused by the people—even physically in some cases. To the present day, Teleut people tell different oral stories about the shaman's daily life and the shamanic practice of their famous ancestors—sometimes with pride, but quite often as well as with humor, recognizing their failures (Batianova 1995).

Traditional Cosmology

Teleutian shamanic cosmology is richly detailed, representing one of the most elaborate shamanic traditions when compared to that of other Turkic peoples of the region (Funk 1997,

33–91, 227–248). The Teleutian shamanic universe is recognized for both its profound verticality, as well as the fact that it is divided horizontally into five distinct worlds. The Teleut world *(pu t'er),* a plate, standing on four gray bulls, is inhabited by people and spirits of the local area's rivers, lakes, and woods *(iyiik).* This land is densely surrounded by the imagined land, "the earth way" *(t'er t'oli),* located between the horizon and the real land. To both the east and south of this land there live several dozen spirit beings called *paiana*—the spirits attuned most positively toward human beings. The real and the imagined land is enveloped or encapsulated in its entirety by the celestial sphere (*temir kapkak,* "iron lid"). Furthermore, far to the east of the land, above the "empty space," there are two lands of truth *(chin t'er),* where dwell the most powerful gods, Adam (Ada–kizhi) and T'öö–Kaan. Adam was considered to be the most powerful god, who could not only present a baby to childless families but also create celestial deities.

When a shaman during a ceremony reached the foundation of the sky, he went beyond it through one of two holes. Then by continuous rotation in one spot, the shaman turning round one hundred times, he imitated flight over space. People who have witnessed such shamanic séances saw their neighbors surrounding the shaman tightly to aid in the magic flight's success. When the *kam,* "shaman," stepped back on the ordinary earth, there was a sigh of relief among the participants and observers. The flight was concluded by the host who had asked for the shamanic séance, through the provision of wine to his guests.

According to the Teleut shamanic worldview, there are sixteen spheres, or layers. Inhabiting or haunting each layer, with the exclusion of first two, are certain deities commonly referred to as *Ulgens.* The name *Ulgen* is also a personal name. Mother Pai-Ulgen exists at the very height of the universe, though she is not the strongest or most powerful of the Ulgens. Importantly, the Ulgens are considered to be the true protectors and guards of the Teleut clans. Specifically, Pai-Ulgen serves as protector of the Tetper Clan, Totoi–Tengere of the Merkit Clan, Eksei-Meksei-Tengere (Adam Burhan–Tengere) of the Choros Clan, Kizigan-Tengere of the Tongul, Abiosh-Tengere of the Yuti, Tumat-Tengere of the Tumat, and so on.

Then there is the underground land, or hell, known as the land of evil *(t'er-aalis* or *taami),* which is less understood. According to data collected at the beginning of the twentieth century, this hell consists of nine layers, all of them underground. To signify the inhabitants of this land, Teleut use general names such as *körmös, edü, aina, saldi-nemesi, kara-neme, sokor-neme, kirik-nemesi,* as well as personal names.

The Shaman

Spirits came to shaman candidates in youth, when the candidates were fifteen to eighteen years old, and "pressed" them *(tös pasip t'at),* compelling them to accept the shamanic gift. The acceptance of the shamanic gift was accompanied by the "shaman sickness," lasting for a full year or longer. These transformative spirits literally recreated the shamans, boiling them in a pot seeking for an extra "bone." Were the extra bone of the shamans not found, the initiates might well die. There were, however, several cases that did not fit this pattern, cases in which shamans began to work with full power only after this so-called extra bone left their body. Such was the case with the recognized shaman Kanakai Chelukhoev, who passed away in 1914 (Direnkova 1949, 109–114). Mircea Eliade (1989) recounts a similar experience (having the body cut to pieces), which a Teleut woman underwent to become a shaman.

The relatives of the shaman played an important role during the shamanic sickness. Relations either sought to guard their kam from the coming spirits with magical means, or they invited one or two experienced shamans as experts in shamanic ritual. These experts, having helped the neophyte shaman to overcome his condition, then could go on to teach him the basic principles of communication with the Teleutian world of spirits.

Shamans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have had few ritual garments, often only a "cap," *astyuchke,* in the case of female shamans. The major ritual instruments for both male and female shamans was the drum *(tüür* or *chaluu)* and drumstick, or mallet *(orbu)* (Potapov 1963). Shamans who had just started their practice would hold the ritual without any drum, and others would not use a drum during their entire life in practice. The drumstick was made from *tavolozhnic* (a kind of willow tree),

which was typically covered with *kamus,* the skin of a wild goat's leg. The drumstick was then highly decorated with ribbons placed in honor of the most powerful spirits and shaman guardian spirits. The Teleut drum was oval in shape and approximately 180 centimeters in circumference or larger. With a non-anthropomorphic handle, *mars,* it belonged to the same group as the drums of the Shor, a portion of the Kumandin, the Chelkant, and some groups of Khakass. Drawings on the outer side of the drum leather cover varied little among different shamans. Some of the details on the drawings reflected shamanistic beliefs about the order of the universe.

A shaman might have three to nine drums over the course of a lifetime (and sometimes as many as twelve drums in certain cases), serving as a true measurement of the length of life of the shaman. After a Teleut shaman's death his or her drum was typically destroyed in ritual fashion. The skin of the drum would be poked through and cut into pieces, after which it was taken to the street, where it was trampled upon, finally to be hung on a birch tree in the forest where, eventually, it would wither away.

Another important ritual followed a shaman's death. Relatives or helpers would be required to break the backbone or some other bone of the deceased shaman's body. Failure to do so would inevitably lead to material problems, including illness, for the nearest descendants of the shaman. The funeral ritual of the shaman, held in the common graveyard, was not different from those of the rest of the Teleut population, but it was imperative to bury the shaman's body within a day after the death.

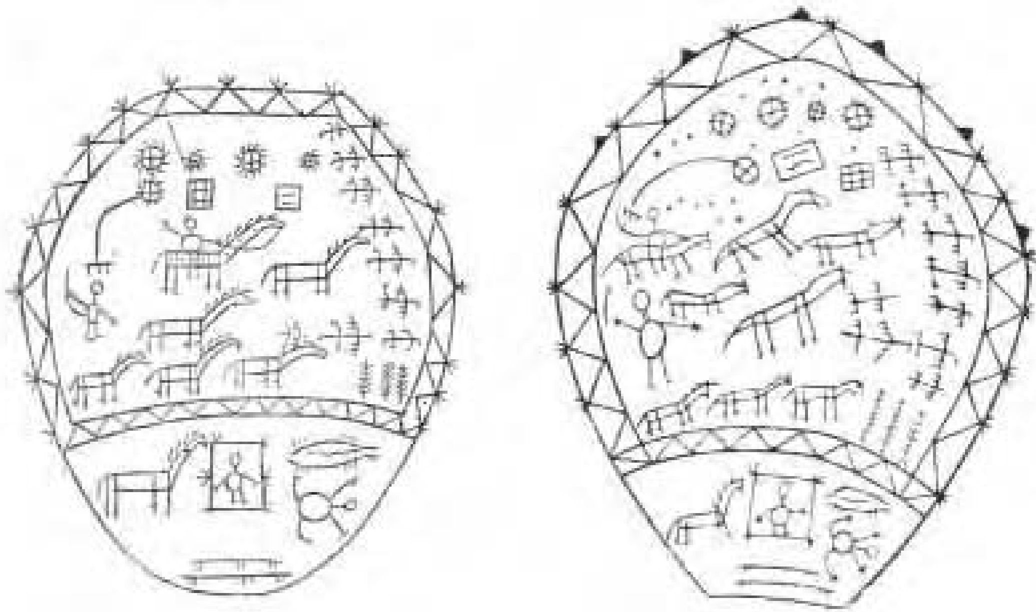
Unfortunately, little is known from either historical literature or the oral memories of elder Teleut that would reveal the experiential depth of shamanic trance reached during stages of the ceremony that involved altered consciousness. It is known that, among the Teleut, narcotic substances and mind-altering drugs were not commonly used. Typically, only light alcoholic drinks, such as a homemade wine called *abirtka,* were used in ritual.

Shamanic rituals were often conducted in honor of the most powerful spirits and deities, such as the *pozogo,* the spirit of the threshold, and the Talai–kaan, known as the spirit and the host of the sea (Funk 1997, 2004). These ceremonies, undertaken with predictably positive

Daily ritual practice among Teleuts, spraying milk from a spoon for the spirits. Kemerovo region, 1982. (Courtesy of Dmitriy Funk)

conclusions, had standard structures and used epic language and storytelling styles. These ceremonies were distinguishable only in the details of the shaman's journey, such as the journey undertaken by the *t'ula,* the "energetic twin," or double, of not only the shaman but also his assistant. The assistant also performed the function of interpreter of the shaman's visions and revelations to the participants in the ceremony. During a spectacular shamanic séance for the needs of the clan or the whole community, often including a mandatory sacrifice of cattle, Teleut shamans would simultaneously solve various community problems, find lost energetic twins, help heal the sick, and undertake foretelling of future events.

Shamans in Teleutian society coexisted with a number of other ritual specialists or knowledge bearers (Funk 1997, 15–17). These included many that were recognized and labeled: *chimirchi, chimirchil* (exorcists) (Funk 1996); *alkishchi* (experts in good wishes); *alaschi* (ex-



Two pictures of the Teleutian drum (made by hand by the Teleuts). (Direnkova, Nadezhda. 1949. Materials on Shamanism among Teleuts. Sbornik Muzeya Antropoligii i Etnografii, vol. 10.)

perts in cleansing ceremonies using fire); *t'ölgöchi, chabitchi* (various foretellers and fortunetellers); *kösmökchi, kösmökchil* (clairvoyants); *emchi, siimuchi* (healers); *iadachi* (magicians—exorcists of weather); *arbishchi* (sorcerers); and persons called *pilechi* (knowing). "Great shamans" possessed knowledge and skills that enabled them to carry out vital ritual functions above and beyond the majority of the other recognized specialists. Chimirchi (specialists in exorcism rituals, considered by shamans to be of lower rank) and arbishchi, sorcerers, were believed to struggle against shamans and thus are described in Teleutian folklore as being distinct from shamans.

Undoubtedly, many features of Teleut shamanic cosmology and attributes are quite similar to those of the neighboring Shor, Kumadin, and Khakass cultures, and other elements link Teleut shamanic practice with still other Siberian and Central Asian cultures.

Dmitriy Funk
Translated by Olga Povoroznyuk
Edited by Dan Plumley

See also: Khakass Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Batianova, Yelena. 1995. "Teleuty rasskazyvayut o shamanah" [Teleuts tell about shamans]. Pp. 48–62 in *Shamanism and Early Indigenous Beliefs.* Edited by Dmitriy Funk. Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 1. Moscow: Institut Ethnologii i antropologii RAN Rossiiskaiya akademiiya Nauk.

Direnkova, Nadezhda. 1949. "Materialy po shamanstvu u teleutov" [Materials on shamanism among Teleuts]. *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii I Etnografii* 10: 107–190.

Eliade, Mircea 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bolliner Foundation, 1964.

Funk, Dmitriy. 1996. "The Teleut Ritual Chymyr: Exorcism and Explanation." *Anthropology and Archeology of Eurasia* 35, no. 1: 83–104.

———. 2004. *Teleutskiy folklor* [Teleutian Folklore]. Collected, translated into Russian, introduction, and comments by Dmitriy Funk. Moscow: Nauka.

———. 1997. *Teleutskoye shamanstvo: traditsionniye etnograficheskiye interpretatsii i noviye issledovatelskiye vozmozhnosti* [Teleutian shamanhood: Traditional Ethnographic interpretations and new research possibilities]. Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 2. Moscow: Rossiiskaiya akademiiya Nauk (RAN; Russian Academy of Sciences).

———. 1999. "The Teleuts." Pp. 115–121 in *The Small Indigenous Nations of Northern Russia: A Guide for Researchers.* Edited by Dmitriy A. Funk and Lennard Sillanpää. Åbo Akademi University: Social Science Research Unit.

Potapov, Leonid. 1963. "Die Schamanentrommel bei den Altaischen Völkerschaften" [The shaman's drum of the Altaic peoples]. Pp. 228–232 in *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* [Belief World and Folklore of the Siberian people]. Edited by Vilmos Dioszegi. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

TUNGUS-MANCHU SHAMANISM

See Evenki Shamanism (Siberia and Manchuria)

TUVAN SHAMANISM

The Republic of Tuva lies at the very heart of Asia, a land of mountains, taiga (boreal forests), steppe grasslands, and mystery. Central to the Tuvan culture and its ancient history of nomadic, warring tribes lies a rich spiritual heritage of Tuvan shamanism.

Background

Tuva is a republic of the Russian Federation and lies directly adjacent to Mongolia, just west of the Russian Republic of Buryatia and the Lake Baikal region of Eastern Siberia. Comprising some 170,500 square kilometers, the country is home to approximately 330,000 people. Tuva was annexed only in 1914 to the Russian state and enjoyed autonomy as a republic until 1944, when it was downgraded to an autonomous area within the Soviet Union. It is now a republic within the Russian Federation. The relative independence it was able to maintain so long is testimony to the fierce independence of its people, who freed themselves from Manchurian domination in 1912 as the free and independent Tuva People's Republic. The native Tuvan people, identified ethnically as Turkic Uryankhai, are speakers of an ancient Turkish language and make up over 65 percent of the entire population; they are in fact the only indigenous people who are in the majority in their republic. Russian ethnographer Leonid Potapov expressed the belief that the Turkic-speaking Tuvans originated from peoples speaking Mongolic, Samoyedic, and Kettic (Fridman 2002; Levin and Potapov 1964, 380).

The majority of Tuvans are steppe pastoralists. The western steppe zone is varied in its vegetation; toward the southwest, in Mongun-Taiga, bordering on the sandy wastes of Mongolia, the climate is arid and the vegetation sparser, but in areas around river valleys vegetation is richer and can support horses as well as other pastoral animals. The western Tuvans were traditionally nomadic pastoralists with an economy based on the pasturing of herds—cattle, sheep, goats, horses and camels—somewhat dependent on the conditions of the terrain and climate. They lived in lattice-framed yurt dwellings covered with felt, which were moved seasonally according to the needs of the flocks. During the Soviet period, most Tuvans were "collectivized" and moved to houses in villages, but since 1991 there has been a gradual movement back to the countryside and a reengagement in pastoralism.

An Ancient Heritage and Traditional Shaman Paths of Tuva

Despite a turbulent history of varying powers—Turks, Chinese, Uyghur, Kirghiz, Mongols, Altyn Khan, Dzungarian, and Manchu Chinese—imposing their hegemony over the Tuvans, shamanism has remained a vital spiritual force. Even through the Stalinist repression of organized religion during the Soviet era (which repressed and murdered over 700 shamans as related to the author, Daniel Plum-

Kirgis Khavendaevich, Tuvan shaman, singing and drumming, calling his spirits to heal Rosa. Shagonar, Tuva, 1996. (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman)

ley, in 2002 by Tuvan ethnologist and author Mongush Kenin-Lopsan; see also Fridman 2004), Tuvan shamanism remained alive, vibrant, evolving, and often a significant spiritual aspect in the lives of many Tuvan families and communities.

On October 15, 1993, shamanism was established by a presidential decree as a health system for healing, thus recognizing shamanism as a profession and establishing old-age pensions for shamans; moreover, at the same time the government also established a Scientific Center for the Study of Shamanism in Kyzyl, the capital of Tuva. The Society of Tuvan Shamans, the Düngür (*düngür* means drum) Society, was formed in 1992, registering thirty-seven shamans. Each registered shaman receives a license with his or her photograph on it and also a document allowing the shaman to practice healing, do rituals, and foretell. The Dungur Society has a house in the center of Kyzyl where shamans can practice healing for a fee. In 1996 it was stated that there were about 100 shamans in Tuva, including old shamans in the countryside (Fridman 2002, 487; Fridman 2004, 248, 250). Since shamans are highly individualistic and often don't want to be counted, especially after a long period of repression, these numbers may be too low.

Male *(Zayran)* and female *(Udugen)* shamans of Tuva carry out many vital functions, linking human beings to the spirits of the Upper and Lower Worlds. Shamans are religious practitioners who, through accessing an altered state of consciousness (also known as a trance state), can divine and foretell the future, heal individuals who are suffering illnesses or soul loss, and perform rituals for the well-being of the community, addressing themselves to ancestral spirits and the spirits of nature. Historically, Tuvan shamans conducted essential ceremonies for their nomadic groups through the recognition of and respect for local spirit masters of mountain and valley systems, forests and steppe landscapes, rivers, lakes, and *arzhan,* "spring waters," that were found along the ancient ancestral and seasonal pathways of the Tuvan people.

The Tuvan shamanic tradition recognizes shamans of ancestral lineage who are gifted with healing abilities, foresight clairvoyance, or the ability to interact positively with the spirit world. The universe is divided into three primary planes. The Upper World, the Middle World, and the Lower World are all very real phenomenal places to which the Tuvan shaman may travel by drum, in an ecstatic state, to gain insight, answers to personal or community questions, or healing treatments. The human plane is the Middle World; spirits both helpful and harmful, animal and bird spirits, ancestor spirits and spirit souls of the dead can transcend the Middle World, inhabiting either the Lower or the Upper World, at home in both planes of transcendent reality and the phenomenal world.

Kenin-Lopsan has classified Tuvan shamans into five types: (1) shamans who trace their descent from shaman ancestors, (2) shamans who trace their origins from the spirits of earth and water, (3) shamans who trace their descent from the heavens *(deer kham),* (4) those who originate from the *Albys* (name of a beautiful

young woman spirit) spirits, and (5) those who originate from *aza* spirits (also called *kara kham,* or black shamans) (Kenin-Lopsan 1997, xxi). Shamans who have inherited their gift are considered the only true shamans. Kenin-Lopsan has categorized the main modes of shaman activity as follows: (1) shamanizing with a *küsüngü* (mirror), (2) shamanizing with a *khomus* (a mouth harp), (3) holding a séance with a drum and wearing ritual clothing (characteristic only of shamans of a high degree and traditionally performed only at night), (4) holding a séance with a shaman drum and *dayak* (staff). The three-headed staff is decorated with ribbons and was the first attribute Tuvan shamans received at their initiation (Kenin-Lopsan 1993, 26–27; 1997, xxi-xxii).

Traditionally, Tuvan shamans, male and female, have inherited the gift of becoming a shaman and have had shaman ancestors in their family. The signs of an incipient shaman, usually in adolescence, are that he or she suffers a "shaman sickness," *albystar,* during which the person becames hysterical and exhibits mental disturbances. This can only be alleviated by the family inviting a shaman to do a special *kamlanye* (ceremony). During the ceremony, the shaman would discover that the spirit of a particular shaman ancestor had settled into the patient, which meant that the patient had to become a shaman. If the patient refused the call to become a shaman, he or she would continue to be ill, and often incipient shamans refused the call until they finally understood it was necessary to accept it. Once the incipient shaman accepted his calling, his relatives prepared for him his attributes: ritual clothing, a drum, and a beater. The Tuvans in the eastern part gave the shaman only a dayak (staff) for his kamlanye, and then later gave him a drum. This drum would then be "enlivened" to become a horse, which he would ride into the Upper World during his séances (Wajnschtejn 1996, 260–261). These practices have continued in the post-Soviet period.

The Tuvan *Kamlanye* Ritual of Balance and Harmony

Although shamans speak of the loss of traditional powers, ceremonies of the traditional type are again being held in the early twenty-first century. Daniel Plumley has observed these ceremonies in his fieldwork in the area, and it is on his observations that the following account is based. Since the ceremonies he observed were carried out by female shamans, the feminine pronoun is used, though in fact Tuvan shamans may be male or female. Though different seasons require different shamanic actions or ceremony, perhaps the Tuvan kamlanye ceremony best typifies the Tuvan shamanic tradition of cleansing negative energy and bad spirits from people, while offering respect, thanks, and restored balance to nature. Most often, kamlanye are performed adjacent to rivers, lakes, or water sources like natural spring waters, arzhan. Participants are asked to sit on the earth, perhaps on skin or wool pads or blankets, and clear their minds of thoughts and mental hindrances. The shaman, in full dress that includes an ankle-length caftan with unique Tuvan symbols, begins the ceremony by raising a white, conch-like shell to her lips and blowing hard, a roaring trumpet sound that both establishes the ceremony's beginning and warns evil spirits, or negative energies, to leave the place. Guardian breast and back plates often form the sacred skeleton of the shaman, and small bells protect the shaman's back.

Unique to the Tuvan shaman's cape are the long, almost floor-length multicolored corded "snakes" of special fabric, tipped with leather and red cloth, that attach to the shoulders, arms, and waistband of the caftan. With each movement, with each step or twirl of the ensuing ritual, these sanctified snakes writhe and extend outward from the shaman's back, sides, and front, increasing their visual power and strengthening the spiritual protection they offer against harmful energies or spirits that might be stirred up during the shamanic activity. The spectacle is as impressive as are the symbols themselves.

The opening portion of the kamlanye is the ritual purification of the participants and the atmosphere and attributes to be used in the ceremony through the use of burning juniper, *artish,* in a small ritual ceramic, wooden, or at times shallow silver bowl, *piala.* Once the initial purification has been completed, the sacred fire can be lit. In order for the shaman to reach the spiritual world, she needs to move into an altered state of consciousness, where she can meet the appropriate spirits). The shaman may begin to coax ancestral spirits to the place first

Rosa, Tuvan shaman, blessing the spirits of nature, outside Kyzyl, Tuva, 1996. (Courtesy of Eva Jane Neumann Fridman)

through the strange twang of a small Tuvan khomus (mouth harp) or possibly, by the traditional Tuvan *khoomei,* overtone singing of *algyshes,* shamanic hymns. Both khomus and khoomei establish vital energetic vibrations that enable a connection with the transcendent energies needed for successfully achieving the goals of inter-world connection and collaboration that are the true purpose of the kamlanye ceremony. Ritually with guttural khoomei breaking forth from the shaman's lips, she spins behind the backs of the participants letting loose a two- to three-foot leather whip to lash their backs. As the whip slaps solidly against the back of a person to be cleansed, the shaman's voice rises in horrible protest, scaring away any bad demons both by voice and by the force of the lash itself.

Upon the close of khoomei singing, khomus playing and following the ritual lashing, the ceremony of calling and travel to the spirit world with the aid of the drum and libation to the sacred fire can begin in earnest. Trading her khomus and lash for her dungur, her drum, the shaman begins a methodical beating that increases in intensity and variability as she falls into an altered state of consciousness (trance) again and begins her own ritual singing. Shamans sing their own songs, often distinctly different depending upon the birthplace in Tuva of the practitioner and also the stage of the journey to the spirits. Those participants attending to be healed must supply their own libations of butter, rice, milk, wheat flower, tobacco, bread, and occasionally meats, honey, and other sacrificial foods. All are placed rever-

ently at the height of the sacred fire's flames as a most honored gift to the *tengeri,* heaven and its spirits.

To convey further spiritual benefit to those being healed, they may be invited to dip their hands and wet their foreheads and faces with milk sanctified by artish, juniper that has been kept near the sacred fire during the length of the ceremony. Such milk may also be used to "feed" the drum, which, as a living force of spiritual energy unique to each shaman, requires special and reverent care and is typically made by the shaman herself from the root base of a sacred birch or spruce tree.

The instruments used by the shaman form a veritable animist panorama of aids for spiritual practice in Tuva. The *orba,* "drumstick," is covered with the skin of a reindeer's leg and often has metal rattles that add cadence to the use of the drum. An *adig eereni,* a bear's paw with claws, may often be present among the shaman's spirit tools, and the use of the *ot kimchizi,* horse whip, speeds the shaman's travel to the Upper or Lower Worlds while lashing away bad energy or spirits from those who are being healed. Through these tools, Tuvan shamans encourage the helper spirits of horse, reindeer, and bear to aid in the transcendental work that allows the shaman to leave the known world and enter the spirit world.

Still other objects present even more mystical functions in the vital work of the Tuvan shaman. The *chalama,* or braided, multicolored cloth tails or snakes that hang from the shaman's robes provide sacred protection (Sljusarev and Oyun 2001). They may hang independently, as do the traditional tool or house *ongons* (protecting spirits), which often hang from the yurt or *chum* (tepee) rafters in the most sacred place—directly across from the south-facing door, though just slightly to the right.

In Tuva, the *tos-karak* (the nine-eyed spoon) holds a very special role for all shamanic practitioners, both shaman and layman alike. With this wooden spoon, into which nine small hollows or eyes are carved, sacred liquids of milk or vodka are traditionally offered to the earth spirits and the heavens upon reaching new grazing or nomadic home sites, prior to ritual healings at family or community feasts, and before important seasonal ceremonies. Libations with the tos-karak are gifts to the spirits and keep the balance with the blessings allocated by the real and the phenomenal *tos-der,* "nine skies" or "nine heavens," essential to Tuvan shamanic cosmology.

But perhaps no other tool or shamanic attribute, apart from the drum, holds such a valued place as the küzüngü, the shaman's spirit mirror of polished brass, steel, or silver. This opaque mirror in fact conveys no reflection in this middle world, but nonetheless provides the "seeing" shaman with insight into the questions of those seeking aid and healing, or needing advice and wisdom from the shaman on matters of life, health, family, love, and community. It also provides protection for the shaman, deflecting evil spirits (Wajnschtein 1996, 259). The word *küzüngü* means "opposition" in Yakut language and implies that the mirror will protect against the burning hot glance of evil spirits (Wajnschtein 1996, 287).

By passing her küzüngü mirror through the wafting smoke of the artish and through silent intention and the shamanic "sight," the Tuvan shaman informs participants of their future. One woman will face difficulties during forthcoming business travel and thus must protect herself with red string tied around her wrists and ankles, provided by the shaman herself. Another requires three months of protection wearing certain twisted colored threads as wristlets and must "feed" a small cloth satchel holding sacred rice grains with a drop of cooking oil weekly or with butter, in order to pass through a hard time without difficulty. Thus the participants gain both practical and spiritual guidance that creates a newfound respect for their place in nature and strengthens their linkage with their ancient Tuvan heritage.

A Future for Tuvan Shamanism

Tuvan shamanism, severely restricted and repressed during the period of the hegemony of the Soviet Union, has now returned to private families and communities alike the ritual of the kamlanye as well as the practices of healing. Shamanism has even gained official recognition as a state religion under governmental sanction, replete with licenses of registration recognizing shamans' status as healers. While most Tuvan ceremonies are held after dark, reflecting the years of persecution (as well as the most propitious time to call the spirits), a new generation of shamans following in the footsteps of the

formerly repressed and forgotten shaman leaders is evolving and invoking the old traditions. Moreover, they are incorporating new ideas and practices, some Neo-shamanic in nature, seeking to create a meaningful practice for the new post-Soviet period.

Daniel R. Plumley

Eva Jane Neumann Fridman

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism; Deer Imagery and Shamanism; Evenki Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Russian Shamanism Today; Siberian Shamanism; Transformation; Transvestism in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Arakchaa, Kara-kis. 1995. *Atlas of Arshan (Mineral Springs) of Tuva.* Moscow: Poli-Kom.

Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann. 2002. "Tuvan Shamanism." Pp. 485–493 in *The Turks*, vol. 6. Edited by H. Celal Güzel and C. Cem Oguz. Ankara: Turktarihi.

———. 2004. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism among the Buddhist Peoples of Russia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush. 1993. *Magic of Tuvan Shamans.* Kyzyl: Novosty Tuva.

———. 1997. *Shamanic Songs and Myths of Tuva.* Selected and edited by Mihály Hoppál. ISTOR Books, vol. 6. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Levin, M. G., and L. P. Potapov. 1964. *The Peoples of Siberia.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Melchakov, A. 2001. "Tuva: from Shaman to Buddha." *Segodny Gazeta,* July 21.

Potapov, Leonid P. 1964. "The Tuvans." Pp. 380–422 in *The Peoples of Siberia.* Edited by M. G. Levin and Leonid Potapov. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sljusarev, Sergei, and Ai-Tchourek Oyun. 2001. "Shaman Kontaknie Chelovek." *Semeyniy Doctor* 12.

Suzuki, Valentina U. 1995. "Shamanism and Musical Folklore." *Tuva State Xoomei Magazine:* 33–34.

Wajnschtejn, S. I. 1996. *Die Welt der Nomaden im Zentrum Asiens.* Berlin: Reinhold Schletzer Verlag.

UYGHUR HEALERS (CHINA)

The healing practices of the modern Uyghur constitute a syncretic complex in which pre-Islamic elements and possibly the influence of other traditions are inextricably intertwined. Uyghur healing practices focus on spirit possession and display some common features with related practices elsewhere that can be associated with shamanism. The "old Uyghurs," ancestral people of the modern Uyghurs, historically originated from Mongolia, where shamanism flourished. Thus, the Uyghurs, like other Turkic groups in Central Asia, share many cultural elements with Mongolians, including elements of ancient shamanistic beliefs and practices, although such roots are not always explicitly recognized as such in the Islamic culture.

Background

The Uyghur are an officially recognized minority concentrated in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in the northwestern corner of the People's Republic of China. They speak a Turkic language and profess Sunni Islam. With approximately eight million people, the Uyghur of Xinjiang still constitute the majority population within the region, despite a recently accelerated influx of Han Chinese settlers and migrant laborers. In addition to the Uyghur and the Chinese, by far the largest groups, Xinjiang has eleven other ethnic groups, most of them Muslims. The term *Uyghur* was adopted as an ethnonym only in the first half of the twentieth century. It was first applied to Turkic-speaking nomadic groups that, having lost their hegemony in their previous homeland to the Kirghiz in what is today Mongolia, moved to the south and southwest. One large group dispersed in the Turfan oasis, where it developed a flourishing sedentary economy and culture, which survived from the mid-ninth century to 1250, the date of the Mongol invasion. In the complicated process of their ethnogenesis, an Indo-European substratum, as well as various Turkic, Mongolian, Tibetan, and other elements, all played a part (Hoppe 1998).

The Question of Shamanism

Given the complex ethnogenesis of the modern Uyghur and the exposure of the inhabitants of

the region to so many religious influences, it would be especially unfortunate to approach shamanism here as an integral system, with its own cosmology, religious hierarchy, and practices. The shamanic nature of the beliefs of pre-Islamic Turkic groups has been well researched, but the long history of Islamization, together with the lack of any indigenous conceptualization by the Uyghurs, renders the use of the term *shamanism* questionable. What some scholars (Basilov 1992, Du 1995, Garrone 2000) consider shamanism may be better described in the Uyghur case as a set of healing methods, methods that have been thoroughly integrated into local popular beliefs. Disapproved of by both representatives of the Islamic scriptural tradition (because "heretical") and by the socialist state and many Uyghur intellectuals (because "backward"), the healing ceremony and related rituals retain at least some of their force and, like other "traditional," popular practices, are regarded as indivisible from Islam and the Muslim way of life. These healing practices are predicated on the existence of a wide range of spirits, benevolent and harmful. Harmful spirits can cause illness, whereas benevolent spirits are summoned by the healer to help during the ceremony. Some healers classify harmful spirits according to their religious orientation and use different incantations to exorcise Muslim, Christian, Jewish, and "heretical" spirits. The protective spirits may be conceptualized as Islamic saints, especially the recognized patron saints of various professions.

Some scholars have argued that the survival of "shamanic" beliefs in Islamic Central Asia is due to its successful integration into Islam, more specifically Sufism (Basilov 1970, 1987, 1992; Garrone 2000). It is, however, misleading to regard shamanism as the backbone of a religious system while ignoring the centrality of what may be termed the domestic cult (Bellér-Hann 2001a; DeWeese 1994). The focus of the domestic cult is the spirits of dead relatives and close acquaintances, parents, grandparents, and others whom one knew during one's lifetime. Rituals surrounding death as well as other official and unofficial Islamic rituals preserve aspects of the veneration of the dead (rather than a true ancestor cult). They focus on ensuring their goodwill and thereby enlisting their assistance for the well-being and prosperity of the living. Central to this cult is the nourishment of the spirits with the fragrance of incense, the smell produced by hot oil in which ceremonial cakes are fried, and the accompanying praying. Spirits remembered through praying and sacrifice will assist their family, while neglected spirits may bring bad luck.

Healing Rituals

Healing rituals in this region have been sufficiently documented in detail only from the second half of the nineteenth century. Since little is known about recent practice, the past tense has been used in what follows; though the tradition is still alive, it has clearly changed to some extent. Indigenous sources and the observations of foreigners agreed that, before the ritual could begin, either the healer *(baxši/pirixon)* or another religious specialist, the diviner *(rämmal),* had to be consulted to make a diagnosis.

Although healers dealt with both physiological and social problems (love affairs, jealousy, finding lost objects), most cases seemed to concern people with physical and psychological symptoms. Sometimes the ritual was organized to ensure an easy delivery. Disease was generally conceptualized as inflicted by supernatural forces *(päri, jin, diwä, alwasti).* The exorcism ceremony aimed to persuade the harmful spirits to leave the body of the afflicted person and settle elsewhere. The transfer *(köçürüš)* of the demons to a specific place or to another living organism by threats or deception played a central role in the ceremony. The whole healing ritual was generally known either as "making the päri dance" *(päri oynatiš)* or simply "dance" *(oyun),* since the healer forces the evil spirits to dance and eventually abandon the patient's body.

Sources indicate that the ritual could last for several hours and might sometimes be repeated over several days. The most important elements were the fixing of a rope (*tuğ*) in the middle of a room in the sick person's house in a vertical position, from the ceiling to the ground. On top of it several kerchiefs were tied, and the patient was positioned at the bottom. Incense was burned, with which the healer fumigated the room as well as the patient's body and clothes. Tree branches (usually willow) were prepared to be used for hitting the patient. Candles were lit and sometimes placed in unleavened bread on the stomach or head of the patient. Singing and music (drums and stringed instruments) ac-

An elderly Uyghur shaman beating his drum. Turfan, Xinjiang, 2000. (Courtesy of Dilmurat Omar)

companied the healer's incantations, summoning helping spirits, and ordering the evil spirits to leave the sick body. This was achieved through repeated "dancing" sessions, during which the healer chased the patient around the tuğ, using a whip and a sable, sometimes the willow branches; sometimes the healer circled the recumbent patient, touching the patient with weapons, helped by the patient's spouse or by apprentices. Transferring the evil spirits elsewhere was accomplished by sacrificing an animal, often a chicken (sometimes a goat or a calf). The transfer was done by touching the dagger to the patient's aching body parts, and then to the chicken. Variations on this theme included beating the patient's body with the live chicken or with its lungs.

The ritual could include making the patient sweat, massaging the patient, or pressing a hot hoe against the patient's aching body parts. Spitting, blowing, and moving various objects (including the sacrificial animal) in a circle above the patient's head were also recurring elements. Fire as a means of purification was also important; dolls and hay that had been moved around the patient's head could be burned. Throughout the ritual, incantations that included the names of Islamic saints, other exorcism formulas, and Arabic prayers (Quranic verses, especially the *Fatiha* and the *Jin suräsi*) were recited. Many healers also possessed a small "manual" *(pirixon risaläsi)* with instructions concerning which prayers to use on different occasions. A full ceremony also included the preparation of sacrificial food, made of sweet fruit juices and other fragrant things, or alternatively of a spoonful of milk, the blood of the sacrificial animal, and some salt (in which case it was called blood sherbet). This mixture, known as the *çalxa qazan,* and several homemade dolls were taken to an abandoned place, an old mill, a tomb, the cemetery, an old tree, or where three roads met. Another formula was recited, in which the healer once again told the harmful spirits to leave the sick person's body, accept the sacrifice, and transfer themselves to the dolls and the abandoned place. According to the testimony of some magic formulas, the dolls were left to keep the spirits company. At this point the patient might be asked to repent his or her sins and to promise better moral behavior in the future.

The healer usually received a number of items used in the ritual as payment; these included the rope, the kerchiefs, the sacrificial animal, the ceremonial cakes fried in oil (the smell of which nourished the helping spirits), a set of clothes, and money. This ritual, however, was only one way of dealing with illness and other problems. Other specialists, such as the *daxan* or any self-appointed *mollah,* could be asked to recite ritual formulas and Quranic verses in the presence of the patient. These, however, did not make the spirits dance. Instead, these specialists "looked into water" (a common shamanistic practice of consulting the spirits by looking into water in a glass) and resorted primarily to prayers. Nevertheless, the underlying purpose of their activities was the same, exorcising the evil spirits. When other methods failed, the "spirits' meal" *(arwah aši)* was cooked, which included the preparation of a bowl of some cereal-based dough in the shape of lizards and frogs. The prepared dishes were partly consumed communally, and leftovers were taken in a bowl covered with a new scarf to a crossing and left there to be found by a stranger.

Healers

Healers could be either men or women, and they could learn their profession as apprentices, or their knowledge could be passed down within the family. Indications are that apprenticeship was often preceded by the healer having been "stolen" by the spirits, which manifested itself in a long and painful illness. Islamic credentials were an important part of most rituals, and many elements of the various rituals could be used by nonprofessionals, for example, by older women, as part of their domestic activities. No information remains about their ritual dress. It seems that the healer did not necessarily enter an altered state of consciousness, although some sources suggest that the substances used as incense could have an intoxicating effect.

In the reception of healing rituals, skepticism must always have played a part. S. E. Malov noted that, throughout the ritual, people laughed, made jokes and even rude remarks, and fell silent only when the healer was reciting an Islamic prayer (1918). The incantations used for addressing the harmful spirits describe them as beautiful creatures, and some show a close resemblance to love songs, which must also have lent the event a certain profane character.

An elderly Uyghur female shaman placing her foot on a patient after stepping on a fire. Turfan, Xinjiang, 2000. (Courtesy of Dilmurat Omar)

The Present

Little knowledge of healing practices among the Uyghur of Xinjiang in the modern, socialist period is available, apart from the description of Du Shaoyuan (1995) and some general ethnographic accounts (Häbibulla 1993, 406–407; Raxman, Hämdulla, and Xus̓tar 1996, 172). The political climate in China still discourages "superstitious customs" and their investigation by scholars. In this atmosphere, a certain domestication and feminization of some communal activities may be observed (as in the case of the Barat ritual; see Bellér-Hann 2001a). Interviews with Uyghur refugees in Kazakstan and observation of local healers' practice indicate that a number of elements of the traditional healing ritual have been preserved, including the Islamic nature of the formulas and the importance of the sacrifice and fumigation; as in the homeland, these are creatively combined and constantly reworked (Bellér-Hann 2001b). Healing rituals among the Uyghur show a close resemblance to similar practices in neighboring Central Asian regions inhabited by Muslim groups (Basilov 1992; Garrone 2000).

Ildikó Bellér-Hann

See also: Kazak Shamanism; Kirghiz Shamanism; Sufism and Shamanism; Uzbek Shamanism

References and further reading:

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1970. *Kul't sviatykh v Islame* [The cult of saints in Islam]. Moskva: Mysl.

———. 1987. "Popular Islam in Central Asia and Kazakhstan." *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 8, no. 1: 7–17.

———. 1990. "Chosen by the Spirits." Pp. 3–48 in *Shamanism: Soviet Studies of Traditional Religion in Siberia and Central Asia.* Edited by Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer. New York: M. E. Sharpe.

———. 1992. *Shamanstvo u narodov Srednej Azii i Kazahstana* [Shamanism among the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan]. Moskva: Nauka.

Bellér-Hann, Ildikó. 2001a. "'Making the Oil Fragrant.' Dealings with the Supernatural among the Uighur in Xinjiang." *Asian Ethnicity* 2, no. 1: 9–23.

———. 2001b. "Solidarity and Contest among Uyghur Healers in Kazakhstan." *Inner Asia* 3: 73–98.

DeWeese, Devin.1994. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Du Shaoyuan. 1995. "Pratiques chamaniques des Ouïgours du Xinjiang." *Études mongoles et sibériennes* 26: 41–62.

Garrone, Patrick. 2000. *Chamanisme et Islam en Asie Centrale.* Paris: Jean Maisonneuve Successeur (Monde Caucasien et Tatar—Asie Centrale et Haute Asie, dirigé par Th. Zarcone1).

Häbibulla, Abdurähim. 1993. *Uygur Etnografiyisi.* Ürümçi: Šinjañ Xälq Näšriyati.

Hoppe, Thomas. 1998 [1995]. *Die ethnischen Gruppen Xinjiangs: Kulturunterschiede und interethnische Beziehungen* [Ethnic Groups in Xinjiang: Cultural differences and interethnic Relations]. Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde.

Katanov, N. Th. 1933–1936. *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan.* Aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philologisch-Historische Klasse 1933 und 1936 [From the proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, Philology—Historical Classes of 1933 and 1936]. Pp. 1250–1269. Karl Heinrich Menges.

Malov, S. E. 1918. "Ostatki shamanstvo u sartov Vostochnago Turkestana" [Remnants of shamanism among the sarts of East Turkestan]. *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii Imeni Imperatora Petra Velikago pri Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk*, vol. 5, no. 1: 1–16.

Pantusov, N. N. 1900. *Materialy kizucheniyu narechiya taranchei iliiskago okruga* [Materials for the study of the dialects of the Tarantchin], vol. 5. *Molitvy i zagovory taranchinskikh bakshei* [Prayers and exorcisms of the Tarantchin bakshi]. Kazan: Tipo-Litografiya Imperatorskago Universiteta.

Raxman, Abdukerim, Räwäydulla Hämdulla, and S̓erip Xus̓tar. 1996. *Uyğur Örp-Adätliri.* Ürümçi: Šinjañ Yašlar-Ösmürlär Näšriyati.

UZBEK SHAMANISM

Shamanic practices still play an important role in the Republic of Uzbekistan. Uzbek minorities in neighboring countries also have healing practices, but no discussion of them is included here, since they show strong similarities to the practices of surrounding groups.

The preservation of shamanic practices in an Islamic form among the Uzbeks, the majority of whom are Sunni Muslims, is due, among other factors, to the ability of Islam to adapt to local conditions. In the consciousness of an average believer, shamanic beliefs manifest themselves as part of a complicated synthesis of pagan, pre-Islamic traditions and normative Islamic ideas. Another important factor is the strong spirit of monotheism, the austere simplicity of which may be judged as "insufficient" by ordinary people unfamiliar with the dogmas of Orthodox Islam. This second factor may also explain the popularity of Sufism and the complex ceremonies of the cult of saints. To regard shamanic practices in Central Asia merely as relics of the past is mistaken, because these practices have been thoroughly integrated into the contemporary belief system and zeitgeist (Basilov 1992).

Historically speaking, the shamanic practices of settled agriculturalists must have been considerably different from those with a nomadic past. By now these differences have almost disappeared, mostly due to large-scale adaptations to a settled way of life and to the homogenizing influence of Islam.

A special feature of modern Uzbek shamanism is that the majority of practitioners appear to be female. Orthodox Islamic practices do not cater sufficiently to the spiritual needs of individual believers, especially women, creating a gap that is conveniently filled by shamanic practices. This female domination is favored by the gendered division of social life among the Uzbeks; arguably, a feminization of such practices was also promoted by Soviet religious policy, which severely curbed Islamic practices in the public (male) domain but had little control over expressions of female religiosity in the domestic, private sphere. Economic conditions may have contributed to this feminization of shamanism: Throughout the Soviet as well as post-Soviet period, female employment in the public sector has lagged behind male employ-

ment, and women have often worked in badly paid jobs. For women, therefore, the practice of shamanism has been long regarded as an attractive additional income source.

The Uzbek language lacks a collective term corresponding to the concept of shamanism. But this does not mean that shamanism as defined by Vladimir Basilov (1992) does not exist in Uzbekistan. Rather, various words are used, which could be conceptually classified under the umbrella term *shamanism.* A female practitioner is known as *folbin* (from Arabic *falç* "fate," and Persian *bin-*, the root of the verb *didan*ç "to see"), *folchi* (Turkicized variant), in various Uzbek dialects *polbin, polmin, polwun,* and sometimes (Chorezm) *parkhon, parikhon* (literally a person in contact with a *Pari,* a beautiful helping spirit). A male shaman (a rare phenomenon) is known as *kushnoch* (magician), *qora-kushnoch* (practitioner of black magic), *bakhshi* (according to Bartold probably from Sanskrit *Bhikshu*) meaning wizard, fortune-teller.

These names suggest that the Uzbek shaman is a clairvoyant, a fortune-teller, a healer, or even a medicine man *(ṭabīb),* who perceives himself as a good Muslim, who has been selected by God (Allah, Khuda) to become a practitioner and, with God's help to serve her community. To achieve this end she uses her often unusual and unconventional abilities, acquired in various ways.

The old-fashioned assumption that a shaman is a person suffering from some kind of psychological disorder is not acceptable anymore. Neither can practitioners be regarded as suffering from inherited disease. Far more important is the role played by social context and tradition. Shamanism is transmitted through tradition, and it is essential to understand shamanism in the context of the specific traditions involved, because they determine how the group defines shamanism. In the Uzbek definition, psychological factors and physical suffering play a subordinate role.

There are three basic ways in which one can become a shaman. Shamanic abilities may run in the family, in which case it is perceived as inherited. Secondly, these may be acquired after one has been seriously ill; thirdly, one may become a shaman after experiencing an initiation dream. Nowadays the most common way is the first, acquisition of shamanic abilities through inheritance. Knowledge of shamanic practices are passed down from generation to generation, typically along the female line, by mature women with grown-up children. If a woman rejects taking on the role of shaman, it is assumed that she might become incurably ill. The illness, however, could be immediately cured, as soon as she consents to "shamanize." The second way involves the acquisition of special knowledge by becoming ill, a way that is shaped by the psychological profile of the person in question. Typically, a person may spend years suffering from an illness that cannot be cured by medical doctors and specialists. If in desperation at this point this person turns to a fortune-teller and healer, she may be advised to undergo a healing course (see below). If several such sessions bring no relief, the sick person may be advised to become a shaman herself, in order to be relieved from the suffering, even if her family has no history of shamanism. The third way occurs rarely. A person has a dream at night or a vision during the day in which she is ordered to assume the role of a shaman. The person who appears in this dream and makes this demand is typically an Islamic saint, a little-known local healer, or a deceased relative. The three possibilities may also appear in combination in the making of a shaman.

In whichever of these three ways a person has acquired the necessary knowledge, in order to become a shaman, she must receive a blessing, which consists of the recitation of the first verse of the Quran (the Fatiha, or Potakha). In different regions, depending on the degree of religiosity, the blessing may be given by a religious practitioner *(mullā),* a Sufi leader *(īšān),* or another shaman. In some regions of Uzbekistan, an animal sacrifice accompanies the blessing ceremony, during which, depending on the economic situation of the novice, a sheep, a goat, or a chicken may be ritually slaughtered. In rare cases the novice may decide that a blessing is not necessary because she has already received it in her dream by grabbing the hand of an authority figure.

Representatives of Orthodox Islam disapprove of shamanic practices and tend to discredit them, although in the first half of the twentieth century there were incidents in which some mullā made wide use of these practices in order to live up to their reputation of possessing supernatural powers. Attributed to

their unusually high level of piety, these supernatural powers enabled them to heal wounds and cure diseases through touching, praying, and other means.

Uzbek shamans perceive themselves primarily as healers and fortune-tellers, or seers. They work with the aid of helping spirits *(arwāḥ, arwāḥlar),* who are generally understood to be the spirits of deceased persons. The activities of the shaman may include the following:

With the help of God, through special ceremonies *(kochirma),* the shaman treats and heals various diseases (bodily and psychological disorders) and their causes. The disease may be attributed to the evil eye, to black magic caused by other shamans, or to spirit possession (that is, the sick person's body is seen as having been taken over by evil spirits).

The shaman may tell the fortune of the patient, thereby influencing it positively (*fol ochmoq*—fortune-telling).

The shaman may help her clients find lost objects (in rural areas also lost animals) (also *fol ochmoq*).

Through ritual action, the shaman may try to influence the emotions of another person toward her patient or toward someone else, for example, to evoke love toward the patient or indifference or hostility toward the patient's rival (based on the principle of *issiq-sowuq,* "warm and cold").

The healing *(kochirma)* involves the chasing away of evil spirits, or the averting of the evil eye or bewitchment caused by other shamans. This is achieved through various rituals, which have been thoroughly described and analyzed in the scholarly literature (Basilov 1992; Snesarev 1983).

The following is an example of a typical healing ritual, as observed by the author in contemporary Uzbekistan by female healers *(folbin)* in Tashkent and its environs. The patient is taken to the house of the folbin, who sits in a room specially used for healing. On a spread, which often simultaneously serves as a prayer rug, a drum is placed, together with a bowl half filled with water, a knife, a whip, and the Quran. The female shaman, wearing "Islamic" attire consisting of a white dress and headscarf, recites a prayer (usually the Fatiha and the Sura of the Jinn from the Quran) with closed eyes. Her attention is directed toward her inner self, while the patient listens in silence. The shaman stays in a sitting position, eyes still closed, and, still reciting Quranic verses, with the aid of her helping spirits she tries to identify the nature and cause of the illness. If it is caused by evil spirits, she starts to burp uncontrollably; the more she burps, the stronger the force of the evil spirits is. When she stops burping, the diagnosis is ready. With eyes still closed, she tells the patient which spirits are responsible for the sickness and promises to help the patient—with the support of God and her own helping spirits. She blows on him or her repeatedly *(kuf-suf),* while she is reciting prayers, and lifts a knife over the patient's head several times, as if cutting the invisible strings that connect the patient's soul to the evil spirits. Occasionally she may whip the patient's body lightly in order to chase away the evil spirits, shouting "Qoch! qoch!" (away, away). Throughout the ritual she repeatedly invokes the name of God, asking him to help the patient.

In the beginning of the ritual she may make use of the drum, which serves the purpose of providing a background rhythm. Sometimes she may get into an ecstatic state, but this is not an indispensable part of the ritual. The patient brings to the ritual a certain amount of tea and sugar, over which the shaman recites prayers and various magic formulas. The tea and sugar should then be gradually consumed by the patient, in order to strengthen him or her against the evil forces, the evil eye, and black magic.

Some male shamans were in the habit of wearing women's clothes during the ritual as late as the late 1960s. It remains uncertain whether this was a symbolic reversal of gender roles or a kind of transvestism. According to one theory, female helping spirits demand that the male shaman put women's clothes on, because then they feel more comfortable while temporarily taking possession of the shaman's body.

Uzbek shamanism has been primarily researched by Russian scholars (Basilov, Snesarev), though recently German researchers have increasingly worked in the area (Baldauf, Kleinmichel, Böhm), and as well as one French researcher (Garrone).

Bahodir Sidikov

See also: Kazak Shamanism; Sufism and Shamanism; Transvestism in Shamanism; Uyghur Healers

References and further reading:

Baldauf, Ingeborg. 1989. "Zur religiösen Praxis özbekischer Frauen in Nordafghanistan" [On the religious practice of Uzbek women in North Afghanistan]. Pp. 45–54 in *Religious and Lay Symbolism in the Altaic World and Other Papers. Proceedings of the 27th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Walberberg, Federal Republic of Germany, June 12th to 17th,* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bartold, Vasilii V. 1965. Bakshi in *Sochineniya* [Writings], vol. 5. Moskva: Nauka.

Basilov, Vladimir N. 1992. *Shamanstvo u narodov Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana* [Shamanism and the people of Central Asia and Kazakstan]. Moskva: Nauka.

———. 1997. "Chosen by the Spirits." Pp. 3–48 in *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia.* New York: North Castle Books.

Böhm, Oswald. 2001. "Heilerinnen in Usbekistan" [Female healers in Uzbekistan]. M.A. thesis, Freie Universität, Berlin.

Garrone, Patrick. 2000. *Chamanisme et islam en Asie Centrale: La baksylyk hier et aujourd'hui* (Shamanism and Islam in Central Asia: The *baksylyk* yesterday and today). Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Jean Maisonneuve.

Kleinmichel, Sigrid. 2000. *Halpa in Choresm (H̱wārazm) und Ātin Āyi im Ferghanatal: Zur Geschichte des Lesens in Usbekistan im 20. Jahrhundert* [*Halpa* in Choresm and *Atin Ayi* in the Fergana Valley: On the history of reading in Uzbekistan in the twentieth century]. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch.

Snesarev, Gleb. 1983. *Khorezmskie legendy kak istochnik po istorii religioznykh kul'tov Sredney Azii* [Khorezm legends as source for the history of religious cults in Central Asia]. Moskva: Nauka.

YELLOW SHAMANS (MONGOLIA)

The term *yellow shaman* (Mongolian: *sharin böö*) is a designation created by Mongolian scholars to identify those shamans who incorporate Buddhist rituals and beliefs into their shamanistic practices. In Mongolia, yellow signifies Buddhism, since most monks belong to the Yellow Hat school *(gelu'pa)* of Tibetan Buddhism, whose monks wear yellow hats during daily rituals and services. Shamans with little or no Buddhist influence have been designated by scholars "black shamans" *(kharin böö)* (Dulam 1992, 5), although indigenous people traditionally did not use such color codes for shamans. According to some Mongolian scholars (such as Otgony Purev and Sendenjav Dulam), yellow shamanism is practiced mainly by the Khalkh, the dominant ethnic group in Mongolia (Dulam 1992, 5). Yet the only evidence for such Khalkh shamans is contained in oral literature, which were recorded some decades ago. The shamanism of the Buryat, who live in Dornod province, eastern Mongolia, and in the Aga-Buryat Autonomous District, Russia, is also considered yellow shamanism by Dulam and others, because these Buryat shamans use Buddhist terminology and names of Buddhist gods in their ritual invocations and other shamanic rituals. Black shamanism is said to be practiced mainly by Darkhad, Uriankhai, and Tsaatan who live in Khövsgöl Province, northern Mongolia. Nevertheless it is questionable that such color-coding of shamans reflects the reality of shamanistic practice in Mongolia. For one thing, all Mongolian shamans incorporated Tibetan Buddhism to some degree. Even "black" shamans integrated Buddhist elements in their rituals, although they might not agree with Buddhist teachings and principles. Therefore these color categories of shamans are rather confusing to some scholars, although they do bring to the fore the complex nature of the interrelationship between Buddhism and shamanism among Mongolian peoples.

History of the Interaction between Shamanism and Buddhism in Mongolia

Buddhism began to penetrate the Mongolian plateau only after the sixteenth century, when the Mongolian emperor, Altan Khan, under the guidance of a Tibetan Buddhist, converted to Buddhism. Later, his grandson, Sumer tayiji, was declared a reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, strengthening the ties between Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhism (Heissig 1980). Under the support of the Qing dynasty, which had annexed Outer Mongolia (present-day Mongolia)

in 1691, Buddhism became the predominant religion throughout Mongolia, although the degree of acceptance varied among areas and ethnic groups. During the Qing dynasty, many shamans throughout Mongolia incorporated many Buddhist elements.

At the end of eighteenth century, however, hunting peoples in the northern part of Mongolia violently resisted the introduction of Buddhism and fought the Khalkh Mongols. The resistance by the minority hunting peoples against dominant Khalkh Mongols and their religion, Buddhism, resulted in the so-called black shamanism of the Darkhad peoples. The ethnic name Darkhad was created and given to the hunting peoples by the Buddhist Khalkh Mongols in the eighteenth century for administrative reasons under the Manchus (Shimamura 1998, 2000a).

In the early twentieth century, the People's Republic of Mongolia was established under the auspices of the Soviet Union. Under the Communist regime, any kind of religious practice, including yellow shamanism, was prohibited in Mongolia. Yet both Buddhism and shamanism began to revive and flourish when Communism officially ended in Mongolia in 1991.

The Birth of *Yellow Shamans*

Although the syncretism between shamanism and Buddhism had been referred to by many scholars, the term *yellow shaman* was first used by Sendenjav Dulam in 1992. This term has been borrowed by Otgony Purev, who is considered to be a "shamanist fundamentalist." Purev, whose ethnic origin is Darkhad, is the most prominent advocate of the concept of yellow shamanism, as he believes that Darkhad shamanism is the authentic Mongolian shamanism, with a continuous tradition from the time of Genghis Khan. According to him, yellow shamans were those who abandoned the original traditions of Mongolian shamanism and practiced rituals with Lamaist attributes, including prayers to Buddhist deities. He cited as an example prayers to various Buddhist deities made by a shaman from Khövsgöl province, northern Mongolia, born in 1926, "who made his yellow shaman rituals on behalf of the Gombo and put Dalan Tavan Mahgal Burhans as the gods on his head, Ulaan Jamsran on his left, Lham on his right shoulders, and Manla on his forehead" (Purev 2002b, 72).

At a certain point, according to Purev, yellow shamanism took on the organizational structure of Lamaism and came to center on Dayan Deerh monastery in the Khövsgöl province. All Khalkh yellow shamans were subordinated to the lamas of this monastery. Shamans were authorized to practice following a special test administered by the monks. Once every three years they gathered there to pray and renew their *ongon* (ancestral spirits). The main temple of the Dayan Deerh monastery was built in 1860; it burned down and was rebuilt in 1922. Nearby was a cavern and another temple, the whole complex forming the Dayan Deerh (heaven), a symbol of solidarity between Lamaism and shamanism with its two pantheons of *burkhan* (Buddhist gods) and ongons (shamanic spirits). There were two versions of the prayers and hymns, one on behalf of Buddhist deities, the other for shamanic ongons. Yellow shamans were divided into two groups: learned and unlearned (Purev 2002b, 72–73).

Nevertheless, it is misleading to generalize about the shamanism of the Khalkh people from case studies in Khövsgöl province alone. Khövsgöl province is situated near the Russian border, where the minority hunting peoples live. (These hunting peoples include the Uriankhai and Darkhad.) Yellow shamanism did not exist anywhere else in Mongolia, and now the tradition of yellow shamanism has ceased even in that province. It seems much more probable that yellow shamanism in the province was a temporary phenomenon resulting from the tension between Buddhism and shamanism, a phenomenon that reflected the dominance of Buddhism over the shamanism of the hunting people in the region. Historically, the Manchus of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) in China used Buddhism to colonize Mongolia centuries before the Russian dominance over the region in the early twentieth century. Thus complicated historical and sociopolitical elements influenced this religious syncretism, having to do with the relationship between the dominant religion of the majority (the Khalkh) and that of minority tribal groups in the border region. Soviet Communism suppressed and almost exterminated both religions, but now Shamanism and Buddhism are both enjoying a revival. The yellow shamanism of

the Khövsgöl province, however, did not revive even in the post-Communist era.

Buryat Yellow Shamanism

The Buryat have traditionally lived in the Lake Baikal area, which was originally the northern frontier of the Mongolian world. They were invaded and ruled by the Russian Empire from the late seventeenth century onward. Territorially separated from other lands of the Mongols, the eastern part of the Buryat, including people in the Aga steppe, accepted Buddhism in the late eighteenth century. It is not clear when the Buryat acquired a Mongolian identity; it is probable, however, that they accepted Buddhism in the process of recognizing themselves as Mongols. There has been debate among scholars (Jukovskaya 1965, 1969; Klements 1910) with regard to the syncretism of Buryat shamanism and Buddhism.

In the nineteenth century, there were so-called black and white shamans among the Buryat who lived in the west; these shamans were quite different from today's shamans in Dornod province. According to Matvei Nikolaevich Khangalov and Nikolai Nikolaevich Agapitov, the white shaman appealed to deities for blessings, to give people happiness. Black shamans used evil deities to trouble people and cause misfortune (Agapitov and Khangalov 1883, 46). However that may be, the current practice of shamanism of the Buryat in Dornod no longer has such a simple dualism of black as evil and white as good. The Buryat in Dornod province do still describe themselves as having two different kinds of shaman, whom they call white and black, but the shamans who fall into these categories do not fit the descriptions found in the literature (Shimamura 2000b).

Contemporary black shamans appeal to their ancestral sprits (ongon) while drumming in a trance. They worship traditional deities, including the thirteen *oikony noyod* (the Thirteen Lords of Oihon [Ol'khon] Island in Lake Baikal) and other important deities such as Manjilai Tenger, Abagaldai, and Khoimoryn Khögshin. Black shamans are called *khar talynkh* (the blacks), or a black shaman may be simply *böö* (male shaman) or *udgan* (female shaman). Their main work is to connect people to ongon. Contemporary white shamans worship some Buddhist deities and cure people with "magically oriented" massage or bonesetting. These white shamans are called *sagaanii talynkh* (whites) or *bariash* (masters of massage and bonesetting). White shamans recite the Buddhist mantra *om mani padme hum* and use some Lamaist accoutrements when performing healing rituals. On the other hand, they wear shamans' headdresses and costumes that are almost identical to those of black shamans. The deities that the white shamans worship, Sagaan ubgen (White Old Man) and Burkhan garbal (Ancestor of Buddhism), are not found in the pantheon of Tibetan Buddhism. The former is a Buddhist deity who originated in Mongolia, and the latter a Buddhist deity created by the Buryat in the context of their shamanism.

There are no böö who work only as black shamans; all black shamans also hold the white position. Some böös explain that it is dangerous to become a black shaman without also holding a white position. Such black shamans are *khar sagaan kavsarsan* (sandwiched between black and white), a designation that might represent the dual identity of the Buryat as refugees in Mongolia. On the other hand, most bariashes (bonesetters) never hold the black position and generally do not enter a trance when performing rituals.

One reason for the fusion of black and white is related to the multilayered identity of the Buryat, created by their complicated history. At the beginning of the twentieth century, some Buryat escaped from the Aga Steppe of Russian Siberia to Dornod province of Mongolia to extricate themselves from the chaotic situation of the Russian Revolution. The Khalkh-Mongols purged the Buryat in the late 1930s, on the grounds that they were either remnants of the Russian White Army or Japanese spies. According to statistical surveys that had been taken by Imperial Russia in 1897, most Buryat in Trans-Baikalia (east of Lake Baikal) at the end of the nineteenth century were Buddhists (Mikhailov 1987, 198). This suggests that the shape of contemporary Buryat shamanism in Dornod was formulated only after the fall of Communism in 1991. Hence, what scholars have called Buryat yellow shamanism may have developed in the historical process of mixture and vacillation between identifying as Mongol (white, or Buddhist) or Buryat (black, or shamanist).

Ippei Shimamura

See also: "Black" Shamans, "White" Shamans; Buddhism and Shamanism; Buryat

Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Mongolian Shamanic Texts; Mongolian Shamanic Tradition and Literature; Spirits and Ghosts in Mongolia; Tibetan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Agapitov, Nikolai Nikolaevich, and Matvei Nikolaevich Khangalov. 1883. *Shamanstovo u Buryat v Irkutskoi Guvernii* [Buryat Shamanism in Irkutsk province]. Irkutsk: Izvestia Vostochno-Sibirswkovo otdela Russkovo Geografiches kovo Obshchestva 14, 1–2.

Damdinjav, Dugarjavyn. 2002. *Mongolyn Buryad zon [The Buryat-Mongols].* Ulaanbaatar.

Dulam, Sendenjav. 1992. *Darkhad Boogiin Ulamjlal [The Tradition of Darkhad Shamans].* Ulaanbaatar: MUIS-iin khevlel (National University Press of Mongolia).

Heissig, Walther. 1980. *The Religions of Mongolia.* Translated from the German by Geoffrey Samuel. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jukovskaya, Natal'ya L'vovna. 1965. "Iz istorii religioznogo sinkretizma v Zabaikare" [From the history of religious syncretism in Trans-Baikalia]. *Sovietskaya Etonografiya [Soviet Ethnography].* 6: 120–121.

———. 1969. "Modernizatsiya shamanstva v usloviyakh rasprostraneniya buddizma u mongolov I ikh socedei" [The Modernization of shamanism on the condition of the diffusion of Buddhism among the Mongols and their neighbors]. *Etnograficheskii Zbornik [Ethnographical Collections]* 5: 175–179.

Klements, Dmitrii Aleksandrovich. 1910. "O Vzaimnykh Vriyaniyakh mejdu Lamaizmom i Buryatskim Shamanizmom" [On mutual influence between Lamaism and Buryat Shamanism]. *Etnograficheskoe Ovozrenie [Ethnographical Views]* 83, no. 4: 25–31.

Mikhailov, Taras Maksimovich. 1987. *Buryatckiii Shamanizm [Buryat Shamanism].* Novosivirsk: Nauka.

Purev, Otgony. 1998. *The Mongol böögiin Shashin [The religion of Mongolian Shamanism].* Ulaanbaatar: Sukhbaatar.

———. 2000. *The Mongol böögiin Shashin [The religion of Mongolian Shamanism].* 2d ed. Ulaanbaatar: ADMON.

———. 2002a. *The Mongol böögiin Shashin [The religion of Mongolian Shamanism].* 3d ed. Ulaanbaatar: ADMON.

———. 2002b. *The Religion of Mongolian Shamanism* (English version). Ulaanbaatar: GENCO.

Shimamura, Ippei. 1998. "Daruhado zoku no ongodo shinko" [The cult of Ongod among the Darkhads]. Unpublished thesis, National University of Mongolia.

———. 2000a. "Darkhad Shamanism—The Cult of Vengeful Dead Spirits of Shamans." *Bulletin of the IAMS (International Association for Mongol Studies)* 25.

———. 2000b. "Heigen ni kiku, shamanism no ibuki" [The breath of shamanism in the steppe land]. *Kikan Minzokugaku [Quarterly Ethnology]* 93.

———. 2002. "The Roots Seeking Movement among the Aga-Buryats: New Lights on Their Shamanism, History of Suffering, and Diaspora." Pp. 88–110 in *A People Divided: Buryat Mongols in Russia, Mongolia and China.* Edited by Konagaya Yuki. Cologne, Germany: International Society for the Study of the Culture and Economy of the Ordos Mongols.

Overview

KOREA AND JAPAN

Geography and Language

The Korean peninsula separates the Yellow Sea in the west from the Eastern (Japan) Sea in the east. In the north, toward its powerful and vast neighbor China, the rivers Yalu and Tumen form a natural border. The eastern coast is lined by mountain ranges that fall steeply into the sea, but their western slopes open into narrow alluvial plains. Most of the peninsula is mountainous with only little space for arable land. In this respect it resembles Japan, but Japan is an archipelago that consists mainly of four major islands (Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu), and the island group of the Ryukyus (Okinawa and others).

Linguistic evidence suggests a high degree of homogeneity of the Korean population as well as certain affinities with the Japanese. Both Korean and Japanese belong to the group of Altaic languages, together with, for example, Manchu and Tungusic languages. Although the grammatical structure of Korean and Japanese are quite similar, their phonology differs significantly. One factor that helped to separate Japanese from Korean in prehistoric times is probably the influence of Austronesian languages on the first. Chinese, on the other hand, was important for both languages in providing a writing system, though its influence on the spoken language remained rather limited because it was primarily used as a means for scholarly and literary expression by the intelligentsia.

In Japan, the Ryukyuan language is markedly different from the language spoken on the main islands, and Ainu, of which only remnants are left, is a different language again, but its linguistic situation is still not definitely decided. Today efforts are being made to revive Ainu as a spoken language. Although the linguistic landscape of Japan and Korea still leaves many problems unsolved, it suggests a significant relationship between the two countries. Other relationships are of a historical or cultural kind, yet none of these relationships have hindered the individual development of each area.

Historical Overview

Its immediate neighborhood to China and the continent shaped much of the Korean peninsula's history. The early settlers were probably of Manchu or Tungusic origin, but after about the fifth century B.C.E., the peninsula's culture and history came under Chinese influence for centuries. Korea was, however, never simply a minor replica of China; it adapted features of Chinese culture to respond to its own needs. For Japan, too, China was a source of political and cultural inspiration, but with the exception of the failed Mongol attempts at invasion of 1274 C.E. and 1281 C.E., China did not pose a physical threat to Japan's sovereignty or culture. Much of China's influence was mediated by Korea.

During the first century B.C.E. three kingdoms emerged on the Korean peninsula: Koguryo, Paekche, and Silla. By the seventh century Silla succeeded in bringing the peninsula under its rule

and introduced Buddhism to provide a backing for its rule. In the tenth century it was overcome in turn by Koryo, which introduced Confucianism for the sake of its ethical and practical principles. With the establishment of the Yi dynasty in 1392 C.E., which lasted until 1910, Confucianism finally became the dominant doctrine of the ruling classes, while Buddhism greatly declined.

Shamanism was most probably already an important part of the spiritual culture of the early inhabitants. Tangun, the mythic founder of the country, was believed to have been a shaman. Because of their tree-shaped decorations, crowns found in the tombs of early Silla in Kyongju suggest that the rulers of the time were shamans. Under the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism, however, shamanism's power gradually declined, though it remained an important factor in the beliefs of the population. In the course of its history shamanism became much refined in comparison with its original northern form and developed impressive artistic features.

According to Japanese mythology and Chinese chronicles of the late third century about Japan, there were shamans among Japan's early rulers, but it is difficult to confirm these reports. Where shamans are mentioned in Japanese documents, they appear to be common people. The historical development seems to have been similar to that on the Korean peninsula: After the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism in the late sixth and early seventh centuries shamanism survived mainly among the common people. As far as their activities can be documented, shamans functioned at community rituals or performed rites for individual clients, but their position was often precarious in the eyes of the authorities and the representatives of official religion. Nevertheless, around the beginning of the nineteenth century shamanic personalities began to emerge who won a great following and became founders and leaders of new religions such as Tenrikyō or Ōmotokyō.

The performances of Korean and Japanese shamans are strikingly different. Ritual performances of Korean shamans are often dramatic and highly artistic events combining dances, songs, music, and colorful dresses. In contrast, the performances of Japanese shamans are mostly subdued, if not extremely simple, though they may cause strong emotional reactions. More important, however, are certain similarities between Korean and Japanese shamans. In both areas shamans were able to survive, at times even under strained relations with the official religions, because they responded to needs of the population not cared for by the official religions, especially the need to care for spirits and to control their activities. Furthermore, whereas official society was mainly managed by males, shamanism offered a means for women to express their world. This may explain why the majority of shamans in both areas are women. Finally, and most important, the dominant experience of shamans in both Korea and Japan is possession. A shaman may become a divine spirit, or a spirit may speak through her, but only rarely, if ever, does she experience soul flight to the other world.

Korean Shamans

Today it is nearly impossible to know with certainty about the shamans in the northern part of the Korean peninsula. Many of the shamans who had practiced there, displaced by politics and war, have found refuge in the south. It seems reasonable, therefore, to surmise that shamans in North Korea were (and perhaps are) of much the same type as those in the northern and central areas of South Korea. And since, in the northeast of their language area, speakers of Korean are neighbors of Manchu, they may also share in the tradition of Manchu shamanism. The following brief overview considers only the situation in the southern half of the peninsula; for more details see the entry "Korean Shamanism."

There are several terms for shaman in Korean, the most common being *mudang.* In its strict sense it designates a female shaman; a male shaman is called *paksu.* That *mudang* is used as a common term may reflect the fact that the majority of shamans are women. In a different sense, *mudang* is the term for a shaman by divine and individual calling, a type found in many areas on the peninsula, but characteristically in the northern and central regions. Shamans on Cheju Island contrast sharply with this type; there the office of a shaman, a *shimban,* is inherited within certain lineages and is not a matter of divine election, as noted in the entry "Cheju-do Island Shamanism." A similar type of hereditary shaman, known as a *tangol,* is encountered in the southern re-

gions of the peninsula. Hereditary shamans, especially the shimban of Cheju Island, cater to a particular village and its shrine, whereas a mudang gathers a group of personal followers.

The rituals of Korean shamans are rich in paraphernalia, dances, and dramatic performances. Rather than being solemn acts, they are often humorous, and generally both shamans and clients display a practical attitude. During her spirited performances, a mudang may become the deity that possesses her, whereas a shimban or tangol primarily pronounces a deity's message.

Japanese Shamans

Among Japanese shamans, truly dramatic performances are rather rare, although music may be an important part of a performance, as noted in the entries "Japanese Shamanic Music" and "Okinawan Shamans and Priestesses." In some cases, especially when incarnating a deity, the shaman may put on a special dress, but more often rites are performed in almost everyday attire.

The general technical term for Japanese shamans is *miko.* In ordinary parlance today, however, a miko is a young woman serving at a Shinto sanctuary without being a shaman. Persons who claim some direct relation with spirits are better known among the populace by local terms. Some of these, such as *yuta, itako,* and *gomiso,* have come to be used as technical terms for certain types of shamans. Although a special relationship with some spirit is the hallmark of all shamans, some types can be established by considering the way this relationship was originally established. More details can be found in the entry "Japanese Shamanism."

Basically there are two ways that somebody may become a shaman: either as a result of ascetic training or by divine calling. In the first case, the future shaman undergoes ascetic training either by his own will or by the will of relatives. In this manner mountain ascetics, called *yamabushi,* undergo austerities in order to acquire magic power over spirits. More details can be found in the entry "Mountain Priests—Shugendō (Japan)." The blind female shaman, *itako,* also undergoes a long ascetic training, at the end of which she meets he divine tutelary spirit who will assist her in her rituals, especially when she calls forth the spirits of dead persons. This kind of shaman usually does not experience an initiatory illness. The itako even shows a worldly attitude toward her activities, to which she refers as "business" *(shōbai).* In most cases she was compelled to become an itako because it is one of the few professions open to blind women. The entry "Tsugaru Shamanism" contains more details about a special area of northern Japan in which itako play a major role.

Initiatory illness is characteristically the first sign of the second way to become a shaman, as it indicates a divine calling. Once a person has acknowledged an illness as spirit induced, the next step is to engage in ascetic exercises until the spirit reveals its identity. Others may suddenly be possessed by their future helping spirit, and only later learn how to control their relationship. The yuta of Okinawa, about whom there is more in the entry "Okinawan Shamans and Priestesses," and the *kamisama* of Tsugaru as well as the gomiso, as these shamans may be called in other areas of northern Japan, are of the same kind. Among the Ainu of the far north of Japan, both the way of becoming a shaman and the terms used are so different from the rest of Japan that some have seen the elements of Eurasian shamanism as most significant here, as well as in Tsugaru. It was a rich tradition, as the entry "Ainu Shamanism" makes clear.

Two other factors are noteworthy for Japanese shamans. The first is geographical distribution. Shamans by divine calling may show local characteristics, but they can still be found throughout the country. The same may be said of the yamabushi, although, in practice, they form groups centered on a particular sacred mountain that is the place of their ascetic exercises. The itako, on the other hand, do represent a local type, since they are mainly found in northern Japan. The second factor is the role of mountains as the realm where divine spirits can be met. At a sacred mountain yamabushi acquire the power to handle spirits. Many future shamans, afflicted by an initiatory illness, go to a sacred mountain to pursue ascetic training, such as standing under waterfalls. As a result they encounter there the spirit that is the source of their illness.

Peter Knecht

AINU SHAMANISM (JAPAN)

Shamanism was at the core of the culture of the ancient Ainu of northern Japan. Both male and female shamans practiced, and numerous shamanic ceremonies and festivals were held throughout the year. Before traditional Ainu shamanism went into a decline after the eighteenth century, Ainu society was governed by a developed theocracy, which functioned through elaborate rituals, grounded in a complex belief system. In those days, shamans, especially male shamans, had political power as chiefs, and even led military forces in times of war. Over time a gender-specific division of labor developed: Male ceremonial masters conducted ceremonies and sacrifices, and female shamans managed practical dealings with the spirits. Shamans cured the sick through séances and traditional medicine, performed the roles of various deities in shamanic dramas, and gave prophecies while "possessed." Various rituals of Ainu justice, such as ordeal by hot water or burned rock, may have originated in shamanic practice. Ainu shamans, especially in Sakhalin, are also known to have performed magic tricks such as rope and/or net escapes (Chiri 1973b). Ainu shamanism as a whole is believed to have had deep historical roots and pluralistic origins, and to have gone through several transformations. The discussion on Ainu shamanism in this entry will focus on the Hokkaidō Ainu, with some reference to the Sakhalin Ainu and other related traditional peoples.

Geographical and Historical Background

The Ainu, a name that means *human beings* in the Ainu language, are at present the largest indigenous population of northern Japan officially recognized by the Japanese government. They are divided between Russia and Japan, and perhaps beyond, as the Ainu traditionally traveled great distances to trade in all directions. Although their population is difficult to estimate in the absence of full-scale census, especially given the historical process of assimilation, in the island of Hokkaidō alone it is believed to be considerably higher than 25,000, which is the number of Ainu associated with the largest Ainu organization, the Hokkaidō Ainu Association.

The Ainu language is distinct from modern Japanese, though, like many other languages of the Far Eastern region, including Japanese and Korean, its origin is unknown (Hokkaidō Ainu Culture Research Centre 1996, 2). However, Chiri Mashiho, a native Ainu linguist, has reported that the Ainu language exhibits vowel harmony, which might indicate a link to the Ural-Altaic language family (Chiri 1973d, 201–225). Ainu research has suffered from the lack of an interdisciplinary, international, collaborative framework and the lack of support for a native research initiative, and it is hoped that more knowledge will be gained about the Ainu and their language when such collaboration becomes less restricted.

The Ainu have a strong link to the original inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago, commonly known as the Jōmon population, who migrated there over ten thousand years ago after the Ice Age. Some of these populations developed large-scale sedentary communities in the northern part of the archipelago, which continued until the effect of migration and influence from Asian mainland became dominant there, beginning about 1,200 years ago. In recent years, however, cultural continuity from the Jōmon period has been stressed not only among the indigenous population in Hokkaidō, but also in the northern part of Honshū.

Three wars were fought in Hokkaidō that are sometimes considered central to the conflict between the Ainu and the Japanese: the War of Koshamain in 1457, the War of Shakushain in 1669, and the War of Kunasir-menashi in 1789. In earlier times, in northern Honshū, the main island of Japan, indigenous leaders bearing Ainu names, Aterui (Atoroi) and More (Morai), were executed by the Imperial government based in Kyōto in 802 C.E. Subsequently, much of the northern part of Honshū fell under Japanese rule; an exception was its north-

ernmost region, Tsugaru, while the northern island of Hokkaidō remained isolated from Japanese control for centuries.

Ainu lands and the Ainu people were exploited during the Shogunate period (1603–1867), and the feudal Japanese government gradually extended its control over the island of Hokkaidō. Conflict over control of trade coupled with the need for political control in the face of Russian threat, and the Japanese government annexed the island of Hokkaidō by 1807. As for the Ainu in Tsugaru, they were forced to participate in the Japanese family registry as "Japanese" by 1806 (Tanaka 2000).

At the Meiji Restoration, the "new" Japan established a family registration system where commoners in general became *heimin* (ordinary people), but social outcast groups and aboriginal peoples were sorted into special subclasses. The Ainu in Hokkaido were thus dubbed *kyūdojin,* "former aboriginal people." In 1898, the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act was put into force, and this discriminatory law lasted until 1997. In spite of the pressure of assimilation the Ainu and their culture continued in the 1920s and 1930s. A movement was started by the Ainu for self-improvement, resulting in the establishment of the Hokkaidō Ainu Association in 1946. The last three decades of the twentieth century saw an Ainu-led cultural restoration movement, along with renewed interest by the Ainu in asserting their aboriginal rights (Ainu Association of Hokkaidō n. d.; Siddle 1999).

Ainu place names, evidence of continued Ainu settlement, are densely found throughout Hokkaidō and northern Honshū, Sakhalin, and Kuriles. Nevertheless, within these traditional territories Ainu culture and language differ significantly (Hokkaidō Ainu Culture Research Centre 1996, 10–11; for Ainu place names in northern Honshū, see Yamada 1993). Some regions such as Tsugaru of northern Honshū, moreover, have developed a hybrid culture and a distinct indigenous identity, due to centuries of assimilation and contact with the outsiders (Tanaka 2000).

Ainu Cosmology

The Ainu sacred verses, *kamuy yukar,* contain expressions indicating the intimacy of the Ainu with the sky world, a sense of freedom from gravity, and the deep conviction that their true home is somewhere in the heavens among the stars. This sense of freedom may stem from the fact that the Ainu were once sailors and sea traders, not limited by the boundaries of the land. This seagoing outlook is ingrained in their traditional life. The name they give their hearth is related to the sea: The wooden frame around it, which is used for placing food from the large pot over the fire at the center, is called *i-nun-pe,* which means "to fish." In epic poetry, the ashes in the hearth are often compared to seawater (Chiri 1973b, 41).

The Ainu believe that the sun, moon, and stars are ships, traveling in the sky. The Ainu cradle, *shinta,* is also seen as a ship: One lullaby contains the verse "the sleeping ship has come down, *ho-chip, ho-chip*"; the refrain *ho-chip* is derived from *ho-chipo,* "row the boat!" The immediate presence of the stars and the sky, a kind of cosmic awareness, permeates traditional Ainu life, just as the sea currents and river streams do.

The *shinta* is also the spaceship of the gods who visit the Ainu land from the Upper World. In a sacred poem called Shower of Embers, a deity, son of the thunder god, or the dragon god, in high heaven, descends to the land of human beings riding a shinta. When he finds himself unwelcome in an Ainu village, he hits the "head" and "tail" of the shinta, and pulls its ropes fore and aft, sending down showers of rocks and burning embers, and eventually destroying the whole village (Kayano 1977, 264–266).

The sacred sites in different regions, where the divine culture heroes of various groups of Ainu descended from the sky or ascended back to it, also reflect the complex of beliefs about the sky. In the Nibutani area for instance, there is a sacred mountain that is believed to be the place of descent of the divine culture hero Okikurumi.

Another important set of beliefs concerns the origin of the Ainu people: They are the children of the fire goddess, *chi-kisa-ni-kamuy,* "we make firewood (witch elm)." The fire goddess is the closest of the *kamuy,* "spirits," to the Ainu, and she was the first kamuy who descended from the sky world to the human world when that world was created. The Ainu offer prayers to the fire first in all ceremonies and rituals, because they believe that the fire goddess can convey a human message to other deities, even

when the human power of expression is inadequate. Drinking water is also believed to be the breast milk of the fire goddess. Yet no matter how close she is to her worshippers, the fire goddess is among the most sacred of the kamuy. She is the goddess of light—the source of life—in charge of not only burning fire but also the warm rays of the sun. She is thus depicted as possessing a golden fan with burning sunlight on one side and the burning flames of fire on the other (Haginaka 1980, 25–28; Chiri 1973e, 364–365).

The Tusukur: The Ainu Spirit Medium

Ainu shamanism may have developed from an earlier system, in which shamans who specialized in soul flight coexisted with those who specialized in spirit possession, and the two kinds of shaman complemented each other, but in more recent times female trance mediums, commonly known to the Ainu as *tusukur,* have become the norm. *Tusu* means "shamanic practice of possession," and *kur* is an honorific meaning "person"; hence *tusukur* means "honorable person who conducts shamanic practices" (Irimoto 1997, 30). The tusukur diagnoses and heals diseases through trance possession, during which kamuy and ancestral souls can reside in her, and she possesses knowledge of the spirit world, taboos, and medicinal herbs. Some of them are also clairvoyants who search for lost things, fortune-tellers who interpret dreams, and midwives. Based on the documentation on Hokkaidō Ainu shamans, it seems that their role in modern times has been more or less confined to pragmatic issues such as curing the sick or locating lost things, and has not involved public performance or ceremonial matters.

Tanaka (2000) points out the problems inherent in the study of present-day Hokkaidō Ainu culture due to internal conflicts, fragmentation of traditional knowledge, stereotyping, and gender inequity. It has come to be widely believed among the Hokkaidō Ainu that it is inappropriate for Ainu women to pray to kamuy, and if they wish to do so they must ask Ainu men. Moreover, the Ainu, as a result of long suppression of their spiritual practices and beliefs, tend to deny the value of their shamanic heritage and the existence of living shamanic practitioners. Those who have studied the history of Ainu shamanism have concluded that the present male-dominated ceremonial and ritual practices of the Hokkaidō Ainu are a result of coming into contact with the feudal Japanese, who came under the influence of Confucianism and its patrilineal system during the Edo period (1603–1867). Despite that influence, a great Ainu female shaman like the late Aiko Aoki of Nibutani was especially revered by her own people because she preserved within herself an essence of Ainu heritage that could be neither commodified nor exhibited in a material way.

Ainu Terms for the Shaman

The Ainu may have borrowed the term *saman* directly from their northern neighbors, the Tungus-speaking peoples in Siberia. However, the word took on a different meaning among the Ainu. *Yai-sama,* for example, is a spontaneous oral poetry meaning "I-*saman* (I-sing-myself)." Again, the Ainu trial by ordeal of boiling water is called *saimon,* indicative of a link with Siberian shamanism. The otter is called *e-shaman* in Ainu, and Chiri suspects a link between the animal and shamanic divination techniques using otter skulls, called *e-shaman-ki* (Chiri 1973e).

Among the Ainu, persons with spiritual abilities are named according to the abilities they display. According to Nagai Hiroshi, the Nibutani Ainu recognize several varieties of spiritual ability: *tusu* (trance possession), *u-e-inkar* (clairvoyance), *u-e-potar* (incantation and curse), *tek-e-inu* (the healing hand), and *imu* (a kind of spontaneous trance). Of these, tusu and u-e-inkar are key attributes of a shaman, and therefore persons with these abilities are called *tusukur* and *ueinkarkur,* where the honorific *kur* means "person," as already noted. In practice a person may have more than one shamanic ability, as was the case with Aiko Aoki, who had all of the abilities listed above. (For documentation on Aiko Aoki's work, see Nagai 1983).

In short, when we ask what the Ainu term for a shaman is, we find something analogous to the Inuit terminology for snow: a paucity of general, overall terms, but a rich selection of more specialized vocabulary. Yet that does not mean that the Ainu failed to distinguish those particularly gifted and skilled in shamanic talents from the rest. It is simply that the people

most vital to the shamanic heritage are not necessarily given the most obvious label for a shaman, tusukur. Midwives, *i-ko-inkar-kur,* literally "it-that which-see-persons," played a crucial role in transmitting the spiritual and medico-physiological wisdom and skills of the Ainu people. Aoki Aiko of Nibutani was an expert tusukur, ueinkarkur, and a fluent Ainu storyteller, but what made her truly professional was her training as a midwife. Under this category, Aiko was master of the highly esoteric aspects of Ainu traditional medicine, permeated with both spiritual learning and biological and medical knowledge, including knowledge of pharmaceutical and neurological science. While the term *ikoinkarkur* does not designate an overall shamanic category, in practice midwives have come to be the most important and loyal keepers of the sacred heritage of the Ainu (Nagai 1983, Tanaka 2000).

Initiation and Training

Traditionally, every extended family relied on a tusukur; every community recognized spiritual experts, including midwives. Even though the use of shamans is no longer widespread, scholars still have been able to gather evidence from the early twentieth century of what was and is involved in the initiation and training of those who become shamans. An initial illness, termed *spirit illness*, may appear in some cases when a person becomes a tusukur; spirit illnesses may also come at a later stage in one's shamanic career. A life crisis due to physical illness or some other misfortune often contributes to the development of shamanic power, regardless of age. In Aiko Aoki's case, after a cancer operation in her forties she became ueinkarkur (clairvoyant) and no longer needed to undergo possession by spirits. Equally important in the development of shamanic power is training in dream interpretation, which may also involve a gradual process of learning, beginning with discussion among family members about the meaning of particular dreams. Those skilled at interpreting dreams are also said to have special spirit helpers (Nagai 1983).

Initiation and training appear to be a gradual process of learning tasks and responsibilities one by one. Initiation may be marked by prayers offered by a male elder or a relative, but there can be more than one initiation, as there is more than one ability or skill to master. Although it was customary in the past to involve a male elder in the initiation of a novice shaman, today, due to the shortage of male elders capable of fulfilling this function, female shamans do initiate novices by themselves, in the presence of witnesses.

Dreams

The Ainu still consider dreams to be manifestation of the sacred. Having dreams is essential to figuring out the course of things in general, but especially so for matters concerning subsistence, such as hunting. Traditionally, when Ainu men went hunting, *matagi,* their activities were guided by dreams they had in the mountains. Dreams are often interpreted in discussion with people around, such as other hunters or family members. If one wishes to have a message delivered during one's sleep, one prays to deities before one goes to sleep, so that one can have a meaningful dream (Fujimura 1982, 100–102). Not all dreams are equally valid; many resemble individual hallucinations and fantasies. But some dreams carry messages, and some are even targeted at other people, or the community at large. The most memorable and impressive dreams are considered "true" dreams, dreams that carry an important message.

Regional Variation

It has been noted that there were major regional differences in the practice of shamans between Sakhalin and Hokkaidō. For one thing, the persistence of male shamans among the Sakhalin Ainu can be contrasted with the near-monopoly of women in Hokkaidō. Male Sakhalin Ainu shamans clearly showed the influence of Siberian shamanism, not only in their shamanic regalia, characteristically Siberian, but also in their practices and beliefs. Pilsudski described in 1905 how they healed diseases, protected against epidemics, restored good fortune in hunting, identified thieves, and predicted the fortune of a journey. Some shamans were said to be able to quiet storms and transform rough waves into wind, while others could control rain, thunder, and storms. In general, Sakhalin Ainu shamans seem to have retained a more individualistic and impressive display of shamanic ability in a much

less constrained way than has ever been ethnographically recorded of the Hokkaidō Ainu tusukur. Their style of performance was showy: They announced the arrival of helping spirits by imitating the roars and cries of wild animals, or the sound of trees in a storm. The shaman walked around the fire while praying and chanting, with rhythmical, quick steps, through the smoke and the scent from the fire, on which elm branches were placed (Ohnuki-Tierney 1974, 110–115; Pilsudski 1909).

The Role of Ritual

Traditional Ainu shamanism featured dramatic performances of sympathetic hunting and farming magic, rain and wind sacrifices, and other incantatory acts, accompanied by songs, dance, and music. The legacy of these dramatic performances can still be seen in the Ainu bear sacrifice, the *iyomante,* and the owl sacrifice. But in the past, similar ceremonies were done on a large scale for sea creatures of major significance such as whales, and even for dogs.

The contemporary Ainu iyomante involves capturing a cub, raising it in the village, and then killing it, thus sending it back to its spiritual home. In the past it was also a winter hunting ceremony conducted in the hunting ground after a successful hunting. The iyomante, literally "it-let go," used to include the wearing of the fresh bearskin by a young villager who reenacted the bear's behavior during the ritualized hunt. This bearskin dance was also commonly performed by the Matagi in northern Japan as part of their bear ceremony. Chiri speculated that this rather bizarre performance is a legacy of older, more fully dramatized forms depicted in sacred verses. During these performances shamans put on a mask and costume to disguise themselves as a bear and acted out, through dance and songs, the whole scenario of the bear ceremony, beginning with the bear coming out of its cave, wandering in the mountains where it is hunted by the hunter, and finally returning to the spirit world with gifts from humans (Chiri 1973b, 10–11).

Traditionally, personal rituals have been considered equally valuable. Few Ainu still offer rice and sake to the ancestral spirits whose presence was felt everywhere; in former times, however, carrying a sack full of rice and a small container of sake at all times was not peculiar to shamans but a practice of many ordinary women. This way of thanking the kamuy and maintaining a good relationship with them was as frequent and ordinary an activity as cooking and eating, since according to traditional Ainu belief one never ate alone: The belief was that even when food was only served to you alone, you were sharing it with the kamuy.

Imu

According to Chiri, the word *imu* is also found in the Giliyak language, in which it means "trance state." Chiri identified three uses of the word *imu* in Ainu (Chiri 1973g). First, *imu* is a broad designation for a reactive response, such as jumping when surprised at something, speaking nonsense words, or the nonsense words themselves. These nonsense expression bear no apparent logical connection to the immediate context or situation. They vary individually, yet tend to be a vulgar expression such as *heppe,* "sexual intercourse." These are manifestations of a light degree of imu.

The second usage of the term *imu,* common among medical researchers, designates a spontaneous "hysteric reaction" found specifically among the Ainu. This reactive hysteria can be divided into two types: imperative negativism and echolalia, or mirroring. Imperative negativism is active defiance of external stimuli, such as responding by saying the opposite, left as opposed to right for instance. Echolalia is a repetition of the words, mirroring a mimicry of the actions of the communication partner or object of attention. Chiri reported that among the Sakhalin Ainu, the latter type of imu was more common. Reported examples from Sakhalin include cases where a hunter catching a seal on the ice imitated its writhings, and a person observing an airplane in the sky imitated its flight.

The third type of imu, semantically the oldest, describes the jumping in ecstasy a shaman automatically performs when entering an altered state of consciousness. This type of imu may be observed both before and after a tusu session. Imu was considered by the Ainu to be possession by a spirit and was seen as dangerous unless ritually controlled. The "jump" may or may not be manifested physically, but is often a brief possession phenomenon, as was the case with Aiko Aoki. It made her respond to ques-

Ainu men capture a bear and then threaten it with bows and arrows as part of the Ainu bear ceremony, Hokkaido, Japan. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

tions in an altered state of consciousness. Aiko's imu included what she herself called *sakibashiri no imu,* the forerunning imu: She would often answer questions yet to be delivered, or speak words someone else was about to say. In this sense, tusu and imu can be very close; yet imu does not seem to produce a complete sung-narrative form as tusu does (Nagai 1983).

A woman who experiences the brief trance-like state called imu is called an imu woman, *imu-huchi,* "snake-possessed" old woman. If someone becomes imu, as becoming subject to such states is called, she has two choices: to become a tusukur or remain as an imu; and if she chooses the latter, she may go insane. In order to avoid this danger, an imu woman may become tusukur by means of a formal ritual involving the advice of a mature tusukur, or she may request the elders to initiate her as a tusukur. Thus, while the phenomena of imu and tusu can be quite similar in some cases, the persons who are identified with these functions have very different roles: one, the tusukar, is a divine healer, and the other is, at best, a "comedian." Irimoto concluded that "Ainu society has a structure for integrating all individuals into society by offering a specific social role to the *imuhuchi* who fail to become *tusukur*" (Irimoto 1997, 35–36).

Shamanic Verses

Ainu oral literature can be classified into two main categories, prose and poetry. Of the two, only the poetic forms are called *yukar,* originally derived from *yuk-kar,* "to imitate the prey." According to Haginaka Mie (1980), *tusu-sinotca,* the shaman's song produced dur-

ing the tusu, was considered the general basis of Ainu yukar. These tusu-sinotca were originally spontaneously delivered prophecies or divinations for specific occasions, but some of them enjoyed broad circulation and further refinement over time and entered the repertoire of Ainu oral literature in various epic styles, as *oyna* or *kamuy yukar* (Chiri 1973c, 239, Haginaka 1980). *Yukar* are further divided into two categories, *kamuy-yukar,* sacred verses, and *yukar,* epic poetry. Our discussion here focuses on kamuy-yukar, the most ancient and ornate form of all Ainu oral literature, created and transmitted primarily by women, which uses classical Ainu vocabulary and phrases, *atomute-itak,* "decorative words" (Chiri 1973a, 164).

Kamuy yukar can be broadly subdivided into two types, kamuy-yukar and oyna. Thus, they are both first-person narratives sung with refrains known as *sake-he,* but they have major differences. While the pivotal characters of kamuy-yukar are natural deities—animals and natural forces such as fire, wind, and thunder—those of oyna are half-human and half-god, culture heroes of the Ainu whose names vary in different regions. Kamuy-yukar thus reflect the beliefs that beings and forces of nature are equal to humans and that the two are kin, at least to the extent that a totemic relation can exist between them; and that the deities manifest themselves in various forms to the eyes of humans, though in another world they take human shape. Oyna, however, reflects a more hierarchical structure within Ainu society, in which the influence of a powerful man, a shaman-chief, can determine the well-being of the clan society. Thus Chiri considered the kamuy-yukar type to have existed prior to the oyna, since the latter assumes human superiority over kamuy, culture over nature (Chiri 1973a, 156–157).

It is possible that the concept of oyna was introduced to the Ainu from their northern neighbors and came to acquire a different meaning among the Ainu. Corresponding to the Tungustic word *saman,* Yakut has *oyuna* (Eliade 1964, 4). If the term *oyna* comes from *oyuna,* that may explain why sacred verses in general are called *oyna* among the northern Ainu, including those in Sakhalin.

Oyna is moreover linked to the act of crying, which is seen as a divine phenomenon, as evidenced in such expressions as *cishi-oyna-kar,* "to cry to become *oyna*" and *cishi-kamuy-kar* "to cry to become a god." Female shamans may have specialized in crying to gain divine power, as some yukar depict: Princess Moisam in a Sakhalin Ainu poem entered the shamanic state of consciousness via crying; shaking her head and body as she cried, she began singing divine songs (Chiri 1973a, 162). This function has been preserved in funeral services, as crying women, *ray-cis-kar-a,* literally, "for death-cry-continue" (Hokkaidō History Museum 1973, 6).

Shamanic Performance, Dress, and Instruments

There are two kinds of traditional Ainu dance, both with magico-religious functions. The first is a large shamanic procession to scare away demons, and the second is a shaman's dance on ceremonial occasions. Contemporary Ainu dances such as the *niwen-apkas* (confrontation walk), *tap-kar* (foot dance), *horippa* (jump dance), and *rimse* (circle dance) are all derived from shamanic processions. These dances characteristically emphasize heavy steps or jumping, in order to ward off demons and get the attention of the spirit guides, in cases of individual duels, war, natural disasters, and accidental death or injury. Indeed, these processions and dances often accompany ritualized cries that appeal to deities, such as "Whooooy! Wooooooooy!" and characteristically employ gestures indicating confrontation and jumping movements. On the other hand, the *hetchiri* (bear dance) and other animal dances trace their origins to the shaman's dance. *Tonkippo-harae* and *arahukkun* are descended from incantatory drama: The former is an imitation of war, performed originally at the farewell feast in anticipation of success, and the second is a dance to exhaustion by two women, a mimicry of a duel to the death between two warriors (Chiri 1973c, 241–243, 1973f, 34–47).

These dances and shamanic performances traditionally used drums, *kaco,* though in the more recent past only the Sakhalin Ainu appear to have maintained these. The women who play drums are called *kaco-ta-mat,* and there is even a yukar with that title. Drums have been conspicuous by their absence among the Hokkaidō Ainu. However, the Hokkaidō Ainu do beat the wooden frame of the hearth with

sticks, *rep-ni,* when they sing yukar, and beat the *sintoko* (a large lacquered round container for sake) with their hands as women sing and dance. Sometimes, in both Sakhalin and Hokkaidō, men lie flat on their backs and cover their eyes with one hand, and beat their stomachs as they sing (Haginaka 1980, 75–76).

The *mukkuri* (or *muhkn* in Sakhalin), a mouth-harp, is a common shamanic instrument in Siberia, and the sound it produces has a modulated vibration, making it sound like a heartbeat, or spirit voices; mastery of the mukkuri is considered a major accomplishment. To this day, Ainu handle a mukkuri very carefully, in the belief that mistreating it will bring bad luck.

The *tonkori,* a large three- or five-stringed instrument, is said to be from the Sakhalin Ainu, and it too has shamanic origins; today, however, it is played only by a few. The Ainu have also enjoyed Russian string instruments such as the balalaika (Ohnuki-Tierney 1974, 50–51).

It appears that the traditional Ainu had a clear idea of the costume appropriate for a shaman, which included a sacred hat, sacred dress, and sacred gloves. This is indicated, for example, in the manner in which their shamans are depicted in sacred verses. Okikurumi, an Ainu culture hero, is half-human and half-god, and he can be identified as such by the way he dresses: He wears an *atushi,* a cloth made of elm bark fiber with flames along the hems, the collar, the cuffs, and the lower hem, as well as the hem of the hat and the scabbard of his sword. As indicated by the name Okikurumi, "the one with shining fringes," his dress was fire-rimmed and decorated with *sep-piranka,* beautiful metal ornaments (Chiri 1973a; Phillipi 1982, 388).

Ainu dress, decorated in spirals and wave-shapes with bright colors around the neck, at the wrists, at the back, and at the bottom, is said to reflect the belief that they are the children of the fire goddess, *chikisani-kamuy.* Just as was the case with the dress of Okikurumi, these designs represent the invisible fire and sparks that protect the Ainu who wear them. Ainu designs include eyes to signify life, in front of the headband, *matanpushi,* or on the back of their dresses.

The props for the shamanic performance include tobacco or smoke, sake, *iku-pasui* (prayer stick), *tuki* (sake-bowl), and fire. *Inaw* (shaved wood sticks) are also used.

Sake is an important element in all ceremonies for the Ainu. To this day the making of sake is the responsibility of Ainu women. Before rice became regularly accessible, the Ainu used coarser grains such as millet to make their wine. Although today women tend to be barred from the ceremonial space where men offer prayers to deities, their significance as the servers of the intoxicant, sake, signifies their earlier, more prominent role: The female shamans may have used sake to soften the minds of men who were feasting, since feasts usually involved some kind of political negotiation.

Although Ainu today offer inaw to altars rather than using them in shamanic performances, in the past, at least in some regions, they held inaw in their hands as they shamanized. An inaw might be held in a shaman's left hand in Hokkaidō, or as was reported of the Sakhalin Ainu, the shaman might hold the inaw in both hands and move them in the air (Pilsudski 1909).

There is a story that the first inaw were a pair, male and female, given from heaven to the Ainu (Nevski 1991, 169–178). Another theory (Chiri 1973b, 27) suggested that the inaw was originally a wooden stick, with a power animal such as the snake or the owl attached to it at the top, so that a shaman could become that animal. The stick later became shaved wood representing a particular animal, and even though the function is no longer remembered, it may be reflected in the existence of inaw with shavings resembling owl head feathers.

However, a contemporary Ainu shaman may not need any of these accoutrements, since possession may be spontaneous, or there may not be any trance possession at all if the female shaman is clairvoyant. It is a mistake to think that shamans must conduct a séance in order to deliver a divine message, or that their shamanizing must signify an absolute departure from the ordinary sequence of things. The full set of regalia and instruments are certainly not required in every case.

Contemporary Practices

A critical review of studies of Ainu shamans reveals the highly complex nature of their present existence and historical evolution. In reality, the classifications the contemporary Ainu themselves make about shamanic practices are far

from rigid, and their discourse about shamans tends to be guarded, cautious, and allusive. This is understandable and justifiable, given the socioeconomic circumstances they have been placed in by the Japanese rule.

A New Life in Art

Religious practices that continue to this day thus tend to be justified in association with public ceremonials such as the iyomante, while those who adhere to traditional "magical" beliefs and practices, especially females, appear to be ostracized within Ainu community. Many of the shamanic heritage and customs discussed above can be observed in museums and through public events, yet their association with shamanic beliefs and practices may only be implicit in the explanations given of them by the participants, if not overtly denied (Tanaka 2000).

The iyomante is rarely conducted today, and whenever it is performed, it is conducted in the village with a captured cub rather than at the hunting ground. It has also come to be held during the winter, though it was originally a sacrifice offered to the mountain god at the beginning of the winter, probably around the time of the winter solstice. The iyomante is, however, acquiring a new life on stage as a musical drama performed by an Ainu fusion music group, Moshiri, which has been influential in the Ainu ethnic revival. In fact, it is through neutral, artistic expressions such as dance, music, and storytelling, that the majority of contemporary Ainu may retain the most immediate access to the transformative, magical power that permeated and enriched the lives of their ancestors, however fragmented such knowledge and activities may have become.

Sakurako (Sherry) Tanaka

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Japanese Shamanic Music; Japanese Shamanism; Spirit Possession; Trance, Shamanic; Tsugaru Shamanism

References and further reading:

Ainu Association of Hokkaidō. N.d. *Brochure on the Ainu People.* Sapporo: Ainu Association of Hokkaidō.

Chiri Mashiho. 1973a. "Ainu no shinyo 1" [Ainu sacred verses 1]. Pp. 153–222 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū* [Writings of Chri Mashiho], vol. 1. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973b (1954). "Yukara no hitobito to sono seikatsu" [The people of yukar and their lives]. Pp. 5–64 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū,* vol. 3. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973c (1955). "Ainu." Pp. 231–244 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 3. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973d. "Ainu-go ni okeru boin-chōwa" [Vowel harmony in Ainu language]. Pp. 201–225 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 4. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973e. "Bunrui Ainu-go jiten—ningen hen" [Classified Ainu language dictionary—humans]. In *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973f. "Ainu ni densho sareru kabushikyoku ni kansuru chosa kenkyū" [Research on songs and dances transmitted by the Ainu]. Pp. 6–126 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 2, Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973g. "Juso to kawauso" [Shaman and otter] Pp. 193–223 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fitzhugh, William W., and Chisato O. Dubreuil, eds. 1999. *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People.* Washington, DC: Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Fujimura Hizakazu. 1982. *Ainu no rei no sekai* [The spirit world of the Ainu]. Tokyo: Shōgaku-kan.

Haginaka Mie. 1980. *Ainu no bungaku yukara eno shotai* [Invitation to Yukar, Ainu literature]. Sapporo: Hokkaidō shuppan kikaku sentā.

Hokkaidō Ainu Culture Research Centre, ed. 1996. "Itak: hanasu (To speak)." In *Pon Kanpi-sos*, vol. 1. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Ainu Culture Research Centre.

Hokkaidō History Museum. 1973. *Minzokuchosa hokoku-sho, shiryo-hen 1* [A report on cultural study], vol.1. Sapporo: Hokkaidō History Museum.

Irimoto Takashi. 1997. "Ainu Shamanism." Pp. 21–46 in *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and

Yamada Takako. Sapporo: Hokkaidō University Press.
Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako, eds. 1997. *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism.* Sapporo: Hokkaidō University Press.
Kayano Shigeru. 1977. *Honoo no uma* [Fire horse]. Tokyo: Suzusawa shoten.
Nagai Hiroshi. 1983. *Ainu Osan-bachan no upashikuma* [An old Ainu midwife's words of wisdom]. Tokyo: Jushin-sha.
Nevski, Nicholai. 1991. *Ainu Folklore.* Translated by Uoi Kazuyoshi. Sapporo: Hokkaidō shuppan kikaku sentā.
Nogami Fusako. 1992. *Ureshipa-moshiri eno michi* [The road to the land of harmonious coexistence]. Tokyo: Shinsei-sha.
Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. 1974. *The Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Southern Sakhalin.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
Phillipi, Donald L. 1982. *Songs of Gods, Songs of Humans: The Epic Tradition of the Ainu.* San Francisco: North Point Press.
Pilsudski, Bronislav. 1909. "Der Shamanismus bei den Ainu-Stämmen von Sakhalin" [Sakhalin Ainu shamanism]. *Globus* 95: 72–78
Siddle, Richard. 1999. "Ainu History: An Overview." Pp. 67–73 in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People.* Edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil. Washington, DC: Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution.
Tanaka, Sakurako. 2000. "The Ainu of Tsugaru: Indigenous History and Shamanism of Northern Japan." Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia.
Yamada Hidezo. 1993. *Tohoku Ainu-go chimei no kenkyu* [A Study on Ainu place names in Northern Honshū]. Tokyo: Sōfūkan.

CHEJU-DO ISLAND SHAMANISM (KOREA)

Cheju-do Island is a large volcanic island that consists of the crown, cape, and spurs of majestic Halla Mountain, whose peak is at the island's center at almost 6,400 feet above the surrounding seas. This 700-square-mile, oval-shaped island in the northern reaches of the East China Sea, stands upon a granite ridge that stretches some 80 miles southwest from the Korean peninsula. Cheju Islanders speak a distinctive dialect of Korean, hardly understandable to the mainland Koreans. Due to its geographical isolation, Cheju Island has kept its indigenous culture and shamanistic heritage alive to some extent, even into the twenty-first century. Originally Cheju Island was the Tamna Kingdom, which managed to maintain autonomy until the early twelfth century, when it was subjugated by the mainland state during the Koryo period. The Choson period (1392–1905) saw the thorough colonization of Cheju Island. It was under the banner of Confucianism that Choson legitimated the violent subordination of the Cheju Islanders. The magistrates of Cheju Island implemented a restructuring policy for Confucian reformation of indigenous customs and religion. They degraded local shamanism as the barbaric superstition of an unenlightened folk and demolished the shamanic shrines. In 1702, a newly appointed magistrate, Lee Hyongsang, burned down 129 shrines and banished over 400 shamans to the countryside, where they were forced to labor on farms. Shamanic practices were subjected to these repressive measures, which were continued during the Japanese colonial period and most recently in the Anti-Superstition Campaign in the 1970s. Even though the old practices did to some extent die out, they were never completely destroyed, and since 1980 they have been revived, as will be explained more fully at the end of this entry. Hence, this is not only a historical tradition, but is also ongoing.

The people of Cheju Island have long been engaged in a struggle to maintain their indigenous identity as powers from the peninsula have encroached upon the island. The shamanic belief in the deities of village shrines, *tang,* and their myths, *ponp'uri,* reveal typically the indigenous sense of cultural autonomy and historical independence. The indigenous people perceive Cheju Island as a single universe where gods and spirits dwell. The shamanic shrine, tang, is the center of the religious life in the villages. Thus, in the native term, shamanism is referred to as "the belief in the shrine." There are several shrines in a village. The central shrine is the shrine for "the lord of the original land" *(ponhyang),* who is worshipped as a mythic ruler over the village land, holding the register of the births and deaths of the village people. The rest of shrines

are built for the deities who help in activities such as farming, fishing, and animal husbandry that form the people's livelihood or who heal children's diseases. These shamanic deities of village shrines are usually related to each other as a mythical family. The village people call the shrine deities with reverence and awe by the name of ancestors, *chosang* and believe themselves to be their descendants, *chason.* The ancestor-descendant relationship between the central shrine deity and the villagers embodies the territorial bond of supernatural nationhood centering on the shrines. As the shrine myths are recited regularly at the shrine ceremonies by the shaman, *simbang,* who is appointed by the villagers, the Cheju people themselves reconstitute the cultural identity of the shrine deity as the lord of their own ancestral land.

Cheju Island's shamanic mythology is a unique phenomenon to the extent that it preserves the perfect epic structure, which appears rather rarely in the shamanism of the mainland (Cho 1997, 49). There are three types of shamanic myths: general myths regarding the genesis of the cosmos, the human fate of life and death, and the afterlife; myths of village shrine deities; and myths of clan ancestors. Among them, it is the myths of village shrine deities, *ponhyang ponp'uri,* that represent the indigenous conceptions of identity and history. There exist around 270 shamanic shrines and accompanying myths on Cheju Island (Hyon 1992). The shrine myths reveal the genealogical relationship among the shrine deities and also the spatial relationship among the shrines. Shrine deities are divided into three genealogies that depend on their birth origin: Grandmother Kim Paekchu and her sons, Halla Mountain gods who were born by themselves from caves in the mountains, and Seventh-day or Eighth-day Goddesses who became the wives of Grandmother Kim's sons or the wives of gods or mountain gods. The titles of these goddesses stem from the day in the month on which ritual offerings are made to them.

The common motives of ponhyang ponp'uri are concerned with the founding of a mythical family and its division over generations. The male deities, who represent the indigenous people, marry the female deities, who are portrayed as foreigners from the mainland. Their offspring deities are characterized as exiles who were abandoned at an early age by parent deities but later triumphantly returned home. The epic story ends with the death of the parent deities and the establishment of a new social order by the offspring deities. The epic fate of the protagonists becomes congruent with the historical identity of the audience Cheju people as *exiles* from the mainland of Korea.

In terms of historical context, the mythical family's division over generations reflects the spatial diffusion of villages and their shrines. The congruence of the genealogical and spatial relationships among the shamanic shrines and deities is well delineated in the case of the shamanic myths of the Songtang village shrines. The shrine deities of the Songtang are considered as the apical ancestors in the mythical genealogy in the northern region of Cheju Island. They constitute the mythical family of mother Kim Paekchu, father Sochonguk, and their son Songguksong. Kim Paekchu's 18 sons, 28 daughters, and 378 grandchildren became shrine deities all around the island. This gradually multiplying number of descendants attests to the mythical figurations of an ideal portrait of Cheju Island as a single-genealogy community.

Cheju people believe that although the world is divided into two realms, this world *(isung)* and the Otherworld *(chosung),* they are continually reflecting each other. Chosung is the place dead souls enter, regardless of their personal merits during their lifetime. If the spirit of the dead does not go easily into the Otherworld, it supposedly bothers the descendants by possessing them. Shamanic rituals such as *kwiyang puri* (releasing an exile) and *chilchim* (clearing the roads to chosung) help to send the wandering ghosts to the Otherworld safely. During these rituals, all the ancestral spirits within the past five generations of a patrilineal family are invited to receive greetings from their descendants. Even in the Otherworld, the ancestors of the patrilineal kinship group continue to live together, and so they are called the Village *(maul).* Often chosung is portrayed together with the Buddhist Lotus Paradise *(kugrak).* In the case of chosung, however, there is no merit judgment in contrast to the Buddhist Paradise. Perhaps "the High Village in the Otherworld," where the ancestors enjoy a better life than in this world, might be the closest notion to the Lotus Paradise.

There are two types of shamanic rituals, one type based on the belief in soul loss and the

other type based on the belief in the will of spiritual beings. Soul loss is possible, people believe, because a human has three souls *(nok).* The case of soul loss frequently happens to children younger than fifteen years. When a child is frightened often during sleep or falls down, one of its souls is supposedly lost. The shamanic rite for soul return *(nok durim)* is performed in order to bring the lost soul back. If the rite of soul return is not effective, the shaman diagnoses the case as an affliction of evil spirits and conducts the exorcism rite, *p'udasi,* or appeases them with the pig sacrifice and the patient's trance dance, *younggam nori.*

However, the performative features of the shamanic ritual are best expressed in the *kut* rites, which combine various artistic forms of myth recitation, dancing, and orchestral percussion music. The *kut* rite is based on the belief in the benevolence of deities and ancestral spirits. The shamanic deities and spirits are hierarchically ordered in a pantheon, which is called a ceremonial ladder *(jet'dari).* The ceremonial ladder ranges from the cosmic deities such as Jade Sky Emperor and Buddhist Child Birth Grandmother to the specific local deities such as shrine deities, tutelary deities of clan, and ancestral spirits. The cosmic hierarchy of deities and spirits is reenacted in the ritual performances. For a grand ritual *(kun kut),* the shaman sets up altar shelves, *tangk'ul,* where the deities and spirits descend. The shaman hangs four wooden altar shelves from the ceiling, one for each of the four directions, in the central performance floor. Each tangk'ul represents a subcosmic world of four groups of deities and spirits: gods of heaven, the ten kings of the Otherworld, house and village tutelary deities, and the ancestral spirits of the sponsoring family. The four altar shelves together constitute a miniature cosmos.

The kut rite starts with the preparation of offering tables and the setting up of a high pole, a four- to five-meter bamboo tree with a white flag at one end. This pole is connected to the offering table inside the house by a long white cloth. Through the pole and the cloth, the deities and spirits descend from heaven and take seats on the altar shelves. After this preparation is done, the ritual performance begins with the invocation rite, *ch'ogamche.* Once all the deities and spirits are seated at the altar shelves, a single rite is performed in sequel for each deity following the ceremonial ladder: the Buddhist Child Birth Grandmother *(puldo),* the Sun and Moon *(ilwol),* the First Lord (*chokong,* or the tutelary deities of shamanic career), the Second Lord (*eekong,* or the manager of the magical flower garden in the Buddhist Western Land), the Ten Kings of the Underworld *(siwang),* the Third Lord (*samkong,* or the deities of human destiny), the Deity of Farming *(sekyung),* the House Guard Deity *(munjon),* the Deity of Original Shrine *(ponhyang),* and the Village (maul, or the ancestral spirits). Each individual rite is organized by the combination of three performance genres: myth recitation *(ponp'uri),* greeting rite *(maji),* and theatrical entertainment *(nori).* In short, the kut rite is organized in a precise order: the shaman explains the origin of the deities, greets them by purifying their way and treating them with offerings, appeases their anger through entertainment in order to alleviate human misfortunes, and in the end, sends them back to their original places (Hyon 1980).

The Cheju shaman is a hereditary shaman and thus does not use altered states of consciousness or drugs for shamanic powers. One becomes a shaman, a simbang, by inheriting this career from parents or their close kinship groups. The heir of the simbang career usually experiences initiatory disease and dreams as the sign of succession. Upon succession, the simbang receives a set of three divinatory implements, *sam maengdu* (the Three Bright Stars), which consists of a rattle, a set of a bronze cup and two coins, and two pairs of bronze knives 7.62 centimeters in size. Primarily they are used for divination, but they also symbolize the patron spirits of the simbang career. These divinatory implements are the genuine source of shamanic power, and thus revered as the simbang ancestor. The simbang sets up a personal shrine at home and keeps the divinatory implements inside it as if they were divine bodies. Along with the implements, the priesthood bound to a certain shrine and the client groups *(tan'gol)* are also inherited.

Usually the simbang novice starts apprenticeship training as an errand assistant and learns basic skills such as myth recitation and musical performance at the actual ritual ground. But in order to obtain the public title of simbang, the novice should have a formal initiation rite, *sinkut,* under the direction of a prominent sim-

bang who establishes a lifelong master-disciple relationship. During his or her lifetime, the simbang goes through three sinkut rites in order to become a fully qualified shaman with a respectable title as a "teacher simbang," whose name would be invoked at every shamanic ritual. Through this initiation rite, the simbang is also qualified as a "god-servant" *(sinchung)* who can enter *chosung sam hanul* (the Three Heavens in the Otherworld), a separate place reserved for the spirits of dead shamans in the heaven where the simbang's tutelary spirits, *sam siwang* (the Three Ten Kings of the Otherworld), reign. Sam siwang are the Otherworldly counterparts of the mythical figures, the Three Brothers of Straw Ashes, according to the myth of the First Lord. They are triple brothers born to a Buddhist monk sage father and a virgin mother from a noble family. By mythologizing their divine origin, the Cheju simbangs legitimize their separate identity as religious practitioners.

In spite of their divine origin, the Cheju simbangs hold an ambiguous social position in their society. While they are respected as priests, they are also looked down upon as village servants. The simbang's priestly role is manifest in the meaning of the term: *simbang*—the executor, or the agent, of divine rule. The simbang is primarily the deity's servant, but also serves the people on behalf of the deity. In the village society, the simbang is bound to the shrine, and the people respect the simbang as "the person who knows" how to worship shrine deities. However, this social respect for the simbangs is confined only to the ritual context. If the simbangs are the servants of shrine deities, it is assumed that they are also "the servants of villagers." In practice, the simbangs are socially isolated in the village life. They do not belong to any of the age or mutual aid groups, and they marry among themselves.

However, as contemporary democratic society banishes such social discrimination, the simbangs have begun to free themselves from their burdensome public status as shrine-bound priests and to dispense with the villagers' patronage. They prefer a freelance practice based on individual contacts with clients. The social ties between the simbangs and their clients have been superseded by individual contact for the resolution of private problems. Indeed, this process of secularization of the shamanic practice is closely related to the ongoing disintegration of the village community and the increasingly individualistic and materialistic value orientation of the clients.

Besides the impact of urbanization and tourism, two major historical events have influenced this historical change: the Cheju April Third Incident in 1948 and the Anti-Superstition Campaign during the national modernization movement in the 1970s. The April Third Incident in 1948 broke out initially as an armed uprising against the American Occupational Forces, but ended in massive destruction and civilian massacre (Kim 1989). During the incident, villages and shrines were burned down, and people were forced to leave their home villages. Even after their villages were rebuilt later on, few natives returned. Accordingly, the clientele of shrine worship dissolved, and the simbangs lost sponsorship and priestly authority. The Anti-Superstition Campaign in the 1970s accelerated this process.

It is quite a recent phenomenon for the Cheju people to rebuild their shrines and observe shrine ceremonies. In early 1980, the new government promoted the revitalization of folk culture. After the shrine ceremony at the Chilmori tang was designated as an Invisible Cultural Treasure in 1983, the village shrine ceremonies have been revived. Now the simbang has less priestly authority but enjoys more popular status as a cultural treasure. Whether or not contemporary practices preserve the "original" form of shamanic tradition, the Cheju simbangs continue to serve people. Cheju shamanism continues to persist, yet is refashioned in new ways according to the changing society.

Seong-nae Kim

See also: Korean Shamanism

References and further reading:

Chang, Chu-kun. 1973. *Han'guk ui minkan shinang—charyo pyon* [Korean Folk-Belief—Sources]. Tokyo: Kinkasha Publisher.

Cho, Dong-il. 1997. *Tong asia kubi sosasi ui yangsang kwa pyonch'on* [Oral Epics of East Asia: Features and Transformation]. Seoul: Munhak kwa Jisongsa.

Hyon, Kiron. 1981. *Chejudo changsu solhwa* [Legends of Generals on Cheju Island]. Seoul: Hongsongsa.

Hyon, Yong-jun. 1980. *Chejudo musok charyochip* [Sourcebook of Cheju Shamanism]. Seoul: Shinku Munhwasa.

———.1986. *Cheju musok yonku* [A Study of Cheju Shamanism]. Seoul: Chipmuntang.

———.1992. *Musok shinwha wa munhon shinwha* [Shamanic Myth and Literary Myth]. Seoul: Chipmuntang.

Kim, Seong-nae. 1989. "Lamentations of the Dead: The Historical Imagery of Violence on Cheju Island, South Korea." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 3, no. 2 : 251–286.

———. 1992. "Dances of *Toch'aebi* and Songs of Exorcism in Cheju Shamanism." *Diogenes* 158 (summer): 57–68.

———. 1995. "Iconic Power of Modernity: Reading a Cheju Shaman's Life History and Initiation Dream." Pp. 155–165 in *South Korea's Minjung Movement.* Edited by Kenneth Wells. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press.

———. 2000. "Mourning Korean Modernity in the Memory of the Cheju April Third Incident." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1, no. 3: 461–476.

JAPANESE SHAMANIC MUSIC

Japanese shamans and shamanistic practitioners have various names; they are called *itako, gomiso,* and *kamisama* on Honshu Island (the main island); *tsusu* in the Ainu culture on Hokkaido; and *yuta* and *noro* on Okinawa. In this article, the music of shamans in Honshu and Okinawa is described, specifically that of the itako and the yuta.

Itako are all women. The fundamental qualifications of an itako are that she must be blind, that she must be trained under a senior itako, and that she must be confirmed through an ascetic initiation rite. Because they are blind, itako do not possess marked visual or spatial concepts. Therefore, verbal and auditory expressions are central to their shamanistic practice. Itako are mostly known for their ability of *kuchiyose,* that is, of becoming possessed with spirits of the dead and then speaking out through the spirits of the dead. The spirits of the dead may be ancestors, close relatives, or children of the client. Itako may also be possessed by spirits of gods, living people, and animals. In their state of possession, besides kuchiyose, they practice faith healing, household exorcism, divination, prophecy making, locating missing articles, and spiritualism, as well as officiating at ceremonies.

Sutras Used for Itako Ritual

Uses of sound phenomena and/or music by itako alter according to the rituals observed. There are nearly twenty sutra chants. Some of these are used exclusively for healing, while others are used against illnesses, as well as for exorcism and other purposes. The different types of incantations and recitation sutras are listed below. (The word *sutra,* which usually refers to Buddhist scripture, is used for any incantation texts used by the itako shamans, although these texts are not necessarily related to Buddhism.)

1. Spirit talk *(kuchiyose)*
2. Incantations for Tutelary gods or Guardian gods of the local community *(ubusuna)*
3. Invocations for the gods *(kami-sandan)*
4. Sutra of man *(ningen kyō)*
5. Invocation of *Takamaga hara* Heaven
6. Chants for thirty-three *Kannon (sanjyu san Kannon)*
7. Rice-sprinkling sutra *(sango date)*
8. Counting of the shrines *(kuni gake)*
9. Invocation for curing illness (sutra for reducing fever)
10. Sutra for celebration of the New Year *(aratama)*
11. Epic of the god Oshira *(Oshira saimon)*
12. Sutra of Oshira *(Oshira kyo)*
13. Chants for the god Kompira *(Kompira Ichidaiki)*
14. The god Inari *(Inari-sama)*
15. Epic of the god Iwaki *(Iwakisan Ichidaiki)*

Sound World of the Itako

There are two categories of sounds produced by itako; one is vocal, and the other, instrumental.

Vocal Expression

Of vocal forms of expressions, three different styles can be differentiated: usual speech, parlando (a style of singing like speech), and melody. For the text settings, syllabic and psalmodic style is common, and even if there are prolonged tones at the ends of phrases, melismatic melodies are rare.

Rhythm. A basic, regular rhythm emerges when the string of the bow is tapped, prayer beads are rubbed, or a drum is struck. The number of syllables is organized corresponding to this basic beat. However, unlike European art music, no systematic meter is observed, which means that repeated groupings of beats by accented tone, such as 3/4 or 4/4 time, rarely occur. In some cases, the beats are arranged exactly according to the number of syllables of the words. When there is no basic beat, a kind of free rhythm emerges. This often happens in sections of *kudoki,* a speech by spirits of the dead.

The nature of the sutras is reflected in the tempo. *Hanako* is the sutra for calling the soul of a child who died young, and its melody is sad and the tempo is slow. *Hotoke okuri* is the sutra for sending off the soul to the other world, and the tempo is faster.

Tonal systems of Japanese shaman music. (Transcribed by Takefusa Sasamori)

Tonal System and Musical Melody. The smallest tonal system comprises three notes, of which the lower and higher notes form the interval of a perfect fourth. The largest tonal system contains seven notes; its lowest and highest notes form the interval of a minor tenth. Five different tonal systems are used (Ex.1).

Melodic Pattern or Phrasing. Melodic patterns are short. The combination of two or three patterns make a phrase, and the length of these phrases is also short. It has been noted that when such short phrases are repeated within five- to ten-minute periods, a hypnotic effect results. Some psychologists point out that long periods of recitation or chanting cause oxygen shortage in the brain, and hence can bring about hallucinatory imagery.

Intensity. Intonation is continuously flat and mumbled, with sudden, explosive bursts in a loud voice that occur when one or two syllables are uttered in a threatening way, especially occurring in sutras that are chanted to purify the physical body of evil spirits.

The vocal tone quality is generally tense and dark; a throaty voice is used.

Instruments

Itako use five kinds of instruments: (1) prayer beads *(jyuzu),* (2) a bow *(yumi),* (3) hand bells *(shakujyō),* (4) drums *(taiko),* and (5) smaller bells *(suzu)* that are attached to the Oshira god figures. The prayer beads are long, over two meters in length, wound twice around the hand. The required number of beads, typically Buddhist in style, is 324. Currently, the prayer beads of the itako are made of golden rain tree nuts. The beads are rubbed together, making sounds; in addition, various objects attached to them make rattling sounds. The sound-making objects include animal jawbones, skeletons, fangs, claws, horns, and old perforated coins. These objects are attached for the purpose of driving away evil and are thought to have a special spiritual power. The sounds they make produce unusual reverberations. The prayer beads are used by the Itako for keeping time, to mark the ending of a phrase, to imitate the sounds of nature, and to fill the pause between words or to cover up mistakes in the words. In addition to making sounds, they are also used to heal illness by rubbing them on the patient's body. After the spirit has left the itako's body, the itako uses the beads also on herself to purify impurities in her own physical body.

The bow is made of catalpa, mulberry, bamboo, or maple wood. Its string is composed of hemp, and includes three strands of female hair. Tapping the string of the bow with a thin

Itako shaman taps a bow (yumi) to call the spirits of the dead. (Courtesy of Takefusa Sasamori)

bamboo stick produces plopping sounds that call the spirits, who are said to be lured by such sounds. The hand bells (shakujyō) are a type of crosier, or pastoral staff. Several rings are hung onto the metallic frame. In the Buddhist ceremony, the long staff is used for walking, and a short staff is used to keep the metric rhythm when a sutra is recited. Itako use the short stick to drive evil spirits away. The drum, played in the same manner as a Shinto priest does, is used to drive away evil spirits by striking it particularly loudly and violently. The suzu, the small bells, are attached to the Oshira figure and make a clinking sound. They are shaken to cure illness; the timbre of the bells creates a mysterious atmosphere and produces a special effect on the patient.

Healing Methods

In order to cure illnesses, itako use a combination of three possible strategies: physical contact, the recitation of magical words, and chanting of sutras. Physical contact consists of massaging the patient's body with the prayer beads or patting the afflicted area with the Oshira figure. Itako have magical words, such as special words for taking objects out of the throat, words to take out poison when someone is bitten by a snake, or words for easy childbirth. It is not, however, the meaning of words but the manner of speaking and singing to the clients that is efficacious. By participating in a ritual held by the itako, the client can resolve his problems or find relief from physical pain. If a client absorbs the extraordinary sounds, both words and music, he will be able to hear the distant voices of the gods.

Okinawan Shamanism

Religious specialists in Okinawan shamanism can be divided into three broad categories: (1) noro, who preside over community-based ceremonies; (2) a group of shamans, called *yukinma, kudii, munchu-gami, umuringua,* and

kankakariya, who practice possession by spirit, and under the leadership of the noro, sing chants at community ceremonies; and (3) yuta, who are able to be possessed by spirits, and deal with family or individual problems; they are classified as a type of shaman in the narrow sense of the term. These three categories are the prototypical classifications, but in actuality, their roles often overlap each other. Therefore the music they perform shows various styles. The sphere of Okinawan culture is large, and it extends to the Amami Islands in Kagoshima Prefecture. This sphere is named the Ryūkyū Arc. Because of this geographic and historical diversity, only typical features of Ryūkyū Arc music will be discussed here. Music such as Omoro, Niri, Ayo, and others that are performed by the noro or *tsukasa* (a type of noro priestess) are omitted from this article. The focus will be on the yuta, who deal with shamanic work: (1) prediction and fortunetelling, finding causes of illness, misfortune, and disaster; (2) faith healing *(mabui-gumi),* done by bringing back a healthy soul that has escaped from the body; (3) Calling of the spirits of the dead, and spirit talk, which is called *mabui-wakashi* (literally, "spirit talk"); and (4) prayers for protection from the gods.

Yuta Vocal Expression

Yuta go into trance uttering sounds of groaning, straining breath, gasps, screaming, and shrieking, and not only at rituals or on religious occasions. These sounds are generally combined with strong body motions. Intonations of words and sentences change as the state of mind changes; the voice gets high and low, soft and strong, is uplifted in a speaking style, and then changes into musical melody. The melodic patterns in yuta singing are individualistic in character, generally consisting of repeated short phrases, the organization of which are arbitrary. The yuta of Amami Island sing to set textual scripts. Among approximately twenty known chants, two exemplary chants are *Basha-nagane* and *Omoi-matukane.*

Basha-nagane is a long epic tale about the process of weaving the *basha* fiber (Japanese banana plant), used for making shaman robes for a yuta. She becomes a yuta by wearing a robe of basha. To wear the special robe is the right of the initiated shaman. The *Omoi-matukane* chant relates the biographical story of the legendary founder of yuta, who was named Omoi-matukane. By singing this chant, a yuta unites with the spirit of the founder. To sing and become united with Omoi-matukane is also the right of the initiated shaman. These long chants are used for going into a trance. Usually in the midst of chanting, yuta go into trance and then proceed into the next ritual. Unlike itako, yuta use one chant for several different rituals. *Basha-nagane* is chanted for faith healing, spirit talk, and prayers for a rich harvest. *Omoi-matukane* is used for divination, initiation rites, and the blessing of fire. Several chants are used for one particular ritual. For kuchiyose (calling of the spirits of the dead), both *Basha-nagane* and *Kusa-nagane* are used.

The following examples indicate the prevalence of the pentatonic scale in yuta chants. In one case observed by the author, a yuta, while talking about her ancestral spirit, suddenly had convulsions, spoke meaningless words while raising the pitch of her voice, whistled, groaned several times, and started to sing, at first in a parlando style, then in a melody. She sang "Kamino na ya, kamino, kamino kokoro ya" (Name of god. Heart of god! Guidance by god!). The tonal system of the melody is seven-tone, an octave and minor third interval, in anhemitonic (a scale with no semitones; i.e., one of the four pentatonic scales or a whole-tone scale) pentatonic scale (Ex. 2). The intervals between the tones were not exactly evenly spaced, only approximately. On the occasion of her initiation rite, a rite repeatedly observed by the author, a yuta walks into the waves of the sea in order to cleanse herself with water, and then sings short phrases of melody repeatedly. The tonal system is three-tone, a perfect fourth interval, using the pentatonic scale (anhemitonic pentatonic): mi sol la, and la as the tonal center (tonic) and mi as subdominant (Ex. 3). In another example, a *kankakariya* (shaman) in Miyako Island sang a song on the occasion of a Bundami ritual; the tonal system was five-tone, a major sixth interval, anhemitonic pentatonic, with sol as the tonal center (tonic) and re as subdominant (Ex. 4). In sum, the tonal systems of yuta songs as well as the itako are all in the anhemitonic pentatonic scale; none of the songs are sung in the so-called Okinawan scale—that is, do mi fa sol ti do (Ex. 5).

Instruments

Instruments similar to those utilized by the itako appear in the practices of Okinawan shamanism. The drum is held in the left hand and played, usually in a fast tempo, with a stick held in the right hand. In addition, Eulalia stalks (*susuki* grass) are shaken up and down, or whirled around in the air so that the rustling sound produces a trancelike atmosphere. The branches of Ryūkyū-Aoki (a type of laurel tree) are used by the tsukasa in Miyako Island, in the same manner and with the same effect. Prayer beads, a string of beads in usual Buddhist style, are rubbed by both hands during initiation rites.

Sasamori Takefusa

See also: Ainu Shamanism; Japanese Shamanism; Okinawan Shamans and Priestesses

References and further reading:

Bunka-cho [Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs]. 1986. *Miko no Shuzoku II* [Folklore of Spiritualistic Maiden]. Tokyo: Bunka-cho Bunkazai Hogo-bu.

Sasamori, Takefusa. 1989. "The Original Text and Variants of the Itako Sutra 'Kamiyose' [Invocation]." *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education* (Hirosaki University) 62: 43–56.

Sasamori, Takefusa. 1995. "The Use of Music in the Ritual Practices of the Itako, a Japanese Shaman." *Shaman* 3, no. 1 (spring): 41–54.

Sasamori, Takefusa. 1997. "Therapeutic Rituals Performed by Itako (Japanese Blind Female Shamans)." *The World of Music* 39, no. 1: 85–96.

Yamashita, Kin'ichi. 1979. *Amami-Setusa no Kenkyū* [Study of Amami Legends]. Tokyo: Hosei-daigaku Shuppan-kyoku.

JAPANESE SHAMANISM

The term *Japanese shamanism* refers to Japanese beliefs in spirit entities and the various methods by which certain individuals become empowered by and relate to these entities for the benefit of their ritual activities. The spirit entities may be of nonhuman origin, such as divine beings or animal spirits, or they may be of human origin, such as the spirits of dead or living persons. The manner by which a relationship between a spirit entity and a particular individual is established is instrumental in determining what kind of ritual activities the individual can engage in and what kind of requests the spirit entity is expected to answer. Most commonly the person functions as a medium, relating the will of a spirit entity either to a single client or to a group. The relationship between a spirit entity and its human partner may often be established by the sudden intrusion of the spirit entity, but the relationship may also be gained as a result of an extended ascetic training.

Most of the mediums are women, but in some cases men are preferred. Usually they are called by terms specific to the area where they live, but more common terms are *miko,* meaning "child of a divine being," *fujo,* "female medium," and *fusha,* "medium." Some scholars prefer to use *fujo* and *fusha* instead of the term *shaman,* because they think those terms better reflect the character of Japanese mediums.

A Brief Sketch of the History of Research

Traces of the activities of miko can already be found in very old documents, but they only become clear during the Edo period (1600–1868) and in premodern times. Beginning with the Meiji Restoration (1868) the government made every effort to build a modern enlightened state. It conceived of the miko as promoting superstition and, therefore, as being a hindrance for the development of a new Japan. Scholars were eager to learn from modern Western science and apply its methodology and results in support of the government's efforts. Therefore, they had little if any interest in studying indigenous traditions such as that of the miko, which they saw as remnants of a backward world that had to be relegated to the past. Early in the twentieth century, however, the miko began to attract the attention of some scholars who were searching for forms of Japanese religion that predated the advent of foreign religions, such as Buddhism, and offered clues for the reconstruction of an original Japanese religion. In this vein, Yanagita Kunio, early in his career as folklore scholar, wrote a series of essays, published in 1913 under the title *Thoughts about Miko,* in which he distinguished two kinds of miko (Yanagita 1969). One filled an official position as diviner at the seat of government or at important shrines *(jinja);* the other, a later derivation of the first, became popular among the

common people as a roaming diviner and religious practitioner who could answer their needs for religious or secular support.

Nakayama Tarō adopted Yanagita's distinction in his *History of Japanese Miko,* but preferred to refer to the official type of miko as *kannagi miko* (miko serving a deity), and the popular type as *kuchiyose miko* (miko through whose mouth a spirit speaks) (Nakayama 1930). Nakayama had assembled an impressive amount of source material in support of his argument, but his uncritical attitude in handling these sources met with serious criticism. Nevertheless, both the names and the definition of the two types of miko as he had proposed them became standard until, in the wake of Mircea Eliade's seminal work on shamanism, the focus of scholarly interest shifted from the typology of miko to the features of their initiation process and their psychological state.

At about the same time as the earliest interest in the miko, when the early folklorists endeavored to trace the history and describe the functions and activities of the miko within Japanese culture, some ethnologists had already begun to look beyond the borders of Japan in an attempt to understand the possible relationship of the miko phenomenon with other forms of shamanism in East Asia. In 1923, Torii Ryūzō pointed out in *The Primitive Religion of the Peoples Neighboring Japan* that the miko of Okinawa showed strong affinities with Korean and also Siberian shamans (Torii 1976, 334–335). He also noted that Shinto itself exhibited many features similar to those of Siberian shamanism, for example the concept of a three-tiered structure of the world consisting of the heavenly plain, the middle country, and the dark netherworld. He further suggested that if one wished to know what early Shinto might have been like, one could not disregard this kind of similarity with northern shamanism. Oka Masao, trained before World War II at the University of Vienna in the culture-historical method, attempted to identify in detail certain features in Japanese culture that suggested that the origin of the two main traditions of Japanese miko could be traced to two different cultures. He advanced the hypothesis that the professional miko in an official position belonged to a patrilineal northern culture, sometimes labeled a horse-rider culture, and that the popular miko of the kuchiyose type belonged to a matrilineal southern culture (Oka 1979, 23–31). These ethnological studies were not without methodological problems, but they succeeded at least in introducing the idea that the question of the Japanese miko should be studied in relation to shamanism in other cultures of East Asia.

The greatest stimulus for a more in-depth study of the miko, one that involved comparing them with other shamans in Asia, was not, however, the work of Oka or Torii but that of Eliade. When Eliade first published his groundbreaking *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy,* in 1951 [originally in French], he was aware of Oka's work, but he added a short section that included Japanese shamans only in the second edition. This book had a lasting effect, in that it provoked not only an immediate increase in both ethnographic and theoretical studies on Japanese shamanism, but also in that it is probably the reason that the terms *shamanism* and *shaman* came to replace indigenous Japanese terms such as *miko.* Hori Ichirō, the Japanese translator of Eliade's book, discussed the main types of Japanese shamans in the light of Eliade's arguments and came to the conclusion that the kuchiyose miko were not shamans in the strict sense because they did not experience ecstasy in their rituals (Hori 1975, 279–283).

As a result of the extensive fieldwork of Japanese scholars in mainland Japan, Okinawa, and the Amami Islands, it became necessary to broaden the concept of shaman in order to do justice to the variety of individuals who claim or are credited with direct access to spirits. It emerged in particular that possession and variations of it play a more important role in Japanese shamanism than ecstasy. These studies did much to help understand the initiation process, the circumstances of rituals, and the various types of shamanistic practitioners, but they were often mainly descriptive and confined to Japan. *The Anthropology of Shamanism* (1984) and some of the later work of Sasaki Kōkan is significantly different. His familiarity with the international discourse on shamanism and his fieldwork experience in many Asian countries enabled him to rethink the available definitions of shamanism and to point out that the categories *possession* and *ecstasy* are in considerable need of fine-tuning if they are to reflect the forms of contact with spirits practiced in Japan and elsewhere in Asia. In an effort to avoid creating an inappropriate image of Japanese

"shamanism" by using the "classic" term *shaman,* scholars in recent years are more and more returning to the use of vernacular terms because they find their meaning to be less ambiguous. These approaches have all mainly focused on the person in contact with spirits. An alternative and even more recent approach is discernible in social psychological studies like those of Ōhashi Hideshi (1998), who advocates the analysis of a shaman's function in society and what a society expects of a shaman.

Japanese Shamanism in Historical Perspective

It is said that shamanism is the basis of Japanese religious culture. There are hints in old documents that suggest a long history of shamanism, but the interpretation of such incidents is often problematic; in particular, one has to be careful not to draw rash conclusions based on direct comparison with phenomena observable today.

The *Kojiki,* the "Records of Ancient Matters" completed in 712, relate a famous episode that is said to have occurred in the eighth year of the reign of Emperor Chūai (192–200). Wanting to know the outcome of the campaign he was planning against the Kumaso, the emperor played the koto before the empress. The empress became possessed by a deity, who spoke through her mouth. The emperor, not believing the words of the deity, incurred its wrath and died shortly after the episode. This episode seems to suggest that high-ranking women at the imperial court could function as official diviners. It seems that for the purpose of divination they became possessed by a deity, who would make the requested pronouncements through them. The mediums would thus be in an official position and function as a means of imperial rule. Their official role as diviners was later continued by the miko active at the country's large and important shrines.

In medieval literature we encounter another type of miko, one who is active among the common people. The oldest reference to such a miko and her activity is said to be an episode in the *Eiga monogatari* (A Tale of Flowering Fortunes), a historical narrative from the eleventh or twelfth century. Fujiwara Norimichi, a court noble, has lost his wife in childbirth. Deeply distressed, his wife's mother and his wet nurse take a *konagi* (a miko) with them and go to a kuchiyose ritual, hoping to meet once more with the deceased. They are told through the konagi's mouth how sad it is for the wife to have had to die without being able to raise her child. Since the narrative notices explicitly that the two women went away in secret, this may be taken as an indication that women of high standing were not expected to resort to such a thing as kuchiyose, because it was something done by the common people. The scene differs from that of Emperor Chūai in that the spirit of a dead person speaks through the konagi, the medium, and there is no third person to call the spirit.

In medieval collections of tales such as the *Uji shūi monogatari* (A Collection of Tales from Uji) of the early thirteenth century we find narratives about still other spirits that reveal themselves in a human being. For example, there is a story about a person who was possessed by a spirit. A healer was called, and he transferred the spirit to a medium. When the spirit spoke through the medium, it disclosed that it was a fox and that it came to ask for some rice cakes. When the cakes were turned over to the possessed person and the healer had driven out the spirit, the person fell flat on the ground, and the cakes were gone. Here an animal spirit is transferred to a medium. Once there, it identifies itself and is then sent away, relieving the person from possession. In this case it is not the medium but the healer, a third person, who handles the spirit (Mills 1970, 218–219).

The examples mentioned share as a common feature that the spirit makes an ad hoc appearance. However, in certain regular ritual contexts, such as some shrine festivals or performances of *kagura* (ritualized dances), the appearance of a spirit is induced. At such occasions the divine spirit is expected to appear at a set moment in the ritual and to foretell the outcome of the harvest or to promise the villagers protection against any kind of misfortune. The spirit is made to come upon a person chosen and prepared for the occasion, and speak through it, but the person need not be a professional medium. These rituals may have a long history, but it is often difficult to determine how old they are, because they may have undergone significant changes in the course of time and the available documents may only reflect a stage in their development and not their original form.

Most of the miko of premodern times were not organized in groups. They operated rather as individuals, answering the various kinds of requests brought forth by their clients, or soliciting support for a particular temple or shrine. Many of them were not permanently settled. These *aruki miko* (wandering miko) appeared in the villages to stay a short while, then moved on. They were respected or feared for the services they could provide, but socially they belonged to the lowest sector of society. The mountain ascetics of *Shugendō,* the *yamabushi,* claiming to have acquired magical powers through severe ascetic training on certain sacred mountains, performed some of the services of the miko themselves, or they were sometimes married to mikos. A miko married to a yamabushi would often serve as a medium for a spirit in a ritual conducted by her husband. Different from the common miko, the yamabushi were organized into sects centered on a sacred mountain, such as Mount Haguro in the north, Mount Ōmine in the center of Japan, and Mount Hiko in Kyushu. It is also true, however, that Nakayama Tarō described large organizations of miko, such as schools represented by a head family, or even miko villages (1930, 607–635). These organizations fell victim to the efforts of the Meiji government to cleanse Shinto from Buddhism, magic, and superstitious beliefs. Yet miko did not simply disappear. Some of them joined a new religion, even if they did not believe in its doctrine, as a strategy for survival. Others, like the many miko in Iwate Prefecture who were organized into a group known as the Daiwashū, eventually formed their own religious group.

When government control disappeared after World War II, such tactical relations with recognized Shinto groups were quickly dissolved, and miko-type personalities became again leaders of their own independent religious groups. Changes in people's attitude toward religion and new economic opportunities caused the decrease of some kinds of miko, as for example the blind *itako* of northern Japan, while they made others adapt their activities to the new needs of an urbanizing society.

Characteristic Features of Japanese Shamanism

Japanese shamans, or miko, are mostly women. Japanese scholars generally agree that a miko is somebody, who in a special state of consciousness, is capable of entering into direct contact with spirit beings, and while in that state can relate a spirit's words and intentions, foretell the future, divine the causes of events, and heal certain illnesses. At times they may also perform rituals, serving in a priestly function. Each of these functions receives its special character from the nature of the spirit that is addressed, but the miko usually performs these functions under the general tutelage and guidance of a personal divine patron spirit. The spirit guide reveals itself in a climactic moment during the initiation process, and is often a *kami* (Shinto deity) or a figure of the Buddhist pantheon already known to the miko because it is widely known in the local area, but the spirit may also be a hitherto unknown kami.

The spirits a miko may have to deal with belong to several categories. First there are the kami. For certain rituals the miko may invite kami from the whole country, but often it is the kami of a local sanctuary or of a homestead. Compared with other spirits, a kami is often relatively easy to handle. Spirits originating from human beings pose more problems. Ancestral spirits, that is, spirits that are settled in the Otherworld, are very much like the kami, but other spirits cannot settle down because they harbor an intense grudge against another person or against their own fate, resenting the fact that they suffered a sudden or unnatural death. These spirits, *onryō,* are dangerous for the living because they try to take revenge for the treatment they received while they were alive by visiting on others similar misfortunes. Therefore, they are one of the most likely causes of death and all kinds of misfortunes.

A residual group of spirits of human origin are the *ikiryō.* These are spirits of persons who are still alive but whose spirit affixes itself to another person who is hated by the spirit's "owner," causing sickness or misfortune for the victim. There is a famous instance of this kind of possession in the episode from the *Tale of Genji,* the Lady Murasaki's great novel (ca. 1000), in which Aoi-no-ue, the young spouse of Prince Genji, is struck down by the ikiryō of Rokujo, the fatally offended lover. Finally, there are the spirits of animals such as snakes, foxes, and badgers.

Some of these spirits are imagined to be more benign than others, but they are all more

or less ambiguous in their attitude toward humans. Whether a spirit appears to be malevolent or well-meaning depends largely on human attitudes toward it. As long as a spirit receives the treatment it expects, it will repay by fending off evil and granting good fortune. If given what it wants, the spirit will readily comply with the miko's wish when called upon. A disgruntled spirit voices its displeasure by *tatari,* a curse, and then, when confronted by the miko, it will resist the miko's commands violently until it can strike a deal that satisfies its wishes. The miko has to find the manner in which to deal with an individual spirit with the help and under the guidance of her patron spirit. The relationship with this patron spirit is therefore vital for the miko.

Eliade's influence on the study and understanding of Japanese shamanism cannot be overlooked, but in recent years many Japanese scholars have concluded that his use of the term *shaman* is not appropriate for the understanding of the nature of miko because of his emphasis on the ecstatic experience of a mystic journey as the sign of a true shaman. For miko, contact with the spirit world is established through experiences of possession in various degrees of intensity. There are, however, vestiges of an experience of a mystic journey. The collection of miraculous tales *Nihon ryōiki,* the "Miraculous Stories of Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil in Japan," compiled by the monk Kyōkai in 822, contains a story about E no Ubasoku, known also as En no Gyōja, said to be the founder of *Shugendō,* the religion of the yamabushi mountain ascetics. The story tells how he submitted himself to ascetic training on the mountain Kisaragi, south of Osaka, and thus acquired the power to command the spirits of the mountain at his will and to fly to the world of the immortals (Nakamura 1973, 140–142). E no Ubasoku is widely believed to be the ultimate shaman of the yamabushi type, but it is difficult to judge today whether the above story reflects a real experience or not. There are also accounts by modern Okinawan shamans, *yuta,* who tell of a dream experience they had during the period of their initiation. In this dream they visited such Otherworlds as the netherworld, the land of Kara (China), and the sky (Fukuda 1997, 10–11). However, this is an isolated dream and not an experience repeated at the yuta's important rituals.

It is clear that the experience characteristic of the miko is some form of possession. This term, however, is sometimes used to refer to experiences that are closer to obsession. Full possession takes place when the miko summons either a kami or the spirit of a deceased person and has them speak in the first person through the miko's mouth. The first rite is called *kami oroshi* (calling down of a kami) and the latter *hotoke oroshi* (calling down of a *hotoke,* a dead person) or *kuchiyose* (calling into the mouth). In these cases the miko often claims not to remember what she has said because it has been the spirit who has spoken. It is the same for a person who becomes possessed at a shrine festival and then relates a kami's revelations to the community. In the yamabushi rite called *yorigitō* the situation differs, in that the yamabushi handling the spirit has it possess a medium, who need not be a miko but who serves as the mouthpiece of the spirit, as in the medieval story of the fox mentioned earlier. In these cases the possessed seems to participate in the nature of the possessing spirit.

In other cases the miko hears the spirit's voice, sees its figure, or intensely senses its presence in bodily sensations. When the voice is heard, the miko relates the words in the third person and can explain their meaning to clients. Such an explanation may happen when the miko is approached for counsel or asked to find the cause of an illness or foretell the future.

Yanagita and Nakayama used the term *kuchiyose miko* to cover all the miko active among the common people, distinguishing them from the official shrine miko. Shrine miko are mainly a formality today, but for the popular miko, research has first revealed significant regional differences, especially between the itako of north Japan and the yuta of Okinawa. However, the analysis of initiation processes has allowed scholars to isolate a few basic types and to show that these types are supraregional. No matter what course a miko's initiation process eventually takes, the cause that starts the initiation process is often some protracted sickness or social or mental hardship. The initiation process may then take one of two basic forms.

One is characterized by a divine calling or a choice on the part of the spirit. When sickness or other troubles do not respond to ordinary countermeasures, and hallucinations and dreams suggest unusual causes for them, the

Itako performing a kichiyose for the family of a recently deceased before the deceased's temporary altar erected for the celebration of Bon, the summer festival for the dead. Hanayama, Miyagi Prefecture, Japan, August 1982. (Courtesy of Peter Knecht)

miko candidate may consult with an established miko and begin to visit shrine after shrine in search of an answer. The answer may come as a consequence of sudden possession by a divine being (*kamisama,* or *gomiso* in north Japan), or by a compelling revelation from a kami, as among the yuta of Okinawa. At about the same time, people around the miko begin to notice the candidate's behavior, especially if the miko succeeds in foretelling an event or in

healing a disease. The success of this response, together with the establishment of a formal place of worship by the miko for her guardian spirit, is proof that a new miko is born.

In the other form of initiation process the initiative is with the human candidate. In order to overcome social or psychosomatic problems, the candidate may turn to religious exercises such as visiting famous sanctuaries, fasting, and standing under waterfalls, until the moment arrives when a divine being reveals its name. The candidate then installs this being at home, and gradually by word of mouth the candidate will be acknowledged as a new miko. In this case, too, there is no formal initiation ceremony, but it seems to be a quite common course of events for urban miko. The relationship of such a miko with the spirit being may be one of teacher and student, the miko receiving all necessary knowledge from the spirit. It may also be a relationship similar to that of a husband and wife; the miko may feel that she is living with a real husband (Bouchy 2000, 106–108).

The initiation of the itako of northern Japan is a variation of this second form. The factual cause for the itako's decision to become a miko is total blindness or severely impaired eyesight. In such cases, becoming an itako offers a way of life in which they can care for themselves and thus avoid becoming a burden for their families. Often it is the family that decides to give a girl into apprenticeship to an established itako. There, the girl acquires the necessary ritual knowledge as itako and the skills to eventually keep her own house. The climax of this apprenticeship is the ceremony of *kamitsuke* (attaching a kami), in which her guardian spirit is revealed. The ceremony is preceded by weeks of strict austerities. On the last day the girl is surrounded by older itako, who recite prayers for hours until the girl falls unconscious and suggests through her movements or in her murmuring what spirit being has taken possession of her. The ceremony is staged as a rebirth. At the conclusion of this ceremony the new itako will perform her first kuchiyose by having some of her ancestral spirits speak through her. The initiation ritual closes on the next day with a formal wedding ceremony, but no human husband is present. Although an itako may eventually marry, it is said that she does not need to perform another wedding ceremony.

In such ceremonies as the kami oroshi or the hotoke oroshi (or kuchiyose), a miko's function as someone who can handle spirits is most evident, because the spirits are made to speak themselves to the audience. But not all miko will perform both kinds of ritual. Itako can usually perform both ceremonies, but in the area where they are active they are especially known for their performance of kuchiyose for the spirits of the dead. Gomiso, or kamisama, the kind of miko who owe their status to a calling by a divine spirit, often do not like to perform a kuchiyose. For them, specializing as they do in dealings with pure kami, kuchiyose is a ritual that brings contact with the ritual impurity of death because it means calling spirits of the dead.

Today, the itako kind of miko is disappearing fast; there are practically no new apprentices for what the itako themselves call their *shōbai,* their trade. Some observers think that this might be the general trend for miko relying on possession for their contact with the spirits. However, the people concerned about how the spirits might feel, and who fear that the spirits might take revenge for certain frustrations they suffered, keep up the demand for miko able to deal with these spirits. Some leaders and members of New Religions attempt to respond to this demand. At the same time, there is also a new brand of miko. Working as individuals in cities and towns, they offer their services and counseling, not only to pacify the potentially troublesome spirits of unborn children, but also to put at ease the minds of clients who are tormented by the stressful demands of modern society. They might be called urban miko.

Peter Knecht

See also: Ainu Shamanism; Buddhism and Shamanism; Japanese Shamanic Music; Mountain Priests—Shugendō (Japan); Okinawan Shamans and Priestesses; Tsugaru Shamanism

References and further reading:

Blacker, Carmen. 1975. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan.* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Bouchy, Anne. 2000. "Kamigami ga yama wo satte iku darōka. Fugeki no tashasei to aidentiti" [Will the gods desert the mountains? Otherness and identity of shamans]. Pp. 98–121 in *Aidentiti, shūen,*

baikai [Identity, gods, meditations]. Edited by Wakita Haruko and Anne Bouchy. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Earhart, H. Byron. 1970. *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendo: An Example of Japanese Mountain Religion.* Monumenta Nipponica. Tokyo: Sophia University Press.

Eder, Matthias. 1958. "Schamanismus in Japan" [Shamanism in Japan]. *Paideuma* 6: 367–380.

Fairchild, William P. 1962. "Shamanism in Japan." *Folklore Studies* 21: 1–122.

Fukuda Akira. 1997. *Kamigatari, mukashigatari no denshō sekai* [Talks about the gods, talks about days gone by: The passing on of tradition]. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō.

Hori Ichiro. 1968. *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1975. "Shamanism in Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 2: 231–287.

Ikegami Yoshimasa. 1994. "Local Newspaper Coverage of Folk Shamans in Aomori Prefecture." Pp. 9–91 in *Folk Beliefs in Modern Japan.* Translated by Norman Havens. Tokyo: Kokugakuin University.

Kawamura Kunimitsu. 1994. "The Life of a Shamaness: Scenes from the Shamanism of Northeastern Japan." Pp. 92–124 in *Folk Beliefs in Modern Japan.* Translated by Norman Havens. Tokyo: Kokugakuin University.

Knecht, Peter. 1997. "The Ritual of *kuchiyose* (Calling the Dead)." Pp. 197–213 in *Rituale und ihre Urheber. Invented Traditions in der japanischen Religionsgeschichte* [Rituals and Their Originators. Invented Traditions in the Japanese Religious History]. Edited by Klaus Antoni. Hamburg: LIT Verlag.

Lebra, William P. 1966. *Okinawan Religion: Belief, Ritual, and Social Structure.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Mills, D. E. 1970. *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji Shui Monogatari.* Cambridge University Press.

Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi. 1973. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The* Nihon Ryoiki *of the Monk Kyokai.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nakayama Tarō. 1930. *Nihon fujoshi* [History of Japanese women]. Tokyo: Ookayama Shoten.

Ōhashi Hideshi. 1998. *Okinawa shamanizumu no shakai shinrigakuteki kenkyū* [A socio-psychological study of Okinawan shamanism]. Tokyo: Kobundō.

Oka Masao. 1979. *Ijin sono ta. Nihon minzoku bunka no genryū to Nihon kokka no keisei* [About strangers and other topics: The roots of Japanese cultured formation and the Japanese state]. Tokyo: Gensōsha.

Sasaki Kōkan. 1984. *Shamanizumu no jinruigaku* [Anthropology of shamanism]. Tokyo: Kobundō.

Torii Ryūzō. 1976. "Nihon shūi minzoku no genshi shūkyō" [Primitive religions of the peoples that surround Japan]. In vol. 7 of *Torii Ryūzō zenshū.* Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha.

Yanagita Kunio. 1969. "Miko kō" [On shamans]. In vol. 9 of *Teihon Yanagita Kunio shū* [Collective essays by Yanagita Kunio]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.

KOREAN SHAMANISM

One of the most vibrant forms of shamanism lives on, isolated on the Korean peninsula. Confucianism dominates Korean family customs, Buddhist temples abound, and Christianity flourishes; but despite long opposition from Confucianism, Christianity, and modern governments, shamanism still thrives. In 1983, there were approximately 43,000 registered shamanist practitioners, one for every thousand inhabitants (Guillemoz 1992, 115–116). Many young persons, even some well-educated persons, become shamans, or *mudang.* Different from shamans in many other lands, Korean shamans easily make their livelihood by shamanizing; moreover, the Korean government now recognizes certain mudang as Intangible National Treasures. Like shamanism elsewhere, Korean shamanism is hard to pin down as a subject of investigation. The present article highlights its noteworthy characteristics and discusses its rituals and belief system in the context of shamanism in other parts of the world and Korean culture in general.

The history of Korean shamanism is sketchy. A new year's rite called Welcoming the Drum was performed prior to the second century B.C.E. and recorded in the third century C.E.; but the record gives no indication that the officiant was actually a shaman (Chen 1985, 3:

841). The word *mudang* itself first appears in historical records with reference not to ritual performers, but to royal prophets active from the first century B.C.E. to the seventh century C.E. and recorded in the twelfth century (Kim 1983, 1: 287, 2: 87). Whether these mudang were initiatory or hereditary, male or female, mediums for the gods or prophets in their own right is not stated; nor is there mention of the trance or wondrous feats that are commonly said to characterize classical shamanist activity. In the Shilla Dynasty (57 B.C.E.–935 C.E.), the kings themselves may have had a shamanic role. A Confucian scholar later gives the earliest portrait, or rather caricature, of mudang as we know them today. In a poem written around 1200, he derides mudang as noisy charlatans whose followers are fools (Lee 1991, 46–50).

Becoming a Shaman

Far from the stereotype of wizened old men in age-old garments in the remote birch forests of Siberia, Korean shamans are as often as not elegantly dressed women performing rites in well-furnished urban dwellings wired for the computer age. Generally, though not always, women, they perform most rites, or *kut,* for a coterie of women. Like shamans in other cultures, they may be weak in schooling; but they are superior in intelligence, artistic and verbal ability, and good looks (Harvey 1979, 236). Toward the north around Seoul, a person becomes a shaman through the classic shamanist experience of social alienation and inexplicable "spirit illness," which leaves her with what are believed to be powers of contact with the gods and spirits (Harvey 1979, Kendall 1988). At the same time, however, a mudang commonly has a shaman in her ancestry; and some East Coast and Southwest mudang are so purely by inheritance. These experience no initiatory spirit illness, but learn shamanic skills as members of a shaman family. Still other mudang, such as the male shamans on Cheju Island, come from a line of shamans, but may also undergo initiatory experiences.

These days, some seek to become mudang; but most people dread the spirit illness and the hard life of a social outcast it leads to. In the eyes of the shamanist community, however, the inexplicable, unsought phenomenon of the spirit illness is a cogent sign that the spirits are at work for the community in a shaman's life. As in other shamanist traditions, essential to the mudang's life as a sign is the fact that she does not choose to be a shaman, but is chosen by the gods.

The initiatory Rite for the God's Descent (Naerim-kut) heals the spirit illness and ratifies this choice. The power of a god working within the "baby mudang" becomes manifest in some initiation rites when, dressed as the Spirit General, she "rides the blades." Doing dancelike movements barefoot on sharp, rice-chopper blades, she speaks the god's words for the first time.

A mudang serves as a healer for her community; but in the initiation rite, the community's belief in the mudang as one set apart by the spirits contributes to her healing. As in other forms of shamanism, the central role of the shaman is balanced in any rite by the radical role of the community. The community's faith, as much as the shaman's special abilities, empowers *kut* (ritual) words and actions. The rites ultimately derive their power from ordinary lives lived over the years in trusting faith in the working of the gods and ancestral spirits in everyday life.

Shamanist Ritual Activity

The mudang's ritual activity does not fit the classic definition of shamanism as a "technique of ecstasy" or that of a shaman as one who "specializes in a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body" (Eliade 1964, 4–5). Korean shamans are not normally imagined as journeying to the spirit realm; rather the gods and spirits descend and speak through them. Nor do they often seem deeply entranced. As is the case with many shamans elsewhere, what gives authority to their rites is not trance, but their skills in musical and dramatic performance and the community's faith.

Rites may be held out in nature by a strangely shaped rock, old tree, spring, river, or the sea; but they are just as often held in the urban dwelling of the shaman or her clients (Walraven 1983, 246). Korean shamanism is rooted in the seasonal rhythms of rural nature, but even more in the rhythms of human family life—birth, sickness and misfortune, death. Animal gods, helping animal spirits, and visionary journeys to the heavenly realm of the gods found in classic shamanism have no significant

Shamans perform the rite of the Dragon King, Sea God, for healing purposes, ca. June 1993. Cheju-do, Republic of Korea. (Catherine Karnow/Corbis)

role. The traditional home constitutes as much a sacred realm as do phenomena of nature; and the spirits most urgently invoked are family ancestors. Like Confucianism, Korean shamanism preserves a sense of the continued presence of the ancestors, but in lively, women-centered rituals that run contrary to the rationalistic, hierarchical order of the dominant male-centered Confucianist culture.

The ancient new year's rite called Welcoming the Drum consisted of singing, dancing, eating, drinking, divination, and offerings to Heaven (Chen 1985, 3: 841). Such communal seasonal rites are still held today, especially in island and coastal villages, where sea fishing remains a risky business; but most kut are family affairs held at a time of family crisis. A rite may be the work of a lone person on a mountain beating a gong before a candle and simple food offerings. It may also be a lively, spectacular event performed for hours or days on end by a band of shamans and musicians in colorful costumes together with a crowd of actively participating family, friends, or villagers.

In each ritual segment, the officiating mudang takes the role of one or more spirits. She may do so in a stylized dance to the accompaniment of drum, small gong, shrill pipe, and stringed instrument. She may go into a mild trance, but always remains keenly aware of practical necessities and the psychological state of the sponsors. In the northern tradition around Seoul, she changes costumes for each spirit and works bedazzling feats that arouse mind-numbing wonder. She may "ride the blades" or balance a huge pig's carcass on the prongs of a trident. At the end of the segment, the spirit invoked quickly leaves.

Lively though a kut may be, it is far from the stereotype of shamanist ritual as frenzied behavior. In careful control of her actions, the mudang makes deft use of mimetic gesture, dance, song, and symbolic props to make the gods and spirits vividly present. She makes conscious use of a stage comedian's laughter to ease clients' mental pain and bring them to an awareness of the reality of their situation. In East Coast and Southwest rites, the musicians

employ sophisticated rhythms to control the mood. Throughout, the mudang manipulates not so much the spirits as the feelings and imagination of participants.

Village Rituals

Kut take various forms, depending on local custom and circumstances and the shaman's skill (see "Dramatic Performance in Shamanism" in the present volume and Kister 1997). East Coast village rites invoke the village ancestral god or gods. They center on what is believed to be a miraculous sign of the god's presence in the inexplicable shaking of a tall bamboo "spirit pole" held by a villager, who is sometimes entranced. They consist mainly, however, in the eating, drinking, song, dance, and divination that characterized the ancient Welcoming the Drum rite, enlivened by tear-jerking tales and farcical skits.

If East Coast village rites are held to exemplify what Korean shamanism is, it is a technique, not of ecstasy, but of sacred play. Performed by a skilled troupe of hereditary mudang, these rites constitute a festive village celebration aimed at entertaining both the villagers and their gods. The person holding the spirit pole may flail it around in a frenzied trance, but controlled artistic and dramatic activity dominates the festivities. Day and night, the pulsing rhythms of drum, pipe, and gong, high-pitched melodies, and animated dance, enlivened by bright paper-craft decorations and humorous skits, create a sense of communal harmony and playful prayer that reflects a typically Korean love of revelry.

A midnight Confucian ritual attended by a handful of ritually clean men from the village may precede a rite. But the rational, hierarchical order of Confucianism commonly brings it into opposition with the playful, sometimes ecstatic modes of communion with the gods found in shamanist rituals. In censoring such rituals, however, Confucianism censors the Korean urge for playful, chaotic participation in the gamble and mystery of life, an urge that seems historically and psychically more basic to the Korean mentality than the urge for controlled order embodied in Confucian rule.

Some performances of East Coast village rites bring out a tension between the villagers' religious belief and a keen Korean sense of skeptical realism. In line with traditional Korean myths, the rite welcoming the god in the spirit pole expresses belief in the harmonizing radiance of the God of Heaven shining in the world (Min 1994, 20–22). As has been said of other such seasonal rites, the festivities as a whole create a sense of union of earth and sky, sea and land, and human beings with nature, other human beings, and the gods (Eliade 1964, 99, 117). But the comic skits from village life that may end the festivities sometimes make a joke of the shaman's powers and call into question the powers of the gods themselves. As played by a male shaman, a hapless village official entrusted with the job of controlling unsettled spirits is grabbed by the ear and dragged about by the spirits in comic turmoil. In some versions, fishermen who pray to the gods when caught in a storm end up drowning, and a newborn baby boy suddenly takes sick and, despite the mother's prayers, dies (Ch'oe and So 1982, 303–305, 339–340, 350–351). The rites express a sense of trusting harmony with the gods, but with a sobering realism that recognizes that they do not answer all prayers.

The new year's rites honoring the village-founding god on Cheju Island also center on food, drink, song, dance, and divination; but they are performed in a sober manner that exemplifies a less playful, more ritualistic mode of kut worship. Early in the morning, each family sets out a small table of food offerings at a shrine, which may consist of a lava rock enclosure beneath huge hackberry trees. Dressed in simple yet elegant Korean dress, the principal shaman chants a welcome to the god while doing a solemn dance to the stately measure of bell, drum, and gong. When he places the god's clothes on the table of offerings, the god is believed to be present. The shaman then briefly addresses worshipers with words of concern, which they accept, with no unusual sign, as coming from the god. He verifies the god's presence by tossing two knives until both blades point in the same direction. On some occasions the dance welcoming the god may take an ever quickening pace and come close to entranced frenzy. But one experienced shaman has said that he has no felt experience when the god becomes present. The god is simply present once the chant and ritual actions have been performed. In the course of the rites, villagers share a meal of pheasant soup; at the end, the

shamans divine the fortune of the families present in grains of rice. If the common denominator of Korean shamanism is sought in these rites, it is neither trance nor play, but the ritual sharing of food.

Family Rituals

The family rites that constitute most kut activity today exemplify further forms that Korean shamanist ritual can take. These rites commonly seek healing—not so much physical healing, however, as the restoration of tranquility and family harmony at a time of crisis. They seek deliverance—not so much from the unclean spirits that are imagined as causing disease in some shamanistic traditions, but from concrete tensions and anxieties within the family. They seek release from *han,* the tangled sociopsychological tensions and rancor that constitute a preoccupation of the Korean psyche and are rooted as often as not in events of the past.

Many Seoul rites seek to create release through dramatic techniques that modern psychoanalysts have much to learn from. If these rites exemplify what Korean shamanism is, it is psychodramatic healing. As in other shamanistic traditions, however, the healing is not just a matter of clinical psychology. It takes place in a religious context of help from the gods; and it seeks healing of relationships not just among the living, but also between the living and the dead. Deceased ancestors' han-filled frustrations and bitterness toward life and the family are thought to give rise to a family's economic or other troubles.

After summoning various gods in a Seoul rite, the mudang moves on to what the family most eagerly awaits, reunion with the dead. Wearing a different suit of ritual clothes for each, the shaman takes the role of an interminable file of deceased aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, and finally father, mother, sister, or son. Some simply greet the family, offer brief words of encouragement, and leave. Others speak at length in encounters that arouse complex feelings—sorrow at separation, joy at temporary reunion, anger, and bitter frustration. In a kut held by a woman for a husband killed by his mistress, the atmosphere became deadly serious. In other kut, the atmosphere approaches that of a family reunion. In one rite, a family encountered numerous problems after the father's death several years earlier. His soul was thought to be unsettled because of the meager inheritance he left his loved ones. In another rite, a family's problems were thought to spring from the fact that it had abandoned its shamanic roots. A grandmother had been a prominent mudang; but when she died years before, a shaman encouraged the family to become Christians, which they did.

A mudang provides healing by bringing a family's troubled history and present fears out in the open, offering objectifying perspectives on their problems, releasing tension in tears and laughter, and reinforcing belief in the caring presence of the ancestors. Through the mudang, the gods and ancestral spirits sometimes give specific points of advice to clarify the family's situation and bolster its self-confidence. Often, however, they simply give general advice in set formulas: "Don't worry"; "I'll make everything OK."

In still another mode of kut activity, a Cheju rite seeking the cleansing of family history focused not on psychodramatic interaction, but on the manipulation of dramatic symbols. Its three-day rites included a healing ritual for a middle-aged son, a successful government office worker, whose soul had been "lost" after his father died two decades earlier in painful circumstances, with the result that the son had a history of free-floating anxiety. As the family gathered around in prayerful concern, the male shaman, with no hint of trance, sprinkled water over the man, covered his back with a piece of his clothing, and used a knife to press the vertebra where the soul is thought to return (Kister 1997, 28).

At another point in the kut, the shaman engaged the women of the family in a ritual game that amounted to a kind of preventive medicine to ensure the well-being of the children of the family. Taking the role of the *Kusamsung* Grandma Spirit who may snatch a child off to death, the shaman held before the women a lifeless plant. Folding back all but two leaves of the plant, he teased them with two possibilities of disease that threaten the children; but in the end, he folded back the last two leaves, removing these two threats. Then taking the role of the *Samsung* Grandma Spirit who protects and fosters young life, the shaman divined the children's future in two green sprigs of camellia, which were subsequently preserved in the parents' room (Kister 1997, 48).

The kut ended with a solemn ritual to cleanse family history once and for all by sending the father and other deceased family members to peace. A long stretch of white cloth marked off by twelve small bamboo gates symbolized the path to the Otherworld. In a ritual dance called Cleansing of the Road, the shaman, in the role of the Emissary Spirit from the Buddhist World of Darkness, swept and prepared the road. The shaman then took the role of the deceased, bidding farewell and passing along the cloth as the gates were dismantled and the cloth folded up in a rhythmical movement.

Cheju rites sometimes fuse family history with the history of the whole Cheju people. For decades they kept alive han-filled memories of atrocities committed in a 1948 Communist uprising on the island, memories that the government until recently tried to suppress. Along with private healing, shamanist rites provided the seeds of social healing by preserving public truth (Kim 1989, 234–237).

Rites for the Dead

With numerous local variations, shamanist death rites send the deceased member of a family to peace and heal the family's grief while inviting those present to experience death as the transformation of life's accumulated sufferings in an act of dignity and beauty. An East Coast kut for one who has drowned at sea begins at the seashore. To the rhythm of the waves and the beat of a gong, the mudang calls on the gods to send the deceased ashore. A family member holds a bamboo pole topped by a white flag, while an assistant entices the soul to shore by tossing a live chicken and covered bowl of rice into the sea and then drawing them back with cords. The shaman intones a mournful chant that echoes in the breaking waves: "Come to shore! Come to shore!" (Kister 1997, 50).

The spectacular feats of Seoul rites sometimes arouse naive wonder that amounts to little more than mind-numbing bedazzlement, but this simple symbolic event arouses a wonder in the face of human existence that is profoundly thought-provoking. It conjures up an unforgettable image of the enigma of human existence caught between the gods' caring presence and nature's destructive power surging beneath the movement of the waves.

As an East Coast rite unfolds, it provides an opportunity for dialogue between the family and the deceased, who may be symbolized by a small staff tipped with paper flowers, or who may be believed to speak through a possessed family member. An unmarried soul may be joined in marriage with another deceased villager, sometimes with the aid of dolls to represent the couple.

At one point, the shaman chants or enacts the myth of the Abandoned Princess *(Pari-Kongju).* Giving a feminine twist to the Confucian ideal of filial piety, this myth provides the imaginary history of the god who leads the dead to the next world. When the seventh daughter is born to a king with no sons, he has her cast out. The gods save her, however, and years later, she returns to aid her ill father. Dressed as a young man for safety, she undertakes an arduous journey to seek a magical remedy. In one version, the story takes a humorous turn when the spirit guarding the remedy takes a liking to his young visitor and asks him (her) to ritually bathe with him. He unmasks her, marries her, and they have several sons. When she finally returns home, her father has just died; but the remedy revives him. Joining her spirit husband in the heavens, she becomes the goddess who leads the dead peacefully to the "good place" (Tae-dong 1978, 52–57; Kister 1997, 54).

When events in the myth allow, the mudang may draw the family into the action. For visual effect, she may employ colorful Buddhist paper lanterns, a paper boat, and a long white cloth that symbolizes the watery path or bridge to the "other shore" *(p'ian),* a Buddhist term for nirvana. Eventually, she may take one of the lanterns and do a mournful dance, telling the deceased, "Ride the lantern up to the skies." Finally, assistants stretch out the cloth and pass the boat and other lanterns along its length. Saying, "Now let's go," the shaman uses the flower-tipped staff symbolizing the deceased to split the cloth, slowly, but firmly and gracefully. Composed equally of blossoming and splitting, this enigmatic but beautiful symbolic gesture invites those present to see in life's final, painful separation its flowering fulfillment.

The Shamanist Belief System

The Korean shamanist belief system focuses on blessings in the here-and-now—health, wealth,

long life, and fertility—not the afterlife; and death rites focus on the passage *through* death, not on what lies beyond. It has been said that kut bring peace by ensuring that the deceased attains ancestral status, with the right to be reverenced in Confucian rites (Ch'oe 1989, 102). Except when a rite includes a posthumous marriage to give young persons ancestral status, however, the symbols of the rites themselves do not suggest this. Sometimes the rites evoke a Buddhist paradise of ever-blooming flowers or a hell of pain and fire (Kim 1981, 309), but they do not necessarily take such imagery seriously. In a Seoul rite, the Emissary from the Buddhist World of Darkness tries to lasso a white paper symbol of the deceased and snatch the deceased's soul away to judgment and punishment; but frightening though he may be, he sometimes appears as a clown. Mouth grotesquely stuffed with rice cake and arms flailing a long cloth, he dodges family members, who gleefully fend him off in a ritual game (Kister 1997, 79).

The Korean shamanist belief system has no clear notion of the cosmos. It partly reflects the classic shamanist schema of a world divided into the plane of the spirits above and that of man below (Eliade 1959, 21ff.). Its gods include the Big Dipper and the Mountain Spirit; its rites often take place by a mountain, tree, or pole that points toward the sky; the gods commonly descend; and the dead are sometimes imagined as ascending to the sky. At the same time, however, the dead are imagined as crossing to the "other shore," which presumes a horizontal, not vertical schema of the world. In fact, Korean rites center not on cosmic patterns, but on moments of crisis and the life feeling aroused by the shrill chant, lively dance, and beat of the drum. In Western philosophical terms, they imply a Bergsonian vision of the world, not an Aristotelian one.

As in other shamanist traditions, the gods and spirits that inhabit the kut world are numerous. Outstanding shamans are called *manshin,* "10,000 gods," and Cheju rites speak of 18,000 gods. There are nature gods, national heroes, village ancestral spirits, and household gods, altogether with at least 273 names (Kim 1981, 285). The god of heaven has various titles, such as Okhwangsangje (Jade Emperor), Chesok (a Buddhist deity or god of heavenly light), and Big Dipper Spirit (Kister 1997, 45). Among the household gods, the playful T'oju Taegam (His Excellency of the Plot) watches over the house plot; and Songju spirit over the house itself. The Grandmother Spirit of Fertility is associated with the parents' room, where the family eats, children are birthed, and the deceased honored (Kister 1997, 35). One manshin has said, however, that the gods are all basically the same; they just have different functions. Kut worshippers often seem unconcerned, or unaware, about what god is invoked in a particular ritual segment.

Human beings traditionally know themselves through the images of their gods (Cassirer 1995, 199, 217–218). Invoking the Grandmother Spirit's care for the tender life of a child, shamanist believers no doubt become themselves persons who care for life. Invoking the Abandoned Princess to lead a family member to peace, they express their own loving care for the deceased. In the humorous antics of the Taegam Spirit, they assert their own love of play.

Both the gods and ancestral spirits have a down-to-earth quality. Like human beings, they are sympathetic and ready to help, but they are easily peeved and then need to be cajoled. The Korean shamanist imagination has the genius to envision contact with the gods in terms of lively Korean banter and play, which bring them down to the level of neighborly camaraderie. Nonetheless, the gods are to be feared (Kim 1981, 286). The memories that most Koreans have of kut seen in childhood are filled with fear.

As is no doubt the case in other parts of the world, Korean shamanist believers seek contact with the gods and spirits not as an end in itself, but as a means to deal with painful anxieties and evil tangles. Kut envision evil as an impure, binding force that threatens human life. A Southwest rite for the dead is called the Rite of Cleansing *(Ssitkim-kut);* and it reaches its climax in the Knot-loosening Rite *(Kop'uri).* In the graceful dance of this climactic ritual, the shaman releases loop-knots *(ko)* tied in a long white cloth to symbolize the bitterness (also *ko*) of kut-filled frustrations and tangled relationships that life leaves knotted in the heart. Kut manifest little concern about sin or guilt. Forces of impurity threaten life whether or not one is guilty, and the Kop'uri promises release whether or not one repents of one's sinful actions.

Shamanist practitioners in some parts of the world make naive claims that, with the help of

their spirits, they can make all well. In Korean shamanist rites, however, naive belief is tempered with skepticism. While taking their gods quite seriously, Korean believers have an innate urge to turn everything into a joke. In a Seoul rite for the dead, the antics of the Emissary Spirit as he comes to snatch the deceased to the World of Darkness arouse fear; but they make punishment in the Otherworld something of a joke. In the Cheju ritual game for a child's well-being, the ominous joking of the Kusamsung Grandma suggests that the gods not only care for human beings; they also play with them. In the comic skits that end an East Coast village rite, the shaman's power becomes comic nonsense, and prayers to the gods prove futile. Kut laughter tempers naive belief with a sense of realism, at times cruel realism, that the gods do not always make everything well. At some time in its history, Korean shamanism attained the kind of mature religious vision that exists when a people recognize that the gods they worship do not provide an answer for everything (Cassirer 1955, 139).

Daniel Kister

See also: Animal Symbolism (Asia); Cheju-do Island Shamanism; Christianity and Shamanism; Costume, Shaman; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure

References and further reading:

Cassirer, Ernst. 1955. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, vol. 2, *Mythical Thought.* Translated by Ralph Manheim. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Chen Shou. 1985. *Sanguozhi* [The chronicles of the three kingdoms]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuguo.

Cho, Hung-yun. 1990. *Mu-wha Minjok Munwha* [The Shaman and national culture]. Seoul: National Culture.

Ch'oe, Chong-yo, and So Tae-sok, ed. 1982. *Tonghaean Muga* [Mudang songs from the coast of the East Sea]. Seoul: Hyong-sol.

Ch'oe, Kil-song. 1989. *Hanguk Min-gan Shinang-ui Yon-gu* [Studies in Korean folk beliefs]. Taegu: Kyemyong University Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1959. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion.* Translated by Willard R. Trask. New York: Harcourt.

———. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Guillemoz, Alexandre. 1992. "Seoul, the Widow, and the *Mudang:* Transformations of Urban Korean Shamanism." *Diogenes* 158 (summer): 115–127.

Guisso, W. I., and Chai-shin Yu, eds. 1988. *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea.* Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press.

Harvey, Youngsook Kim. 1979. *Six Korean Women: The Socialization of Shamans.* Saint Paul, MN: West.

Howard, Keith D. 1993. "Without Ecstasy, Is there Shamanism in South-West Korea?" In *Shamans and Cultures.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Keith D. Howard. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Kendall, Laurel. 1988. *The Life and Hard Times of a Korean Shaman.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Kim, Bu-shik. 1983. *Samguk Sagi* [The chronicles of the three kingdoms]. Seoul: Ulyumun.

Kim, Seong-nae. 1989. *Chronicle of Violence, Ritual of Mourning: Cheju Shamanism in Korea.* Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.

Kim, Tae-gon. 1981. *Hankuk Musok Yon-gu* [Studies in Korean shamanism]. Seoul: Chipmundang.

Kister, Daniel A. 1997. *Korean Shamanist Ritual: Symbols and Dramas of Transformation.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Korean National Commission for UNESCO, ed. 1983. *Korean Folklore.* Seoul: Sisa Yongosa.

Lee, Nung-wha. 1991. *Choson Musokko.* Seoul: Tongmunjip.

Min, Ju-shik. 1994. "Hanguk Kojon Mihak Sasang-ui Chongae" [The development of ancient Korean aesthetic thought]. In *Hanguk Mihak Sinon* [Essays on Korean aesthetics]. Edited by Kwon Yong-p'il et al. Seoul: Institute for Korean Studies of Korea University.

Tae-dong, Lee, trans. "Princess Pari." 1978. *Korea Journal* 18 (June): 52–57.

Walraven, B. C. A. 1983. "Korean Shamanism." *Numen* 30 (December): 240–264.

MOUNTAIN PRIESTS—SHUGENDŌ (JAPAN)

Mountain Priest is the Western term for practitioners of Shugendō, which is a syncretistic Japanese religious tradition of mountain-based ascetic practices that combines a wide variety of elements from shamanism, indigenous Japanese folk beliefs concerning mountains and spirits of the dead, Buddhist cosmology and practice, and Daoist magic. It has been described as "a specific religious practice which took the form of an organized religion about the end of the Heian period [circa twelfth century C.E.] when Japan's ancient religious practices in the mountains came under the influence of various foreign religions" (Miyake 1970, 1). The term *Shugendō* literally means "the way of cultivating supernatural powers" through ascetic practices in the mountains. Its practitioners were (and still are) known as *yamabushi* (those who "lie down" in the mountains, mountain priests) or *shugenja* (ascetics, "those who cultivate power"). Although their role evolved and changed over the years, these practitioners were expected to accumulate religious power through severe ascetic practices in the mountains, such as fasting, seclusion, meditation, the recitation of spells or Buddhist texts, sitting under waterfalls, gathering firewood, abstinence from water, hanging over cliffs to "weigh" one's sins, solitary confinement in caves, walking on fire or hot coals, performance of rituals such as fire ceremonies, and so forth. They were then to use these powers to provide services such as divination, exorcism, prayers, and guidance for pilgrimages, or for the performance of various religious rites.

Shugenja were not always Buddhist priests. Some were officially ordained Buddhist priests, others laypeople, others in a position that is difficult to categorize. The situation is complicated, since the activities and roles of the shugenja evolved and varied over time and place, and during much of Japanese history there was no clear distinction between Buddhist, Shinto, folk, and other current religious categories. Since *shugenja* is a general term meaning "ascetic," there are many paths to becoming or being one, not necessarily limited to institutionalized or organized forms or practices. Again, shugenja were mostly, but not all, male, in contrast to the predominance of female shamans in Japan. During some periods of Japanese history shugenja traveled as a male and female team involved in itinerant religious services. Some female shugenja traveled in groups, such as the Kumano *bikuni* (Kumano "nuns"), some of which were involved in various forms of "entertainment." On the other hand, there were many mountainous areas that were strictly off-limits to women (called *nyonin kekkai*) and thus used only by male practitioners. The few remaining sites in contemporary Japan that maintain this restriction are the source of some controversy.

Historical Development

The indigenous pre-Buddhist religious milieu of Japan included shamanistic trance practices and communication with spirits, the belief that mountains are the residences of the dead, and festivals and rites celebrating the descent of the agricultural deities from the mountains in the spring and their return to the mountains after the harvest in the fall, with a clear geographical demarcation of the sacred and the profane. As Buddhism was introduced and assimilated into Japanese culture in the sixth century (or even earlier), ascetics were entering mountainous areas for the practice of religious austerities. Such people were not necessarily Buddhist monks, but included various solitary hermits, diviners, exorcists, and wandering religious figures *(hijiri).* The most famous of these was En-no-Gyōja ("En the Ascetic"), or En-no-Ozunu (his personal name), the semilegendary founder of Shugendō and prototypical ascetic with shamanic powers. He is said to have practiced asceticism on Mount Katsuragi, west of the Yamato plain, and to have attained supernatural powers, such as the ability to command spirits and demons to do his will, or to bind them with a spell. According to the *Nihonshoki,* an early collection of Japanese records, a man named En-no-Ozunu was banished in 699 to the island of Ōshima in Izu on trumped-up charges of using his supernatural powers to control and mislead the people. Legend has it that, despite his exile, he would fly to Mount Fuji every night to continue his practices. En-no-Gyōja has been adopted by many groups as the founder of Shugendō, and stories of his activities are prominent at almost every mountainous area with an ascetic tradition.

By the early Heian period (ninth century), many Buddhist monks, especially those associated with the esoteric schools, were entering not only Mount Hiei and Mount Kōya (the headquarters of the Tendai and Shingon Buddhist schools, respectively), but also other mountains such as Mount Kimbu in the Yoshino region. Various Mountainous areas throughout Japan developed their own ascetic traditions, including Hakusan and Mount Fuji in central Japan, the Haguro Mountains in northern Japan, Mount Ishizuchi in Shikoku, and Mount Hiko in Kyushu. Each had its own religious history, its own set of deities, its own web of associations with other sacred sites, and its own community of Shugendō practitioners (Swanson and Tyler 1989). Shugenja from these areas provided a variety of religious services, including as pilgrimage guides to popular sacred sites such as Mitake and Kumano. These shugenja began to show an increasing tendency to organize by the middle of the Heian period (tenth century), usually in connection with the pilgrimages of retired emperors and aristocrats. Eventually Shugendō as an institutional religion formed two major organizations: the Honzan-ha headquartered at Shōgo-in and affiliated with Tendai Buddhism, and the Tōzan-ha headquartered at Kōfuku-ji and Daigo-ji and affiliated with Shingon Buddhism. Thus the older shamanistic and mountain ascetic practices were incorporated within the categories, teachings, and practices of esoteric Buddhism, and Shugendō came to represent a large part of the dominant syncretistic worldview of medieval Japan. In the early modern period (the seventeenth to the nineteenth century) the most common form of the shugenja shifted from that of ascetic wanderers to that of figures settled in local society, taking on roles such as *oshi* ("teachers," or "guides") and *kitōshi* (diviners who offer "prayers").

Shugendō in present-day Japan is only a shadow of its past glory. As a syncretistic mix of various traditions, it was outlawed in the late nineteenth century, as part of the attempt by the Japanese government to "purify" Shinto of its "foreign" elements. Shugendō organizations recovered their independence with the postwar declaration of religious freedom in the second half of the 1940s, and many pilgrimages and mountain retreats (such as the Yoshino-Kumano pilgrimage along the Ōmine Range, and the seasonal retreats at Haguro) have been revived by their former institutional centers. The ascetic practices in the mountains are not as severe as in the past, though at one time or another all of the practices listed above are performed. The shugenja of today visit the "Otherworld" in the sense that they go on retreats or pilgrimages to the mountains or other sacred sites. Some still "visit" the Otherworld in a trance. There are many instances of yamabushi or shugenja acting as shamanic mediums during the origin and development of so-called new religions (such as Tenrikyō) in the modern period, but it would be difficult to categorize current Shugendō simply as "shamanism."

Shamanistic Aspects of Shugendō

The shamanistic elements of Shugendō are reflected in its cosmology (particularly with regard to mountains), its religious rituals, and the worldview that underlies its ascetic practices.

The mountain has always played a central role in Shugendō, both in its religious symbolism and as the physical, geographical space where ascetic practices and religious rituals were performed. However, the meaning of the mountain has shifted and developed over the years. In ancient Japan the mountain was believed by many to be the land of the dead, a place where the spirits of the ancestors lingered (the dead were often buried, or the corpses left, in the mountains), and the dwelling of demonic forces. The mountains were also the land of the *kami* (gods). In the spring the "god(s) of the mountains" *(yama no kami)* descended to become the "god(s) of the fields" *(ta no kami)* to protect the agricultural process and provide a good crop. After the harvest festival the gods returned to the mountains to dwell there until the next spring.

In a broader sense the mountains were a "separate" realm, or at least the boundary between "this world" and "that world." Entering this realm provided the opportunity to communicate with the dead, the spirits, or the gods, and appropriate actions could allow one to tap the supernatural power of this realm. "Entering the mountain" was a kind of death, and emerging from the mountain a kind of rebirth, accompanied by the acquisition of spiritual powers. The death and rebirth symbolism is reflected in many of the practices of the

yamabushi, as well as in the names of specific geographical features in the mountains, and the process of death and rebirth is still a strong motif in contemporary Shugendō practices. For example, the Yoshino-Kumano mountain retreat involves passing through four gates (*shimon,* "the gates of death": *Shi* can mean either "four" or "death") to symbolize the death of the shugenja as they enter the mountain. Once they reach Mount Ōmine south of Yoshino, the shugenja enter and wind through a narrow cave called *tainai kuguri* (passing through the womb) to reemerge and be reborn. Some of the caves in the mountains were traditionally believed to be passageways to the realm of the dead or to the "separate" realm of the spirits or another world.

Mountains were also seen as the "cosmic pillar" (*axis mundi,* "axis of the world") that connected heaven and earth, this world and that world, the sacred and the profane. Mount Kimbu in Yoshino, for example, was also known as Kokujiku-san (Mount Pillar-of-the-Country). With the advent of esoteric Buddhism, this cosmic symbolism was cast in terms of Buddhist cosmology and imagery. Certain geographical areas (such as the Yoshino–Ōmine–Kumano mountain range, used for retreats, ascetic practice, and pilgrimage) were identified with the twin womb realm *(taizōkai)* and diamond realm *(kongōkai)* mandalas, with their vast array of symbolic figures, Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other non-Buddhist guardian deities. In this way the mountains became symbolically identified with the body of the cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana (in Japanese, Dainichi), and entering the mountains took on the added significance of becoming integrated with the Buddha, and thus attaining enlightenment. The idea of an axis mundi, and the role of the shugenja as a medium between "this world" and "that world," was also expressed through various Shugendō rituals. The *hashiramoto* (the source of the pillar) rituals, for example, still often performed, involve a ritual performance of the origin of the universe, wherein a shugenja is symbolically reborn as a sacred figure who can link and communicate between the realms of the sacred and the profane (Miyake 1985, 213–235). A shugenja who performs this ritual becomes a "pillar" who connects heaven and earth, and thus has the shamanic power to "visit" the spiritual world, become knowledgeable about both worlds, communicate between these realms, and use the power of the other realm to influence events in our own world.

The acquisition of spiritual power through the performance of ascetic practices in the mountains was reinterpreted along esoteric Buddhist lines in terms of attaining Buddhahood in this very life and body (*sokushin jōbutsu*) through integration with the cosmic Buddha Mahāvairocana, or with Fudō-myō-ō, a figure with a fiery and angry visage who represents an aspect of the cosmic Buddha as active in destroying the passionate afflictions of this world. Attainment of Buddhahood was achieved symbolically by experiencing and passing through the ten "realms," from the "evil" realms of "hell" (various physical and mental torments), "hungry demons" (suffering hunger and thirst), animals or beasts, and *asura* (constant conflict), to the "good" realms of human beings, divine beings, *śrāvaka* (disciples of the Buddha), *pratyekabuddha*s (solitary enlightened beings), bodhisattvas, and finally that of the Buddhas.

Shugendō rituals, and the worldview revealed therein, also have strong shamanistic aspects. Identification or integration with figures such as Fudō-myō-ō provided the shugenja with the power to perform various shamanistic functions such as rites of divine service, festivals for the kami, the art of the medium, prayers for calling down spirits for possession and communication with spirits through a medium, *goma* fire rituals, breaking of possession and rites of exorcism, magical charms, and incantations. Thus, in general, Shugendō rituals have been "means by which the *shugenja* spiritually identifies himself with the objects of worship, manipulates his subordinate deities, and ascertains the cause of misfortune to be the influence of evil spirits and evil kami. By removing such influence, exorcism of misfortune takes place" (Miyake 1970, 29, author's translation). These powers, activities, and worldview can be called "shamanistic."

More specifically, Miyake Hitoshi has summed it up thus: "The three motifs of identification, manipulation, and exorcism in Shugendō rituals are based on the following world view. First, the structure of the universe is such that behind the world of daily human life there is a separate spiritual realm that transcends yet controls our lives. Second, this spiritual

Yamabushi priest, 1998. Kyoto, Honshu, Japan. (Chris Lisle/Corbis)

world is inhabited by a syncretistic pantheon of various Buddhas, kami, deities, and so forth, which can be categorized into three types: those having a universalistic character, those having an individualistic or local character, and evil deities or spirits. Third, *shugenja,* by cultivating ascetic practices in the mountains, can attain spiritual identification with figures of universalistic character and directly utilize their power to manipulate the deities of individual character and control the evil deities and spirits to exorcise or remove evil influences" (Miyake 1993, 47). The deities that the shugenja call on are varied and depend on the ritual and needs of the occasion, and include a combination of Buddhist figures, Shinto gods, Daoist deities, and figures that are an amalgamation of all these individual traditions.

Shugendō, however, includes other components in addition to its shamanistic elements. Many shugenja never enter trance or serve as a medium for communication with the "other" world. Though shamanistic ideas and practices are prominent, the Shugendō tradition includes many other elements—such as Buddhist ethics, cosmology, and thought—that make it misleading to identify shugenja simply as shamans, or to define and discuss Shugendō only in terms of shamanism.

Paul L. Swanson

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Daoism and Shamanism; Japanese Shamanism

References and further reading:

Averbuch, Irit. 1995. *The Gods Come Dancing: A Study of the Japanese Ritual Dance of Yamabushi Kagura.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Series.

Blacker, Carmen. 1975. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Earhart, H. Byron. 1970. *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendō.* Tokyo: Sophia University.

Hori, Ichiro. 1968. *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miyake Hitoshi. 1970. *Shugendō girei no kenkyū* [A study of Shugendo ritual]. Tokyo: Shunjusha.

———. 1985. *Shugendō shisō no kenkyū* [A study of Shugendo thought]. Tokyo: Shunjusha.

———. 1993. "Religious Rituals in Shugendo." Pp. 31–48 in *Religion and Society in Modern Japan.* Edited by Mark R. Mullins, Shimazono Susumu, and Paul L. Swanson. Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press.

———. 2001. *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion.* Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.

Renondeau, Gaston. 1965. *Le Shugendō: Histoire, doctrine et rites des anachorètes dits Yamabushi* [The Shugendo: History, doctrine and rites of the anchorites called Yamabushi]. *Cahiers de la Société Asiatique* 18. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Rotermund, Hartmut O. 1968. *Die Yamabushi: Aspekte ihres Glaubens, Lebens und ihrer sozialen Funktion im japanischen Mittelalter* [The Yamabushi: Aspects of their beliefs, lives and their social function in the Japanese Middle Ages]. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter.

Swanson, Paul L., and Royall Tyler, eds. 1989. *Shugendo and Mountain Religion in Japan. Japanese Journal of Religious Studies,* special issue, 16, nos. 2–3.

OKINAWAN SHAMANS AND PRIESTESSES

Okinawa (the largest of the Ryukyu Islands and the name of the Japanese Prefecture in which the Ryukyu Islands are situated) is of great interest to scholars of religion because of its unique identity as the only contemporary culture in which women priestesses are the official leaders of the mainstream, publicly funded religious system, and women shamanistic practitioners far outnumber men both in the villages and the cities.

Annexed by Japan in the late nineteenth century, Okinawan culture resembles Japanese culture in many ways, albeit perhaps more in appearance than in substance. The materials used in Okinawan ritual—incense, sake, rice, and salt—are used in Japanese rituals as well. Okinawa has also had long-standing cultural ties with China, and the Okinawan ritual repertoire has incorporated a variety of Chinese elements, such as geomancy. Despite centuries of intensive cultural contact with China and Japan, and the adoption of ritual elements from both cul-

tures, the meanings of rituals tend to be distinctively Okinawan, as does the prominent role of women in all parts of the Okinawan religious system.

The Okinawan ritual role that is commonly translated as "shaman" is that of the *yuta.* Although Okinawan yuta differ in significant ways from, for example, classic Siberian shamans, there are sufficient similarities to warrant consideration of Okinawan yuta in the study of shamans and shamanism cross-culturally. Although there are a small number of male yuta, the overwhelming majority are women.

Yuta are not the only ritual experts active in Okinawa. Aside from religious leaders who identify themselves as associated with an outside religious tradition (for example, the Buddhist priests who nowadays typically officiate at funerals), Okinawa is home to at least twenty different ritual specialist roles. Many of these roles are limited: A particular person or family is responsible for a shrine or for bringing a certain type of food to rituals. One of the most ubiquitous categories of ritual experts are simply referred to as "prayer *(ogami)* people"; these women are informally recognized as more skillful at prayer than their neighbors and may be called upon to help out other families by praying at ritual occasions; another name for these women is *utooto-obaa,* "praying grandmothers." Probably the most significant ritual specialists in Okinawan villages are the *kaminchu* (often called *kami-sama,* deities; this term is usually translated as "priestess" in English language sources). These women represent and embody the clan deities and ancestors and perform rituals that ensure the well-being of the clan or village as a whole.

The roles of and relationships among the various types of ritual specialist vary considerably throughout the Ryukyu Islands and tend to be quite different in villages as opposed to urban areas. The *yuta* role is currently in a state of transformation and seems to be more important in cities than in small villages, where priestesses are more highly regarded and more ritually active (for excellent discussions of yuta, see Ohashi, Sakumichi, and Horike 1984; Randall et al. 1989). In some villages there are no yuta at all; in others one or several yuta practice outside of the priestess-clan system. On Miyako Island today and also on Kudaka Island (but not Yaeyama Island), the yuta is a member of the village cult organization in her role as yuta, as told to the author (Masanobu Akamine, personal communication).

There is a great deal of debate in the literature regarding the role of yuta in previous times. According to historian George Kerr, during the late seventeenth century some Chinese Daoist practices crept into Okinawa's cultural repertoire. Specifically, "Fortunetellers known as *yuta* began to rival the *noro* priestesses in the eyes of the townsmen" (Kerr 1958, 219). In contrast, according to Kurayoshi Takara (1994), names of yuta appear in historical records from 600 years ago.

Some previous studies of Okinawan religion have treated yuta as part of a ritual framework separate from that of the clan and village priestesses and have given very little attention to ogami (prayer) people at all (Kamata 1966; Lebra 1966; Matsui, Horike, and Ohashi 1980; Ohashi, Sakumichi, and Horike 1984; Sakumichi et al. 1984). At least in the village in which the author conducted fieldwork during 1994–1995 (Henza Village; see Sered 1999), it is not possible to understand the meaning and role of yuta except in reference to priestesses and ogami people. Often there is a great deal of ambiguity regarding who actually is a yuta. Some women whom others consider to be yuta, and who are consulted by clients for their yuta skills, deny that they are yuta, either because they are afraid that the word *yuta* has pejorative associations for some Okinawans and Japanese, or because proclaiming oneself to be a yuta may be seen as bragging about one's special talents and abilities. Boasting is considered highly inappropriate in Okinawa. Some yuta say that they are ogami people rather than yuta, perhaps as a way of avoiding the label *yuta,* and some yuta say that they used to be "only" prayer people but that they have since developed more skills and are now yuta.

The essence of the work of yuta is mediation, or connecting between villagers and other aspects of the cosmos. Yuta are consulted by clients because they know how to ask the deities whether a particular woman should be a priestess or a yuta; they are able to transmit messages from deceased ancestors to living descendants; they can discern the reasons for misfortune; and they can tell if an upcoming move or change is a good one or not. Yuta may know how to consult books that tell whether

certain days or years are auspicious and which direction graves should be face. It is routine to consult a yuta after a death, to ask if the dead person is comfortable and if s/he wants to tell the living person something, such as to take better care of his or her tomb. Villagers do not consult yuta only in the wake of misfortune. It is common to consult the yuta regularly, perhaps once each year shortly after the New Year to ask the family's fortune for the year, much in the same way that many Westerners visit a physician each year for tests and screening. The fortune is not etched in stone—the purpose of the consultation is both to find out if there are problems and to use ritual means to clear them up. The yuta's work is called "doing *handan*" (*hanji* in Okinawan dialect). *Handan* denotes judgments and connotes diagnosis. Some yuta will help the client perform the prayers or other rituals needed to clear up problems; other yuta only diagnose problems, and then the client may ask an ogami person or another yuta to help out with the prayers and rituals. It is very common to consult several yuta in order to be sure that the answers that one has received are correct.

Most villagers bring someone with them when they visit the yuta. Families often come as a group, although it is usual for only the oldest woman to actually speak to the yuta; everyone else kneels quietly in the background. When the clients enter the room they bow to the yuta. The yuta may or may not wear a special jacket or robe. As in many other cultural settings, this shamanistic practitioner seems to work by the "law of accumulation"—collecting many and diverse ritual objects in order to maximize her efficacy (cf. Bastide 1978, 278). The yuta's altar will be full, with pictures, statues, a crystal ball, incense bowls, and amulets from various Buddhist and Shinto shrines.

A typical ritual at the yuta's house begins with lighting incense. Then the yuta asks the client for a list of family members, including the *eto* (birth year) of each one. The yuta writes these down on a piece of paper. She may eliminate names of people who are not living in the house, or who are not part of the client's close lineage. The yuta is careful to get the client's exact house address and the correct *kanji* (Chinese character) for the family name. During the session the yuta repeatedly consults the paper with this information. The ritual continues on which she has written the yuta saying "*Utooto*" (the way any Okinawan prayer begins) and then reciting family names and dates. Different yuta have different techniques, but a common one is to pick up pinches of rice while chanting in a monotonous voice. The yuta then counts the grains of rice to see if she has received a positive or negative answer. She will repeat the chanting and rice counting possibly a dozen or more times in one session. During the session her voice subtly alternates between her own prayer-chant and the information she is passing on from the kami-sama, or ancestor. She may occasionally stop her chanting to ask the client a brief question. On her table she may have a book of calendrical information based on the Chinese calendar. This book will be used at the end when she tells the client what and when to pray in order to clear up problems. The session may end with the yuta making a date to accompany the client to a grave or a shrine. The client hands the yuta money (typically 3,000 yen) and leaves, bowing deeply.

Unlike the performance skills that are de rigueur for Korean shamans (cf. Kendall 1996), the performance skills of Okinawan yuta take a far second place to their divination skills. Yuta wear plain white jackets, sit still, and murmur quietly. Yuta gain a great reputation for their "go through" ability—that is, for their ability to communicate with deities and ancestors, rather than for their performative talents. The ability to "go through" is seen as a matter of having a "clean heart" and of being born with the predisposition to "go through"; acquired skills, especially performative skills, are of minor importance and perhaps even frowned upon. Stories circulate of yuta who "act crazy;" that is, speak in odd voices or perform feats of strength; and the consensus tends to be that these are not "true" or "go through" yuta at all.

Each yuta has one or more kami-sama with whom she communicates regularly. She will probably have an altar for that kami-sama. Her special kami-sama will pass on to her information about clients' ancestors. Here is how one yuta in Henza Village has described her work to the author:

> First when I pray, when someone comes to see me, I pray to Mautugami [her special kami-sama]. And sometimes his wife, the one who is next to him, asks some questions, like

Priestesses praying at sacred well during Shinugu festival. (Courtesy of Susan Sered)

> in that family did this and such happen. So I ask the customer. The customers usually don't tell the whole family story, like that some family member committed suicide. First they say that there is no suicide in the family, but then I ask the *kami-sama* and the *kami-sama* tells me that there was such a child that you threw in the ocean and you didn't take out the soul and save it, and then the customer starts crying.

A session with a yuta tends to be cordial, and the yuta may briefly respond on a human level to problems brought by their clients, but in general yuta do not usually give the client much time to talk. The yuta may make quiet murmurs of sympathy, but there is no sense of this being a support group or a therapy session. Most of the yuta-client interaction consists of the yuta divining the source of problems, not discussing the content of the problems. The yuta role is not limited to private interactions in the yuta's own house or office. Many yuta spend a great deal of time on the road, taking clients to various public shrines to pray. Certain shrines are frequented by large numbers of yuta who bring clients with them from shrine to shrine.

Yuta can see things that ordinary people cannot see. This ability allows them to predict the future and to find and bring back lost souls. It also allows them to see if a foreign spirit, perhaps a dead grandmother, is "attached" to the client and thereby causing illness. Because the yuta can communicate with ancestors, they can "calm them down," and they can tell descendants about unfinished business that the ancestor had on earth, especially bad acts that need to be "cleaned up." The terms *clean up* and *clear up* are frequently used by yuta. Cleaning up and clearing up refer both to ancestral lines that have become confused and need to be sorted out properly, and mistakes made in the past that have left a trail behind them. In the case of ancestors who did something bad, their behavior will affect the descendants unless the descendants clean things up. Illness (in the broad sense of disruption to the normal har-

mony of the body, family, and village) is probably the most frequent manifestation of disorder that needs to be cleared up; therefore, healing is one of the tasks of the yuta. Yuta distinguish between real illness—which necessitates a doctor, and ancestral disorder—which is their sphere of expertise.

Okinawan yuta are not a close fit for classic notions of shamanism: Yuta do not lose consciousness, travel up to the sky in ecstatic journeys, experience a significant initiation ritual characterized by themes of death and rebirth, summon spirit familiars, or perform cures (Eliade 1964; cf. Hori 1968, 203–205, on Japanese shamans). Nor do Okinawan yuta have unique abilities to contact hidden realms of existence. In Okinawan cosmology kami-sama and ancestors are fully immanent and so accessible to everyone, not only to yuta. Okinawan yuta are simply regular human beings who have developed certain talents to a greater degree than have most people and so can more easily access the kami-sama and ancestors. Unlike shamans in many cultures, yuta do not seem to have much power over either people or spirits (although villagers may not always recognize that this is the case). The role of yuta is to transmit information and help people (dead and alive) negotiate better relationships; the yuta does not manipulate either spirits or people to the extent that shamans in many other cultural settings do.

Yuta do not seem to use their spiritual abilities to effect social or cultural change. Rather, they tend to teach mainstream or even elite cultural values to the common people. In Henza Village, for example, the author never heard a yuta say anything substantially different from what the village headman, priestesses, or schoolteachers said.

The mainstream role of yuta is exemplified by their relationship with the *hinu-kan* (the hearth deity). The hinu-kan is one of the most prevalent, prosaic, and ancient Okinawan ritual items. It is found in every home in Henza; indeed it represents the home, and it is prayed to regularly, not only at times of misfortune. When priestesses are asked to teach about hinu-kan, they typically refer to yuta, saying that the yuta is the person who knows about hinu-kan. Of course, priestesses pray at the hinu-kan, both in their roles as female householders responsible for the house's hearth deity, and in the priestesses' ritual sequence that typically begins with praying at the hinu-kan located in the clan or village *kami-ya* (literally "god house"; the building in which priestesses carry out many of their rituals).

The interrelatedness of the various ritual roles is well illustrated in the sequence of ceremonies surrounding the building of a new house. Six distinct rituals are performed during the process of building a house. The first involves checking with a yuta to make sure that the house is clear of malevolent influences and that this year is an auspicious one for the family to build. The second, usually led by an ogami (praying person), is done at the beginning of the building. This prayer announces that the building will begin soon, that stray spirits should go away, and that the family is building a new house for a good reason (for example, their current house is too old or too small). Partway through the building the chief carpenter conducts a small ritual when the roof is raised. When the building is finished, the ogami person returns and prays at the corners of the property. Her prayer goes something like this: "*Oharai kudasai* [go away please]. Lumber spirit, tree spirit, metal spirit, cement spirit, sand spirit—Go out of the house!" The ogami person will come back a few days later, on an auspicious day, to help transfer the hinu-kan from the old house to the new. Finally, at the conclusion of the building, the village priestesses come for a full-day ritual called *yanusuji,* in which the family gives the priestesses a lengthy and formal series of food offerings, and the priestesses pray for health for the family.

Despite some sense that there are some charlatans among the yuta population, yuta are not social misfits. Yuta's houses look like normal Okinawan houses, and yuta may be married, widowed, divorced, or unmarried (rare). If yuta stand out from other Okinawan women in any way, it may be that they tend to be more articulate (a trait that is admired in yuta and other ritual specialists). It is common to make a distinction between real yuta ("go through yuta"—yuta who "go through" to the ancestors or kami-sama) and fakes (especially those who only know what they read in books). Scorn is limited to the latter.

Okinawans may express ambivalent feelings about yuta. This ambivalence tends to be expressed in terms of fear: fear of the yuta's spiri-

tual gifts (she can see the dead and other potentially frightening beings) and fear of her ability to access intimate knowledge of the problems of village families. People say that they prefer to go to a yuta who does not know them, someone outside the village. The fear is not that the yuta will use her knowledge to do harm, but rather a general uneasiness with the power represented by the yuta's knowledge. The preference for a yuta from another village also reflects interest in empirical proof of spiritual matters. A yuta who can discern specifics about people she does not know is more likely to be respected. It is customary for villagers to consult more than one yuta. This custom significantly lessens the power of the yuta; no one yuta can obtain real control over the lives of her clients.

An additional source of ambivalence regarding yuta is the issue of money. The payment of the yuta is a business transaction, whereas the food given to priestesses is an offering. These two things are ontologically different; whereas the money payment to yuta may be treated with some slight unease in a society in which the use of cash is fairly new and closely associated with the economic imperialism of America and Japan, giving food to the kami-sama priestesses is ancient and venerable. Significantly, the yuta is paid with "naked" money (plain, unwrapped bills) in a society in which money given on ritual occasions (such as funerals, weddings, and so on) is always wrapped in a decorative envelope.

It is instructive to look at the axes around which Okinawans tend to organize the similarities and differences between yuta and priestesses. The priestess is the embodiment of one particular kami-sama (deity); she has a lifetime association or amalgamation with that kami-sama. Yuta, in contrast, can contact many different kami-sama, ancestors, and spirits. Yuta hear and see various entities, but they are not possessed by them. On the contrary, possession is the domain of priestesses, who *become* kami-sama during rituals.

Priestesses explain that they do not converse with kami-sama. It may be that the kami-sama (deities) do not talk to priestesses because the priestess *is* the kami-sama, or it may be that they do not talk because there is no reason for the kami-sama to pass on information to the priestess—there is nothing she needs the information for. The yuta, on the other hand, maintains an existential separation from the kami-sama (although she sometimes speaks in the kami-sama's or ancestor's voice); therefore she can hear and see kami-sama. Indeed, the ability to convey information between worlds lies at the heart of the yuta role. The ability of yuta to converse with kami-sama is what leads some priestesses to feel that yuta are spiritually "higher" than they themselves are; priestesses (in some parts of Okinawa) rely upon yuta to discern who among the village women is "born" to be a priestess.

The priestess *is* the kami-sama; once she understands that, the ability to do the kami-sama's role comes naturally. The spiritual gifts of the yuta, on the other hand, can be developed and improved upon. Yuta, for example, use books in their ritual practice, whereas priestesses do not. Unlike priestesses, yuta (and ogami) people describe long illnesses that made them dysfunctional; religious involvement functioned to ameliorate their illness and rehabilitate their social standing. Priestess is a semi-inherited role, and the preinitiation illness is mild—a mark or a stamp. A particular woman may not know from childhood that she will be a priestess, but she knows that the chances are high; her mother, aunt, or grandmother have been priestesses before her. Yuta need a great deal of persuasion to take on a role that is seen as strenuous, somewhat dangerous, and of ambiguous social status; a series of debilitating illnesses is just that sort of persuasion.

The following is an excerpt from a life history reported to the author by a yuta who was born in Henza but now lives in another village in the central part of Okinawa:

> About twenty years ago I got crazy. For one week I didn't eat but only drank. The two sides of my head were doing different things, one was crazy but one remembered. My legs swelled up. [At this point her husband joined the conversation and they talked at length about how crazy she was, and her husband said that he left the house to get away from her.] People would stare at the leaves on trees when I went by in order not to look at me, I was so crazy. I went to the hospital but the doctor didn't know what was wrong. But I figured out what was wrong when the kami-sama of Henza, the water kami, told me that I should be a yuta, that I should buy the book

[a fortune-teller, geomancy book that she identifies as Chinese].

When priestesses tell how they became priestesses, their narratives tend to describe episodes of weakness and bleeding. Yuta-to-be, in contrast, tend to suffer from problems with their heads—an appropriate training ground for a ritual expert whose work involves speaking with and hearing deities and ancestors. Yuta are independent practitioners. They work outside of any kind of larger system or structure, and illness is the way in which they become socially recognized ritual practitioners. As experts in human misfortune, a personal history of having overcome terrible illness and suffering is the best possible proof of their own ritual efficacy. Illness is their training, their university; via illness they learn their role. Priestesses, on the other hand, work within the clan system; they have no need to attract clientele or to show off their skills; and there is no suggestion that suffering makes them into good priestesses. All that the priestess needs is to prove that she is indeed the one who was born to sit in the kami-sama's place.

Priestesses are linked both to the village social structure (the clan organization) and to the village geography; priestesses are obligated to pray and simply to sit in certain sacred sites, especially the *utaki* (sacred groves). These sacred groves may be water sites, particular points along the coast or certain tree-groves. Priestesses often report that they cannot leave the village; perhaps they tried once to move to Tokyo or to a city in Okinawa, but their kami-sama made it impossible for them to stay away. In a sense, priestesses are not only embodiments of deity, they are also embodiments of the village or clan itself. The prayers of a priestess are meaningless and useless for people outside of her clan, and her ability to perform her role is inherently linked to her presence in the village. Yuta, in contrast, are mobile, flexible, and able to serve a wide clientele. For these reasons, yuta tend to flourish in the cities, and as Okinawa's population is becoming increasingly urbanized, there is some evidence that the yuta phenomenon is growing while the priestess phenomenon is shrinking. This evidence, however, must be taken with a grain of salt, given the history of suppression of yuta, which makes it impossible to know how many yuta practiced in the past. Another question that remains open is to what extent yuta are present in Okinawan immigrant communities in Japan, North America, South America, and elsewhere. Although there seems to be some variation, the usual pattern is to avoid publicizing the role of yuta out of reluctance to seem old-fashioned or in the face of the dominating (and sometimes oppressive) presence of Christianity or Otherworld religions. In some cases an Okinawan woman has joined another religion, but continued to consult or practice as a yuta, albeit under a different title. In other cases yuta are periodically flown in from Okinawa, or immigrants return to Okinawa to consult yuta. In general, yuta do not seem to be as widespread in immigrant communities as in Okinawa proper.

Susan Sered

From Women of the Sacred Groves *by Susan Starr Sered, copyright 1999 by Susan Starr Sered. Used by permission of Oxford University Press, Inc.*

See also: Japanese Shamanism; Tsugaru Shamanism; Urban Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bastide, Roger. 1978. *The African Religions of Brazil.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. Originally published as *Les Religions africaines au vers une sociologie des interpenetrations de civilisations.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Hori, Ichiro. 1968. *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kamata, Hisako. 1966. "Daughters of the Gods: Shaman Priestesses in Japan and Okinawa." Pp. 56–73 in *Folk Cultures of Japan and East Asia.* Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, no. 25. Tokyo: Sophia University Press.

Kendall, Laurel. 1996. "Initiating Performance: The Story of Chini, A Korean Shaman." Pp. 17–58 in *Performance of Healing.* Edited by Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman. New York: Routledge.

Kerr, George H. 1958. *Okinawa: The History of an Island People.* Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company.

Lebra, William P. 1966. *Okinawan Religion.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Matsui, Hiroko, Kazuya Horike, and Hideshi Ohashi. 1980. "Rorschach Responses of Okinawan Shamans 'Yuta'." *Tohoku Psychologica Folia* 39, nos. 1–4: 61–78.

Ohashi, Hideshi, Shinsuke Sakumichi, and Kazuya Horike. 1984. "A Social Psychological Study of Okinawan Shamanism (1)—Approach and Some Findings." *Tohoku Psychologica Folia* 43, nos. 1–4: 66–79.

Randall, Maxine, Koichi Naka, Aiko Ikei, Hiroshi Ishizu, William Randall, and Toshihiro Takaishi. 1989. "High Spirit Rank Birth *(Saadaka Unmari)* in Okinawa: Toward a Medical Anthropological Approach to Mental Health." Paper presented at the 1989 World Congress for Mental Health, Auckland, New Zealand.

Sakumichi, Shinsuke, Hideshi Ohashi, Hiroko Horike, and Nobuya Tohyama. 1984. "A Social Psychological Study of Okinawan Shamanism (II): An Investigation of the Health-Seeking Process in the Traditional Society under the Infiltration of Modern Western Culture." *Tohoku Psychologica Folia* 43, nos. 1–4: 80–90.

Sered, Susan. 1999. *Women of the Sacred Groves: Divine Priestesses of Okinawa.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Takara, Kurayoshi. 1994. "King and Priestess: Spiritual and Political Power in Ancient Ryukyu." Paper presented at the International Society for Ryukyuan Studies, Harvard University, Reischauer Institute.

TSUGARU SHAMANISM (JAPAN)

Tsugaru people, the inhabitants of the northernmost region of the main island of Japan, developed a distinct indigenous culture as a result of the assimilation of the Ainu. While their shamanistic practices are influenced by Buddhism, Shintoism, and other nationalistic values, they still retain a strong link with those of the Ainu to their north. However, certain aspects of Tsugaru shamanism also share similarities with shamanistic practices found in Siberia.

Background

A peninsula in the prefecture of Aomori at the northwestern tip of Honshū (the main island of Japan), Tsugaru borders on Hokkaidō to its north. Among its earliest settlers were speakers of the Ainu language; according to a local tradition, the name *Tsugaru* was originally the Ainu *chupka-un-kur,* the "people at the base of the sun," or "Easterners" (Kanagi Kyōdo-shi [Kanagi local history] hensan iinkai [publishing committee] 1976). Tsugaru was the last stronghold of the Ezo/Emishi, "Indigenous Peoples," in Honshū, where they maintained open military resistance for more than a thousand years until the end of the sixteenth century.

Tsugaru Shamanism

Cosmology of the People in Tsugaru

According to some local oral traditions, the people of Tsugaru are the descendants of Asobe and Tsuboke, two different ethnic ancestors to the people of Tsugaru. Some of these traditions were written down during the Edo period by local families, and these "unofficial" documents are to this day much disputed. However, Shibata Shigeo argued that the name *Asobe* is a mispronunciation of the Ainu word *appe,* "fire," and that Tsuboke was originally *chupka,* "the sun."

One of the most striking similarities people in Tsugaru have with the Ainu in Hokkaido and elsewhere is their fundamental belief in mountains as the dwellings of the high gods and ancestral souls. It is believed in Tsugaru that when one dies, one's soul returns to the mountain, and an elaborate ritual structure has been preserved to this day. This worship is best exemplified by the practices concerning Mount Iwaki, which represent the "official" side of mountain worship, as well as the rituals carried out on the southeastern slope of Mount Akakura, which can stand for the less commercialized but equally significant "unofficial" component, made up of the kind of diverse shamanic cults celebrated on Mount Akakura.

Salmon Festival and Bear Ceremony

Salmon has been an important food and resource for Tsugaru people, and they have traditionally conducted an annual salmon festival at the end of the season in December. The salmon

kings that come up the river are twins called Osuke and Kosuke, "big one" and "little one," and they are believed to be brothers. It is said that Osuke represents the head, Kosuke the tail. When the twin salmon come up the river in the moonlight, no one is supposed to see them, or hear them talk. Villagers gather for a big feast and entertainment, so as to make sure no one hears the salmons' voices.

Until fairly recently, bear ceremonials, *kebokai,* were a common practice among the Matagi (*matagi:* "to hunt" in Ainu) of southwestern Tsugaru. Bear are still being hunted there, though such hunts are not very common at the present day. In essence, the Ainu and Matagi bear rituals developed from similar early forms into two different types, due to socioeconomic changes in the Edo period (1590–1868) (Ikeya 1997, 63). This development created certain differences in ritual between the Hokkaido Ainu and the Tsugaru Matagi. The Tsugaru Matagi, for example, conducted a bear ceremony when the bear was hunted, rather than capturing a cub and raising it in the village, which has come increasingly to characterize the contemporary Ainu bear ceremony. The influence of Buddhism, such as chanting Buddhist sutras, or hoping that the bear can enter Nirvana, was present among the Tsugaru Matagi, but absent among the Hokkaido Ainu. The bearskin dance was still practiced by the Matagi; however, Chiri Mashiho reported that among the Hokkaido Ainu it became a rare regional variant (Chiri 1973, 10–11). The "heart opening" in the bear sacrifice ritual is practiced by some Matagi in Tsugaru, but according to Ikeya Kazunobu it is not found among the Ainu (Ikeya 1999).

Itako and Kamisama: Blind Storyteller and Divine Healer

There are two major types of shamans in Tsugaru, the *itako* and the *kamisama.* The former is associated with blindness, often blindness from birth, and the latter involves an acquired divine spiritual power.

The primary characteristic of an itako is her specialization: transmitting the words of the dead in a state of trance. This is called *kuchiyose,* and itako gather at certain temple and shrine events to perform kuchiyose for the visitors, in addition to doing it at home or even visiting their clients. Itako also deliver messages from the deities and other beings, do divinations, exorcise, purify, and cure illnesses for those in need.

The itako heal the sick by the chanting of sutras and the handling of materia medica, such as *oshira* (a divine implement shaped like a doll), and rosaries. Sometimes the cause of illness is interpreted as being due to the evil spirit of a human being, an animal, a bird, a tree, a stone, or indeed anything in the world, dead or alive. The itako and her clients often interpret the causes of current misfortunes, tracing them back to ancestral misconduct, which has not been atoned for. The itako is responsible for the final diagnosis of the cause, and for prescribing compensatory measures (Sasamori 1997, 47–49).

The healing power of itako lies partly in the deep cultural faith in the spirit of language. Thus there are a number of sutras specifically used by itako for the purpose of preventing or curing illness; these sutras include what are called *saimon,* sacred epic poems, which developed from the local oral tradition. Many magical words, moreover, used by itako include words that protect a person from fox tricks, heal wounds, draw a thorn out of the throat, and heal a snake bite. Not only spoken words, but also written characters are believed to have magical power (Sasamori 1997, 48).

The other major class of spiritual practitioner in Tsugaru are the kamisama. *Kamisama* is an umbrella term for those shamans who are not itako: *gomiso, arimasa, noriki, ogamiya,* or *yori.* The major areas of practice and function, which differentiate kamisama and itako, include the following:

1. Kamisama are not blind.
2. Kamisama are self-declared and trained, but itako are apprenticed.
3. Itako specialize in *hotoke-oroshi* (literally, "bringing the dead down," possession by the spirits of the dead), but kamisama usually prefer not to perform this.
4. Itako are registered with special temples, which manage them, but kamisama are more independent.
5. Kamisama's séances and services are pragmatic and relatively mundane, and do not include the performance of elaborate sutras or epic poetry.

6. The itako's possessions (bringing down the dead) follow rules and taboos, but kamisama tend to bring down spirits based on demand. (Sakurai 1970)

Like itako, kamisama do divination and become possessed, as well as offering prayers and exorcisms. Most kamisama also worship oshira, but only a few do séances with them. Each kamisama believes in different deities, since each is protected by different spirit guides. When conducting a séance, they call on various deities for help, instead of chanting a sutra. Most of the time the séance is conducted at a kamisama's house but occasionally they cater their services, such as when doing purification ceremonies. The client's need for a kamisama tends to be more urgent, and a kamisama must respond to a greater variety of requests than an itako. Another important way in which a kamisama differs from an itako is that she does not necessarily experience "ecstasy" as part of becoming a shaman, or during her séances.

In the past, when medical practitioners did not need degrees and licenses, kamisama treated sick people on a broad scale. Their treatments were chiefly massage therapy and moxabustion, combined with prescriptions for herbal medicine and dietary advice. Their conception of illness was based on their understanding of the flow of bodily fluids and the impure elements that caused diseases. Thus, removing "old blood" was a major area of treatment, as it was with the Hokkaido Ainu (Eda 1970).

Recruiting, Initiation, and Training

In Tsugaru, the situation concerning the recruiting and training of shamans is complex and variable. At one end of the spectrum there is the itako system, with its basis in feudalism: Candidacy is defined by blindness and the parents' decision to apprentice a girl to a master itako, with whom she is expected to obtain ascetic training for several years until she receives her spirit guide through the initiation ritual. At the other end of the spectrum, there are nonspecialized individuals in remote villages who act as ceremonial masters and divine healers for the village, whose role and functions are transmitted through the mother's line to daughters, or to daughters-in-law. Between the two we have kamisama, who, like many shamans found in Siberia, often experience shamanic illness, obtain visions and spirit guides spontaneously overnight, and claim that they learn the divine way directly from the spirits. Family does not play a crucial role in transmitting a kamisama's status or power, but family succession does occasionally occur.

Shamanic Performance, Dresses, and Instruments

In Tsugaru, traditional shamanism is expressed through a multitude of different activities and accessories today, but it is still possible to recognize similarities with Ainu practice.

Itako. The itako's bow and the large *juzu,* "rosary," were already in use by female shamans in ancient Japan, and its presence signals a connection with Siberian shamanism. The string of the bow is tapped to evoke the spirit of the dead, and it is believed that the spirit will then remain at the edge of the bow (Sasamori 1997, 51). The itako's rosary is usually made of a combination of beads and various fetish objects received from Matagi hunters, such as animal fangs, claws, horns, and bones, as well as perforated Japanese coins from the early Edo period. These fetishes are believed to "protect people from evil spirits, expel harmful spirits, and purify the itako's body, which is stained due to possession by the spirits of the dead" (Sasamori 1997, 50).

Itako visit client families at their request in spring and fall to do *oshira-asobase,* "entertaining the oshira." The oshira are given new clothes called *osendaku,* and the itako chants oshira saimon to bring down the spirits. She wards off evil by writing a grid and pronouncing at the same time a formula that is written with nine Chinese characters, *kuji.* She then flourishes the oshira doll statues in the air with both hands.

Itako also use drums, large Japanese-style ones, which are placed beside their altars at home, and *shakujō,* stick rattles consisting of several small metal rings hanging on a metallic frame attached to the top of a wooden stick. *Gohei,* a sacred pole with pieces of cut paper attached, is used by Shintō priests; it is also an accessory for itako, who wave it in purification rituals (Sasamori 1997, 49–50). In Tsugaru,

pieces of Ainu shaved wood, *inaw,* have mostly been replaced by elaborate handmade paper versions, or mass-produced and simplified ones similar to those of a Shintō type.

Itako's other essentials for shamanizing include candles, incense, and sake. Yamada Hidezō reported, however, that some itako in eastern Aomori used a sacred lacquered prayer stick, similar to the Ainu *iku-pasuy,* when conducting ceremonies. They placed the stick over a large bowl, *tsuki,* filled with sake and consumed the sake while pressing the stick with the forefingers, as the Hokkaido Ainu do (Yamada 1982, 202).

Kamisama. In sharp contrast to itako, there are no fixed forms for the séance of the kamisama or her performance as a shaman. There are some kamisama who use a rosary and shakujō like itako, but the use of the bow is limited to itako. The use of drums is more common for a kamisama in front of her altar at home. Most kamisama are affiliated with some kind of religious organization, which gives them a license, Shintō or Buddhist, and thus they follow the procedures set by their licensee in their use of props. For example, a kamisama affiliated with the esoteric Shingon sect may use a mandala during her séance. *Gohei* are commonly used on the altar of a kamisama and for purification. Candles and incense are common, and so is sake (Tanaka 2000, 438).

Shamanic Dance. Neputa is a renowned festival of Aomori, which takes place in early August. It is popularly said to be a celebration of the conquests of the General Sakanoueno Tamuramaro, though there is no record of any visit by him to Tsugaru. Tamuramaro as a glorified conqueror is a common motif found in many myths and legends in Tsugaru. According to Ogawa Seikichi, education officer in the Hokkaidō Ainu Association, interviewed by the author in 1999, however, *neputa* is derived from an Ainu expression, *neputa ka kaputa,* meaning "what is that?" It is most likely that it had its origin in an indigenous war dance: When Ainu warriors confronted attackers from the south, they came down from their forts on the hills in full regalia, chanting and dancing, trying to ward off evil. This shamanic performance is the legacy of the final Ainu battles for independence, and its original nature can still be seen in contemporary forms, highly commercialized and modified.

The neputa dance is wild, hopping all the way through, commonly in a form of procession on the street, or as a circle dance in an open space. The powerful drumbeat, the sound of the flute, and the endless, repetitive chanting of "rasseyraa, rasseyraa, rasse, rasse, rasseyraa," creates an extraordinary atmosphere in the darkness. Fitfully illuminated by the light from the numerous floats, the dancers go on all night without much rest, and this is repeated for several days.

The traditional Ainu grand procession to ward off evil was characterized by one indispensable physical action: hopping and stamping. This type of dance manifested itself in various forms and on various occasions: war, warding off demons and disasters, and welcoming visitors who have come by boat. In Tsugaru, the hopping dance of the neputa similarly characterizes the descent of Mount Iwaki, and a variety of processions to ward off disease, evil, and disasters (Shindō 1970).

Sake is also a critical element in shamanism for both the Ainu and the Tsugaru people. These intoxicants are carefully brewed with specific instructions to ward off evil. In Ainu society, the production of sake is assigned exclusively to women. This has traditionally also been the case in Tsugaru, where the women in charge of making sake are called *toji* and are often ceremonial masters and shamanesses as well. Since sake has been the primary consciousness-altering substance for both the Ainu and the Tsugaru people, sake making is considered a sacred duty. In Tsugaru, in addition to rice, millet and barley are also used to make alcoholic beverages. It appears that wine making in Tsugaru has a long history prior to the introduction of rice wine, and its methods have much in common with those of the Ainu in Hokkaido (Fukuda 1999, 2–4). Today, the function of toji is preserved by female village elders known as *baba,* who also manage *kamado* and village duties, including shamanic rites.

Sakurako (Sherry) Tanaka

See also: Ainu Shamanism; Japanese Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Chiri Mashiho. 1973 [1954]. "Yukara no hitobito to sono seikatsu" [The people of

yukar and their lives]. Pp. 5–64 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 3. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

Eda Kinuko. 1970. "Tsugaru no gomiso" [Gomiso shamans of Tsugaru]. Pp. 331–346 in *Tsugaru no minzoku.* Edited by Wakamori Taro. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan.

Fukuda Yoshijiro. 1999. *Mutsugo, Yamase-chiiki-go no seiritsu to eikō [The Formation and the Heyday of Mutsu Language, and Eastern Blizzard Region Language].* Aomori: Aomori City.

Ikeya Kazunobu. 1997. "Bear Rituals of the Matagi and the Ainu in Northern Japan." Pp. 55–63 in *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism.* Edited by Irimoto Takeshi and Yamada Takako. Sapporo: Hokkaidō University Press.

Kanagi Kyōdo-shi hensan iinkai, ed. 1976. *Kanagi kyodo shi [Kanagi Hometown History].* Kanagi, Tsugaru: Kanagi-chō yakuba.

Sakurai Tokutarō. 1970. "Tsugaru itako to minzoku" [Tsugaru itako and shamanic custom]. Pp. 297–330 in *Tsugaru no minzoku.* Edited by Wakamori Tarō. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

———. 1988. *Nippon no Shamanizumu [Shamanism in Japan],* vol. 1. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbundō.

Sasamori Takefusa. 1997. "Healing Arts of the Itako." Pp. 47–55 in *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism.* Edited by Iromoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Sapporo: Hokkaidō University Press.

Shibata Shigeo. 1995. "Iwakisanchimeiko" [Thoughts on the Place Name of Mount Iwaki]. Pp. 53–57 in *Hokuo bunkakō*, no.16. Goshogawara: Hokuōbunka kenkyūkai.

Shindō Yukihiko. 1970. "Tsugaru no minzoku buyō" [Tsugaru folk dances]. Pp. 395–415 in *Tsugaru no minzoku.* Edited by Wakamori Tarō. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Tanaka Sakurako. 2000. "The Ainu of Tsugaru: Indigenous History and Shamanism of Northern Japan." Doctoral dissertation. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Yamada Hidezō. 1982. *Ainu-go chimei no kenkyū [Study of Ainu Place Names]*, vol. 1. Tokyo: Sōfukan.

Overview

CHINA AND SINO-ASIA

This section covers Chinese shamanism in Mainland China (both historical and contemporary) and Hong Kong, as well as on Taiwan (the Republic of China) and Singapore.

China has historically been an agricultural society, divided into the cooler northern and more tropical southern regions. The north is distinguished by the Yellow River, which links the highlands in the west to the East China Sea off the Shandong Peninsula. The south of China is defined by the Qinling Mountains and the Huai River, but the most famous river of the south is the Yangzi. Some parts of China present great obstacles to farming, such as the very dry landscape of the Western Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region and the Tibetan Autonomous Region, as well as the steppes of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in the north. Shamanism of Turkic and Mongolian minorities in northern and northwestern China is discussed under the section on Eurasia, as the shamanism in these regions is substantially different. The shamanism of the Tibetans is covered under the section "South Asia, the Himalayas, and Tibet," for the same reasons.

As the official language of Mainland China, Mandarin Chinese has traditionally been regarded as a unifier of Chinese thought and culture. It is also spoken in all of the regions with entries in this section. However, beyond Mandarin Chinese and the Han Chinese culture associated with it, the regions in this section are linguistically and ethnically diverse, with approximately fifty-six ethnic groups. Some of these ethnic groups include the Zhuang, Uyghur (discussed in the Eurasia section), Hui, Yi, Tibetan, Miao, and Manchu. On the southeastern coast of Mainland China lies Hong Kong, with predominantly Cantonese, English (thanks to the British occupation from 1841 to 1997), and Mandarin Chinese speakers.

On the East Asian island of Taiwan (the Republic of China), the largest ethnic group consists of Hokkien, who speak the *min* language that is also spoken in Fujian province in Mainland China. Most of the Hakka, to use another name for the same people, came to the island from Guangdong province in Mainland China. Those who speak Mandarin Chinese (which is also the national language of Taiwan) are associated with the group of Mainland Chinese who came to the island after 1945. In addition, a very small percentage of the population are aboriginals, including the Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, Paiwan, Rukai, Ami, Puyuma, and Yami. As a result of Japanese occupation from 1895 to 1945, many older people also speak Japanese. (See the section "Australasia and Oceania" for shamanism among these Austronesian speakers in Taiwan.)

Between Malaysia and Indonesia are the Southeast Asian islands of Singapore. Singapore became an independent state and republic in 1965. Here people speak Mandarin Chinese, English, Malay, and Tamil, and the main ethnic groups are Chinese, Malay, and Indian.

Shamanism in the Chinese cultural sphere has been influenced by (and has influenced) the religious traditions of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. Originally, Confucianism referred to the ideas of the teacher Confucius (traditional dates 551–479 B.C.E.). Over time, the term *Confucianism* expanded to include the disciples of Confucian thought and their philosophies, which emphasize order and virtuous conduct. Eventually, *Confucianism* became a term used to describe a

corpus of Confucian classical texts. It was also a state doctrine opposed to beliefs and practices associated with shamanism and spirit mediumship. To the Chinese diaspora, Confucianism still largely defines what it means to be traditionally Chinese. Early Daoism refers primarily to the texts of Zhuangzi (369–286 B.C.E.) and Laozi (mid-third century B.C.E.). Daoist religion is seen as developing out of these Daoist texts and the pursuit of immortality, as well as shamanic exorcism, healing, and spirit possession, during the latter part of the Han dynasty. Unlike Confucianism and Daoism, Buddhism is a foreign belief system coming from India and the teachings of Gautama Buddha (fifth century B.C.E.). Like Daoism, Buddhism offers rites for exorcism, healing, and the ending of disaster, sometimes employing spirit mediums.

Chinese Shamanism

Among the many kinds of practitioner that fall under the broad heading of Chinese shamanism are the spirit medium, spirit writer, and diviner of the spirit, along with other ritual practitioners known by various names: *bi, tâng-ki, fugei, wu,* and *paq.* There is some debate as to whether these individuals qualify as shamans in the "traditional" Siberian sense, or whether they are spirit mediums (see the entry "History of the Study of Shamanism"). Often the terms *shaman* and *spirit medium* are used interchangeably and without precision to describe religious functionaries within the Chinese cultural milieu who display abilities resembling those of shamans. As with shamanism in other regions and cultures, Chinese shamanism is so varied that it can be treated as a conglomerate of "shamanisms," with each belief and practice sometimes resembling and sometimes differing from those of more "traditional" shamans in Siberia.

Introduction to the Entries

The deep roots of shamanism within the Chinese cultureal sphere are revealed in the entry "Chinese Shamanism, Classical," which focuses on the historical role of those called *wu* and other names in Confucian and Daoist Chinese classical texts. These texts tell of the many ritual performers with shamanic abilities who were ritual bureaucrats, healers, spirit mediums, exorcists, rain dancers, soul summoners, and diviners.

The entry "Daoism and Shamanism" considers the significant impact of Chinese mediumship on the development of Daoism. Initially the entry discusses references to practices in texts classed as Daoist, such as those attributed to Zhuangzi and Laozi, as well as the *Elegies of Chu* and the *Classic of Mountains and Waters*. These practices include spirit mediumship, healing, divination, and exorcism. It then examines how Daoist religious movements gained popularity through the adoption of many of these shamanic beliefs and practices. In contemporary Daoist practice, it is the Daoist ritual master (as opposed to the Daoist priest) who continues to perform as a spirit medium, exorcist, and diviner.

"Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary," offers a glimpse of shamanism, or spirit mediumship, since the fall of the last Chinese imperial dynasty (1911). Spirit mediums have continued to offer services on matters related to health, wealth, family, and ancestors, in spite of Communist restrictions placed on shamanic practices in Mainland China between 1949 and 1979. The death of Mao Zedong (1976) and the rise of Deng Xiaoping (1978) and most recently Hu Jintao to power have brought new religious freedoms to the Chinese people, and although many shamanic activities continue to be officially banned, they are for the most part tolerated.

Contrasting traditional mediumship and shamanic traditions with those prevalent today, "Spirit Writing in Hong Kong" outlines the three general types of mediums who engage in various levels of spirit possession. The first two types of mediums, the *baisanpo* and the *manmaipo,* or *mangwaipo,* are older women, who become possessed by spirits and the souls of those who have died, respectively. While they are possessed, these mediums speak and sing the words of the deity or soul. The more prevalent kind of contemporary shaman is the male or female medium or spirit writer, whose hands only become possessed, by educated deities who are able to write.

The determination of who will become a shaman by the year, month, day, and hour of birth is important in both Nong shamanism and in the practice of spirit mediumship in Singapore, as the entries on these topics bring out. In Singapore, as the entry explains, spirit mediums (predominantly male) are those who are predestined to live shorter lives because of the year, month, day, and hour of their births (they have what is called a light eight-character fate). Becoming spirit mediums strengthens these people and allows them to live longer. These mediums practice self-mortification and speak the words of the possessing deity. The spirit medium enables devotees to receive advice from the spirit world on matters relating to health, exams, jobs, business, and relationships, and to receive protection from the spirit world. Among the Nong of southern China, the shaman is one who becomes possessed by a spirit called a *paq* and travels to a realm known as the Flower Garden to recover lost souls. (Shamans also perform exorcisms, heal, and offer counseling.) Young girls who have a "light destiny," as determined by the year, month, day, and hour that they were born, display this destiny by attracting a paq at a young age. Like the shamanic traditions discussed in the entry "Contemporary Chinese Shamanism," Nong shamanism continues to be practiced in secret despite government restrictions, promoting the cohesion of the Nong, and it still thrives today.

The performance aspects of Chinese shamanism and mediumship are the focus of the entry "Taiwanese Shamanic Performance and Dance," which discusses the performance element in both more traditional Taiwanese shamanism and a more recent form. In both forms, the performance takes place while the mediums are in trance. The more traditional Taiwanese shamans have a broad range of functions, ranging from exorcism to providing counseling on fengshui. Some use spirit writing, but others, mostly men, are associated with the martial tradition and practice self-mortification and, in trance state, participate as performers on festive occasions and during pilgrimages. A new religious movement has grown up on Taiwan that also involves dancing while in trance; in its performances, it shows the influence of the older performance tradition. The performers, many of whom are women, are called *lingji* (diviners of the spirit), and sometimes *lingxiu* (cultivators of the spirit), or *lingmei* (spirit mediums), and the focus is on *lingdong* (moving the spirit).

Although the ritual practitioners discussed in the entry "Qiang Ritual Practices" carry out some shamanic functions, their role is sufficiently different that it has been questioned whether they should be considered shamans at all. The shamanic beliefs and practices of the Qiang people of Sichuan Province in China have been influenced by Daoism and Buddhism, as usual in this area, and also by Christianity. Although shamans, called *bi* in the Qiang language (*duangong* in Mandarin), may be either male or female, female shamans are rare. The bi performs divination and fortune-telling and conducts rituals and ceremonies, sacrifices and blessings. To perform these tasks the bi carries a number of tools, for example, a white stone, a drum, a small gong, a horn, a dagger, as well as a holy stick used for exorcisms and a wooden board used for spirit writing. The bi does not, however, enter trance during rituals more often than other participants do, and does function as the community's intellectual and scholar, to a greater extent than is typical of shamans. Bis have helped to preserve the Qiang language and culture, but the tradition is in danger of dying out. In this way also the Qiang example is atypical, since elsewhere in the sphere of Chinese influence shamanism is thriving.

Alison R. Marshall

CHINESE SHAMANISM, CLASSICAL

In early China, some of the shamans, as described in early texts, performed for religious efficacy, acting as shaman kings, divining, praying, healing, dancing, and sacrificing themselves for rain. But other shamans appeared to be ranked bureaucrats and were not noted for their religious expertise.

According to modern scholars such as Chen Mengjia, Chang Kwang-chih, and Julia Ching, the kings of early China were shamans with the surname Wu and a special relationship with the divine. Shaman kings reigned during the Shang dynasty (1600–1050 B.C.E.), using divination and sacrificial rituals to connect with the spirit world. This connection is suggested in oracle bone inscriptions and animal-like designs in art (carved in bronze, jade, lacquer, wood) (Chang 1983; Chen 1937). In recent years, however, there has been growing resistance to the use of the term *shaman king* to describe the nature of early Chinese rule. David Keightley (1995, 33) has been the most vocal critic of the theory that wu were shaman kings of early China, noting that the wu could have been a spirit medium or priest and suggesting that more research has to be done to determine the precise nature of the wu's role.

Whatever the case during the Shang dynasty, it is clear that shamans were not kings after that time, but they did continue to perform roles as spirit mediums, healers, diviners, fertility specialists, exorcists, priests, and rain dancers. Until the Han dynasty (206–220 C.E.), shamans performed many of the formal ritual functions for the state, the ruler, and his family, some serving as ranked officials. However, writings of the Han dynasty convey a growing desire for the rationalization of religious performance and a distrust of shamans named wu, who were increasingly portrayed as foreigners noted for their expertise in the area of black magic *(wugu)* (Loewe 1987, 107; Lin 1988).

When discussing Chinese shamanism, scholars rely on two texts—*Discourses of the State (Guoyu)* and the *Shuowenzi,* a Han dynasty lexicon—to define and explain the practice in early China. *Discourses of the State,* being the earlier of the two and dating to the fourth century B.C.E., explained that in Chinese antiquity human beings and spirits relied on shamans to create a link between the spirit world and the world of human beings:

> Anciently, human beings and spirits did not mix. But certain persons were so perspicacious, single-minded, reverential and correct that their intelligence could understand what lies above and below, their sagely wisdom could illumine what is distant and profound, their vision was bright and clear and their hearing was penetrating. Therefore the spirits would descend upon them. The possessors of such powers were, if men, called *hsi/xi*, and if women, wu. They supervised the positions of the spirits at the ceremonies, took care of the sacrificial victims and vessels as well as seasonal robes. (Ching 1997, 14–15)

In the later *Shuowenzi,* the shaman is defined as a female dancer and priest and portrayed with two sleeves raised in dance posture. Among all the early rituals that shamans performed, rituals to summon rain were the most important and most coveted for proving a shaman's power (see the stories of King Yu and King Tang below). Many of these rain rituals involved the rain *(yu)* sacrifice, in which female wu and the cripple called the *wang* were burned either by fire or by the heat of the sun (Schafer 1951). Later rain rituals in the Han dynasty introduced different elements believed to improve the chance of rain during times of drought, such as the substitution of dragon effigies for the sacrifice of a human being (Loewe 1987).

Cosmology

According to myth fragments dating from the Warring States (403–221 B.C.E.), Qin (221–210 B.C.E.), and Han periods, Chinese culture

came into existence during the prehistoric era of the Three Sovereigns. In addition to the legendary Three Sovereigns, there were the five sage kings, traditionally esteemed for their embodiment of virtue, including the Yellow Emperor, Yao, Shun, Yu, and Tang. Among them, Yu and Tang's acts of self-sacrifice reflected the early shamanic nature of Chinese religion. Explanations about the origin of rain dances by a king, and in particular dances to abate heavy rainfall, rely on the myth of Yu, the flood controller. After China experienced five years of flooding and severe famine, Yu exhausted himself in his attempts to stem the floods. An illness following his successful efforts crippled him, and for the rest of his life, Yu walked with a limp, which history records as the gait of yu, or the shaman's gait.

Like the story about King Yu, the story of King Tang illustrates the combined role of king as political ruler and as shaman, and it became a precedent used to explain why later shamans performed the important rain prayers and dances. After several years of drought, King Tang assembled a funeral pyre in the mythical Fusang grove, and prayed to di (the name of the deity and nature spirits during the Shang dynasty) and ghosts. As King Tang prepared to burn himself, it began to rain, ending the need for the self-sacrifice. Rain rituals in which shamans danced and were placed in the hot sun or burned reflected the importance of self-sacrifice in rain rituals. Confucian texts praised King Yu and King Tang (as well as other legendary rulers) as sage kings with special relationships to the divine. This divine relationship that sage kings enjoyed is suggested by the Chinese character for sage (*sheng*), composed of the radical for ear, meaning to hear, the radical for mouth, meaning to speak, and the radical for ruler or king, meaning to rule. As such, the character refers to someone who hears what has been spoken by the spirits, communicates what has been heard, and because of this is the ruler (Ching 1997, 54).

Shamanism in Early Confucian and Mohist Texts

Shamans called wu appear often in early texts, including the *Rites of Zhou*, the *Record of Rites*, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and the *Mozi*, and are, for the most part, depicted as ritual bureaucrats and healers. The *Rites of Zhou* is a pre-Qin text containing "a blueprint for the government of a hoped-for unified Chinese empire" (Falkenhausen 1995, 285). Here, the highest ranked shamans were called the head shamans *(siwu),* overseeing the activities of the shaman (wu) office. The head shaman administered the orders given to the rest of the shamans, guided them in the performance of ritual rain dances in times of drought, and oversaw the funeral ceremonies in which unranked shamans invoke spirits. Head shamans also prepared the offertory caskets for sacrifices and ensured that spirits attended the funeral services. However, as head shamans were ranked individuals, they did not enter trance and become possessed by spirits.

The next in rank were the teaching shamans *(shiwu),* chosen from among the unranked male shamans and charged with the instruction of all of the other male and female shamans. The duties of unranked shamans were determined by gender. Male shamans performed the important sacrifices, as well as indoor and outdoor ritual exorcisms, and accompanied the king and priests on visits of condolence to the families of the dead. Female shamans communicated with spirits, performed rituals of purification during exorcisms held during the year, and performed the rain dances during drought. Like their male counterparts, female shamans also accompanied the queen and the priests on visits of condolence to the families of the dead. Beneath these unranked male and female shamans is another class of unranked shamans called the horse shamans *(mawu),* responsible for horse healing, in which shamans invoke ancestors of the sick horse and perform horse exorcism and horse funerals.

Shamans are also mentioned in the *Analects*, a book attributed to the teacher Confucius (traditional dates 551–479 B.C.E.). The first reference appeared toward the end of Book 13, in which Confucius repeats a southern saying about shamans: "The southern people have a saying: 'People without constancy cannot as such make shaman physicians.'" Confucius is a northerner who uses the words of a southerner to express that the shaman healer needs to be a calm person. His use of the saying may derive from an understanding that calm shamans make better doctors because they can withstand the stress of entering trance and communicating with deities in order to heal. The *Analects*'

other reference to the shaman is to an individual named Wuma (Horse shaman) Qi, a loyal Confucian disciple with a name suggesting he is related to the horse healers and exorcists described in the *Rites of Zhou.*

The *Mencius* is another Confucian classic that refers to the shaman as a healer. Here, the *Mencius* contrasts those who make arrows and armor with the shaman and coffin maker. The shaman and coffin maker heal and protect as opposed to the makers of armor and arrows, who profit from people hurting and killing each other.

Like the *Rites of Zhou*, the *Record of Rites* referred to the shaman as a minor ritual bureaucrat, but unlike that text it provided little information about the role of the shaman. Here there is the suggestion that the shaman had already become less important. Accounts in this text noted that the shaman's services were required during court, funeral, and ancestral ceremonies. Emphasis was placed on the shaman's physical position in relation to others in the ritual processions, such as the priest and the ruler and the ruler's son, and few details were given about the shaman's specific role as a spirit medium. While the others proceed into the temple, the shaman remained outside to keep the evil spirits away from the temple doors, indicating his or her position as a secondary religious figure, excluded from the inner activities of the religious ceremony. In addition, the *Record of Rites* included an account from an earlier text, the *Zuo Commentary*, in the section of the twenty-first year of Duke Xi, in which a duke proposed to burn a cripple, or *wuwang,* but was ultimately advised not to (Qiu 1983–1985). The *Record of Rites'* inclusion of this anecdote implied a comment on the former practice in which female shamans or sick children were sacrificed in ritual rain offerings. The anecdote suggests that instead of relying on the shaman to pray for rain, society was increasingly choosing secular ways to end drought that involved ritual propriety and repudiating the need for ecstatic religious possession.

Another text in which references to shamans are found is the *Mozi*, ascribed to the disciples of Mo Di (fifth century B.C.E.), who founded the Moist school of thought. The *Mozi* is a text coming from a school that was in some ways close to the Confucian school and in other ways critical of it, condemning the wastefulness of elaborate funerary ceremonies and criticizing the emphasis on ritual propriety. The *Mozi* stressed the shaman's role in rituals but often in a negative way, displaying contempt for the way the performance of ritual and the shaman's role as a ritual bureaucrat had evolved. Here the shaman was called a *zhuzi* and was portrayed as a spirit medium and ritual expert who ensured that the ritual was performed at the right time of year and that the offerings and animals sacrificed were good enough for the deity.

Elsewhere, the *Mozi* elaborated on the shaman's talent as a spirit medium and diviner, explaining that there were restrictions on what the shaman could communicate to the people while he or she was possessed by the deity. What the shaman said had to first be told to the official, who would determine whether the people could hear it.

According to Confucian and Moist texts, shamans were ritual bureaucrats, healers, spirit mediums, exorcists, and sometimes rain dancers. But anecdotes within these texts suggest that opinion about the shaman's role as a ritual bureaucrat was divided and that there was a growing trend away from using shamans who entered trance in formal state rituals. While these texts conveyed one perspective, texts now classed as Daoist revealed another perspective of shamanic practice.

Shamans in Early Daoist Texts

Zhuang Zhou, the reputed author of the *Zhuangzi*, is believed to have lived in the district of Meng within the State of Song near the border of Chu during the reigns of King Liang (370–319 B.C.E.) and Qi (319–301 B.C.E.). There are references to shamans (wu) in the *Zhuangzi*, but these individuals were not depicted favorably. They were portrayed as charlatans who fool people into believing they can divine the future, and as outdated practitioners of cruel sacrificial rituals. It was *Zhuangzi*'s ideal human beings who had many of the traits of shamans: they took spirit journeys, entered trances, were masters of fire and the natural elements, and demonstrated an extraordinary understanding of the Dao, or way. Many examples were given in the *Zhuangzi* of ideal human beings who were recognized by their names (the true man, the daemonic man, the perfect

man, the sage, the nameless man). They were also recognizable by their unusual appearances: hunched backs and skinny necks. Some of these individuals became shamanlike following an illness (Master Yü) or during a meditative trance (Ziqi of the South Wall).

In addition to the *Zhuangzi*, early texts often associated with Daoism include the *Elegies of Chu* (*Chuci*), and the *Classic of Mountains and Waters* (*Shanhaijing*). Wang Yi (d. 158 C.E.), an imperial librarian who wrote the earliest commentary on the *Elegies of Chu*, attributes the text to Qu Yuan (fourth century B.C.E.), a loyal official betrayed by his ruler and banished to the south of China. Although Wang Yi's commentary does not consider the shamanic origins of the songs in any great detail, modern commentaries and scholarship have mined the work for its information about shamanism in southern China before the second century C.E. (Hawkes 1959; Sukhu 1999; Waley 1955). One of the best examples of shamanism is found in the section called the Nine Songs. In the first song of this work, "Great One, Lord of the East," a *ling,* or shaman, performs a ritual dance to Taiyi, the great sun god. The shaman's dance to a cacophony of drumbeats, pipes, zithers, and the jingling of the jade pendants on her waistband sends her into a trancelike state that enables the deity to descend and possess her.

The authorship and dating of the *Classic of Mountains and Waters* (*Shanhaijing*), is shrouded in debate, with some saying the text was a traveler's guide or geographical gazetteer of the ancient Chinese terrain and others saying that the text is the work of shamans (Yuan Ke 1982, preface 1). The text describes shamans (wu) as healers who bring the dead back to life and travel to distant mountain summits in search of medicinal herbs. There is also the suggestion that shamanic practices were performed in connection with the snake cult and the worship of the Queen Mother of the West (Cheng, Cheng, and Thern 1985; Mathieu 1983).

Alison R. Marshall

See also: Colonialism and Shamanism; Daoism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Chang Kwang-chih. 1983. *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chen Mengjia. 1937. "Shangdai de shenhua yu wushu" [Mythology and shaman arts of the Shang dynasty]. *Yanjing xuebao* 19: 91–155.

Cheng Hsiao-Chieh, Cheng Hui-Chen Pai, and Lawrence Thern, trans. 1985. *Shan Hai Ching: Legendary Geography and Wonders of Ancient China.* With commentary by Kuo P'u, Chin dynasty, and explanatory notes by Hao Yi-hsing, Ch'ing dynasty. Taipei: Committee for Compilation and Examination of the Series of Chinese Classics, National Institute for Compilation and Translation.

Ching, Julia. 1997. *Mysticism and Kingship in China: The Heart of Chinese Wisdom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Confucius. 2000. *The Analects.* Translated by Arthur Waley, with an introduction by Sarah Allen. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Falkenhausen, Lothar von. 1995. "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The Wu Officials in the Zhouli." *Early China* 20: 279–300.

Hawkes, David, trans. 1959. *Ch'u Tz'u: "The Songs of the South."* New York: Oxford University Press.

Keightley, David. 1995. "Chinese Religions 4000 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.: Neolithic and Shang Periods." *Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 1: 124–134.

Lin Fushi. 1988. *Handai de wuzhe* [Mythology and Shaman Arts of the Shang dynasty]. Baiqiao: Daoxiang chubanshe.

Loewe, Michael. 1987. "The Cult of the Dragon and the Invocation for Rain." In *Chinese Ideas about Nature and Society: Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde.* Edited by Charles Le Blanc and Susan Blader. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Mathieu, Rémi. 1983. *Étude sur la mythologie de la Chine ancienne* [Study on the Mythology of Ancient China]. 2 vols. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études Chinoises: Diffusion De Boccard.

Qiu Xigui. 1983–1985. "On the Burning of Human Victims and the Fashioning of Clay Dragons in order to Seek Rain As Seen in the Shang Dynasty Oracle Bone Inscriptions." Translated by Vernon K. Fowler. *Early China* 9–10: 290–306.

Schafer, Edward H. 1951. "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14: 130–184.
Sukhu, Gopal. 1999. "Monkeys, Shamans, Emperors and Poets: The Chuci and Images of Chu during the Han Dynasty." In *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China.* Edited by Constance A. Cook and John S. Major. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
Waley, Arthur. 1955. *The Nine Songs.* London: George Allen and Unwin.
Yuan Ke. 1982. *Shanhaijing jiaozhu.* Taipei: Liren.

CHINESE SHAMANISM, CONTEMPORARY

Shamanism and spirit mediumship have a long history in Chinese society and have proved ever resilient and adaptable to different epochs and locations. Throughout this history shamans have served as primary mediators between the world of the living and the spirit worlds. Though Chinese shamanism is not all of one piece, fragments of tradition, or rather a dialogue that evokes some sense of tradition, continue to be an essential aspect of the shaman's identity and calling. This connection to tradition is true even for the contemporary world, where many scholars have predicted that the forces of modernization, rationalism, and science would bring about the dissolution of traditional belief in gods, ghosts, spirits, and ancestors. But rather than bringing about the demise of Chinese folk religion and its practitioners, these practitioners have responded to the very economic and political changes that were to be their undoing by reinventing themselves and defining a new set of problems and resolutions, new identities and avenues for expression at the local level, both in the countryside and in urban areas.

The literature that documents shamanistic activities in the contemporary period is, not however, as extensive as that available for other aspects of Chinese society. This is partly due to the tumultuous history of China since the fall of the last dynasty (1911). The bulk of the early research on this topic comes mostly from Taiwan, Hong Kong and its territories, Singapore, and Malaysia. Yet it has really only been in the last few decades that more attention has been given to popular and folk religions even in those areas. As for the Communist-ruled Chinese mainland, its history is even more problematic with regard to this subject as the government's official stance toward popular religion and its practitioners involved a concerted effort to eradicate them. For most of the Communist period (starting in 1949), shamanism operated out of sight or not at all. It has only been since the death of Mao (1976), with the more liberal reform policies of his successors, that shamanistic activities have again resurfaced.

Chinese Folk Religion

In order to appreciate both the differences and similarities that may be seen across this landscape of contemporary shamanistic practices and beliefs, it is necessary to briefly address the nature of Chinese religions. Chinese folk religion has always had permeable boundaries and has incorporated many elements from diverse beliefs and practices that proved useful or practical for its purposes in different times and places. Some scholars have argued that such syncretism is a characteristic of settings in which religion does not achieve a centralized institutional status with a clerical hierarchy and titular head that challenges the power of the state. In traditional China, only the imperial government was allowed to exert such an authority and administer its rule through a hierarchy, while peasant beliefs were left to the outlying rural areas and represented diverse adaptations and interpretations.

This lack of an organized religion meant that the Chinese would turn to Buddhist specialists, Daoists, spirit mediums, and so on, for different services that had to do with everything from birth to death, matters of health, wealth and family, building construction, ancestral rites, marriage, dealings with ghosts, spirits, gods, ancestors, and so on. Moreover all these beliefs and practices informed and borrowed from each other. What was common to popular folk beliefs, however, was a notion that there was an intimate and ongoing relationship between the world of the living and the world of

A female shaman leads her clients in a group prayer at the village's shrine, 1994. (Courtesy of Hong Zhang)

the spirits. Traditional China was populated by a plethora of deities and spirits, ghosts and ancestors. Families kept an ancestral altar in their homes and had various other sacred images and symbols throughout their dwellings. There were also neighborhood, village, and city gods; gods of various guilds and occupations; protective spirits; and so on. Deities and spirits were associated with almost every activity in daily life. In addition there were evil spirits and ghosts that one needed to protect oneself and one's family against. In such an environment it was necessary to maintain a harmony between these worlds. If one did not propitiate the gods and spirits and honor the ancestors through rites and rituals and live a moral life, then illness, misfortune, loss, poverty, and even worse fates would befall one. One could fall prey to the dark side, lose one's soul, have it stolen or possessed by demons and ghosts.

Chinese Shamans

One of the primary conduits for communication between the worlds could be found in particular practitioners referred to as shamans (or spirit mediums) in the literature. In China shamans may be either male or female. They speak with the voice of a spirit or god and are sometimes associated with a temple, which may be Buddhist, Daoist, or Confucian; some practice on a smaller scale in the home, or travel from one village to another as itinerants. As mentioned above, the syncretic nature of Chinese religion makes it difficult to separate the influences of the various religions, especially as concerns the practices of local folk traditions. It is probably the case that various religious beliefs, folk beliefs, local myths, and legends influence the shaman, who, as a member of the society, must ultimately use a language that local people can identify with. What legitimizes the shaman's abilities is contact with the unseen world of the spirits, ghosts, ancestors, and gods.

A characteristic common not only to the Chinese shaman but to shamanism in other times and places involves a calling to the profession. This calling usually centers on an event of possession: A spirit or god descends upon or into the shaman, causing confusion and near insanity until the call is accepted and understood for what it is, a summons to act as a conduit to the other world in order to help others in this world. This recognition and its acceptance by others within a social context is absolutely necessary, and if one does not receive it, one is not seen as a legitimate healer (see Wolf 1992). The recognition is, therefore, simultaneously personal and social and often involves an apprenticeship with an elder shaman for a time, although this is not absolutely necessary. Shamans must also remain true to their calling or risk becoming vulnerable and losing their abilities. The shaman is said to enter a trance using various methods of induction, chanting or dancing or drumming. In this state the shaman acts as the intermediary between this world and the Otherworld.

Often, but not always, Chinese shamans are not individuals who have great wealth, social standing, or education. Most of them are part-time practitioners; members of local society who do not live solely from their shamanistic calling. In addition to journeying into the Otherworld and recovering the lost or stolen souls of his clients, the abilities of the shaman are wide ranging. Because of the power of the spirit that possesses the shaman, he is empowered to cast out evil spirits and demons from people, houses, streets, wards, and even entire villages. The shaman's spirits also bring him the ability to see the client's past and future, speak in tongues, use divining blocks, and engage in spirit writing (a form of automatic writing involving the use of a *planchette,* a Y-shaped tool

used to trace characters in sand). Some may use a variety of charms and other religious paraphernalia in curative rituals. Others have an extensive knowledge of herbal medicine, and many dispense psychological counseling and advice. Some may perform before massive temple gatherings or in group séances (described below), while others deal only with a small clientele within the domestic sphere. The range of abilities varies from place to place and from ritual to ritual.

Shamanism in Greater China: Some Examples

The early emphasis in the anthropological literature is on the variation of shamanistic practices that were and continue to be found across greater China, which included studies from Taiwan, Hong Kong and the new territories, Singapore, and Malaysia. Most studies on shamanism during the height of the Communist period were done by scholars working outside Mainland China, and it is these studies that we initially examine. It is impossible to find any distinction drawn in the Chinese literature on the subject between the idea of spirit mediumship and shamanism, and most authors of these studies use the terms interchangeably.

Shamanism in Taiwan

In Taiwanese villages shamans, *tang-ki* (a local term for shaman, called *jitong* in Mandarin), are the religious arbiters between this world and the world of the spirits. It is the tang-ki who are called upon to uncover the causes of conflict and the loss of harmony in the family or at the village level. Illness, misfortune, and death must have a causative agent; Wolf (1992, 105) described the problems brought to the tang-ki as "varied, ranging from illnesses in humans and animals to economic setbacks to marital disputes to fears of infertility." For the tang-ki this disharmony is a function of the relationships between this world and the world of the spirits. The shaman must identify what ghosts or malevolent spirits are responsible for the client's ills and prescribe a cure. They can exorcise harmful ghosts from the village and perform exorcisms on individuals, and they are considered to be the divine presence of their host god at temple rituals honoring that deity. Tang-ki may also engage in the rituals of self-mortification described below at festivals honoring their gods in order to demonstrate the power of their deities. They are protected by their association with the gods and hence neither feel physical pain nor suffer permanent damage from their wounds, which heal quickly. In one of the few studies in this area, David Jordan (1972) described how the tang-ki engage in rituals of pricking and stabbing their bodies in order to draw blood, which may be used for some magical purpose. Swords are also used to drive off evil spirits during the course of a performance. Tang-ki often have a ritual assistant who may help with the inquiries in those moments when the shaman is most caught up in a state of possession and is speaking with the voice of the deity.

The majority of these shamans are male or younger males, though this does not preclude women from practicing as shamans. Of the female shamans in Taiwan some are housewives who specialize in dealing with problems in the domestic sphere, that is, curing sick children, helping women who are unable to conceive children, dispensing various medicinal herbs, and providing emotional and psychological counseling and advice. Still others are professional spirit mediums, helping living family members communicate with the dead, relaying the messages and gifts of the living to the world of the ancestors. A common belief is that those called by the spirits and gods are those who were fated to die young; once they have been called, though, their lives are extended so that they can serve the public through their spirits. And it is imperative that they continue to obey their calling; if the tang-ki do not remain true to their calling then it is possible for them to be possessed by ghosts rather than gods. In this case the shaman loses credibility as a healer and can no longer function as one. It is therefore necessary that the tang-ki demonstrate purity with regard to their practice by not charging for their services. It is, however, customary for villagers to shower the tang-ki with gifts for the services provided for them.

Some authors have argued that this gift giving defines the social nature of reciprocity among villagers. The gift establishes and perpetuates ties of relationship and interdependence. Some tang-ki may refer illnesses that are clearly medical to a medical professional or

other problems to other ritual and religious specialists. The tang-ki is usually a member of the local society, which is highly attuned to the background of a client's history. Tang-ki may dispense a variety of cures and advice, ranging from herbal mixtures, incantations, charms and talismans, to psychological advice.

Katherine Gould-Martin (1978) described a tang-ki's trance session. The tang-ki, a man in his forties, had an image of his deity in his house; he went into a trance every evening after dinner. Others came to seek him out. He spoke with an image of his deity and then with the visitors. His assistant burned some paper money, thus sending it into the spirit world, and began to chant. As the chanting increased in frequency, the tang-ki began to convulse; suddenly his head hit the table, and the assistant then announced the identity of the questioner and the nature of the problem to the god. The tang-ki responded in a dialect that was supposed to represent the original language of the god he served. The voice was unnatural and incomprehensible at first but eventually became a deeper version of the shaman's own voice. The god might or might not become engaged in the problem and might move on to the next problem, shifting back and forth between his two voices as he moved from one client to the next. At the end of the session the shaman was brought out of his trance when his assistant burned more spirit money.

Mediums in Hong Kong's New Territories

Spirit mediums studied by Jack Potter in Hong Kong's New Territories (1978) had altars where they conducted their rituals. The altars contained various paraphernalia from the tutelary spirits served by the shamans for which they were responsible. The gods and spirits served might include the Jade Emperor (the ruler of the Spirit World), Guanyin (Buddhist goddess of mercy), and other traditional gods and spirits found in the Chinese pantheon. The shamans would also make house calls. Once a year they held a group séance during which they traveled to the Garden of Heavenly Flowers where every living person is represented by a potted flowering plant. During their journey they encountered the deceased relatives of many of the villagers and engaged them in conversation, speaking for them and allowing villagers to speak to them as well. In this way diagnoses of problems were made and various sentiments, gossip, and knowledge of village affairs were made public.

In Potter's examples almost all the spirit mediums were women who had been called into service by the spirits of their deceased children after a period of great personal loss and suffering. They resisted the calling for a time, acting out irrationally, engaging in seemingly insane behaviors, and speaking nonsense languages. They might experience their death (feel that they were dying) a number of times before they were redeemed through agreeing to accept their calling as spirit mediums.

The supernatural world of these villagers was divided into two realms; one benevolent and the other malicious and dangerous. The first was the province of benevolent ancestral spirits and the beneficent deities who brought prosperity, health, and good fortune, along with the perpetuation of the ancestral line. On the other side were malevolent spirits and ghosts, who because they were denied or taken away from the fulfillment of society's ideals in this life, returned to wreck havoc in this world. They were most often concerned with bringing sorrow, illness, and death to the most vulnerable and highly valued members of the family, that is, young children, especially boys, who were held most precious because they would continue the family line. In this sense the spirit medium who journeyed to the Otherworld to recover the soul that had been lost or stolen served to address the dark side and protect villagers against the intrusions of the malevolent forces. Since in this case the shamans were women and since they were called into the profession after great personal loss involving family members, gender played a significant role in reinstating them into the public world of the village, which is predominantly patriarchal. Their activities centered on righting what was wrong with society or protecting it against the world of malevolent spirits. It should be noted that in the south of China, where Potter did his field research, lineages were quite strong and that this was a factor in his interpretation of the above material. This characteristic, however, cannot be easily extended to other areas of China where lineages are weaker or even nonexistent. Shamanism in general can indeed be an avenue for the empowerment of women and

their voices in a society that has traditionally provided little space for women to speak and act in public.

Shamanism of the Underclass in Penang

Jean DeBernardi's research in Penang, Malaysia (1987), describes the dark world of the socially marginal and Chinese urban poor, whose subcultures eschew the dominant view of the social life and are often at odds and at war with society's officials and their enforcement branches. The shamans who are called upon by this segment of Chinese society reflect the idea that there are different deities for different levels of society. For instance, there are the patron spirits of officials and magistrates, and then there are those of prostitutes, gamblers, and martial artists. These "other" gods are celebrated in the rituals of "secret" societies, rituals in which they possess spirit mediums (shamans) who act as healers and teachers of the syncretic Buddhist/Daoist beliefs that are associated with various temples and their activities (DeBernardi 1987, 310–311). Such folk temples (which are a historical outgrowth of the Chinese Triads, groups formed in order to oppose the last imperial dynasty) have often been the locus of interaction and group identity for male members, who provide each other with mutual aid and protection. DeBernardi (1987) describes the way such "religious symbols and rhetorical strategies provide a means to invert social norms, to reinterpret the activities of the societies in light of a Chinese tradition of heroism and social banditry, and to elevate the hedonistic values of the underworld as a social ideal" (311).

An example of this kind of inversion can be seen in the image of the trickster Jigong (the Vagabond Buddha), who is the antithesis of purity and one of the primary deities who possess shamans in these societies: "The Vagabond Buddha . . . never fasts, eats meat, drinks, gambles, and steals . . . is dirty" (328). He inverts social norms and religious values, as a kind of contemporary social bandit reminiscent of Robin Hood. The spirit medium officiating at a temple gathering takes on the status of the deity possessing him and is thus able to subvert social norms because he stands above the social world of everyday life. Representing the group, the shaman in a trance speaks with the voice of a god and can directly challenge the society outside, create new norms and subvert conventional moralities. In this way a segment of society that is looked down upon by others can use that very status to articulate its own critique. Once again, one sees the shaman as mediator between this world and the other.

Shamanism in the People's Republic of China (PRC)

The Chinese Communists embraced a dogmatic Marxist position toward religious and spiritual beliefs and practices and had little tolerance for shamanistic activities, which were viewed as a threat to Communist rule and power and called superstitious, feudalistic, and even exploitative. Moreover for Communists the collective struggle took precedence over the concerns of the individual, the family, and the lineage, which had been the traditional space in which shamans practiced. In the "new" society the problems that shamans addressed would no longer exist. Shamans had no place there. Hence, persecution of shamans by Chinese Communists began as early as the Yanan period, which ran from the mid-1930s to the birth of the People's Republic of China in 1949. A number of documents available from that period describe how Communists went about reforming these exploitative shamans who, they argued, were taking advantage of the people for personal profit and fooling them through various ruses and tricks, or who were themselves poor and ill-educated and did not understand that the world of spirits was ultimately an illusion that kept them from seeing the real cause of their oppression and suffering. On the one hand they extracted confessions by force and required shamans to make a public display of these renunciations, explaining how they misrepresented themselves and their abilities for personal gain and material reward. On the other hand, they were reeducated in a Marxist materialist view of the world espoused by Mao and rehabilitated to become good citizens of the new republic.

After the Communist Party came to power in 1949, its attempts to reform society along political lines while transforming the nation's economic base led to a number of campaigns that proved damning for shamans as well as for all other elements that might resist the new society. The two periods of greatest upheaval,

A female shaman chanting over "fushui" (magic water), 1994. Later she will sprinkle the water over her patient/client (sitting next to her) as part of her healing process. (Courtesy of Hong Zhang)

during which countless innocents were denounced, tortured, killed, and imprisoned, or rehabilitated and forced to issue elaborate confessions, were those of the Great Leap Forward in the late fifties and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). These were high points in the articulation of Maoist extremism. The nature of the antireligion activities of the latter period can be seen in the actions of the extreme wings of the Red Guards, as described by Sulamith and Jack Potter (1990). This account also provides us with a sense of how pervasive the world of spirits was in traditional Chinese society and how ongoing and intimately available spiritual guardians, spirits, and ancestors were in the social spaces of everyday life:

> Every building in Zengbu was searched, and all evidence of religious activity was destroyed or confiscated. Ancestral tablets in private houses were taken from their altars. Statues of Guanyin, the Buddhist goddess of mercy, and Guangong, the deity and model of manly virtues, were also taken. The Red Guards stripped off the yellow-orange altar papers with the names of deities and the names of ancestors. The pictures of fierce guardian generals, pasted to the doors of houses in order to prevent evil spirits from kidnapping the souls of family members, were removed. The paper images of the kitchen gods, who watched over the behavior of the family and returned to heaven at the end of the year to tell the Jade Emperor what they had seen, were torn from their places above the stove. . . . The ancestral halls were taken away and the decorations were pulled down and destroyed. The village temples and their images were demolished. The village spirit mediums and the Taoist priest were ordered to stop exploiting the peasants by the practice of their false arts. The villagers were told that if they contin-

> ued to burn incense and worship the gods, they would be denounced at public struggle meetings. (86)

Communists denounced shamans as witches and brought many of them to justice, tortured, and reeducated them. Most practicing shamans today recall this period of political tumult as one of great personal persecution and suffering. Some even attribute the madness that overcame society as a whole to the destruction of temples and other religious sites and artifacts, which angered the gods, who turned away and would no longer listen to the plight of the people, thus allowing legions of demons to run loose upon the earth and possess them. Throughout the various campaigns against corruption and superstitious practices during the Communist period, shamans' careers were often brought to an abrupt halt.

Soon after Deng Xiaoping came to power (1978), there was a loosening of restraints on religion, and people were encouraged to pursue new economic policies emphasizing greater self-reliance and entrepreneurial activity. Collective enterprises were disbanded, and economic activity was returned to the individual family and its members. People were encouraged to go forth and prosper in the new economy. Unfortunately, many of the collective supports, including health care and various other activities supported by public funds, were eliminated for much of the Chinese countryside. In this new freer, somewhat depoliticized economic space, there were new opportunities for those who had been silenced. Throughout China there appeared what seemed to be a grand revival of tradition and traditional activities, although many of these activities were hardly a return to the past, affected as they were by the changes in the present.

It has only been since the early nineties that frequent reports of shamanism on the Chinese Communist mainland have surfaced. Research into these practices, however, is still a task of the future, owing not only to the continuing difficulties involved in conducting fieldwork in the People's Republic of China but also to the official policies still in place against such practices. The Chinese government requires government registration and permits for any and all religious institutions (i.e., Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, Catholicism, and Protestantism), their activities, and their personnel. And most regulations on the administration of religious activities contain the following clause regarding folk religion: "Feudal and superstitious activities, such as fortune telling, using exorcism to cure illness, summoning gods and ghosts to appear, lot drawing and practicing divination, practicing geomancy, pretending to be gods and ghosts, spreading fallacies to deceive people, and swindling people of their money and causing them harm are banned" (cited in Madsen 2000, 91–92).

Such regulations give the government great latitude in dealing with most Chinese folk religion, including shamanism. But in practice the government is not concerned with the activity of the shaman unless said shaman is stirring up unpatriotic sentiments and organizing local resistance to the government and its policies. In most instances the government looks the other way. And many shamanistic practitioners are quick to laud the new economic policies and the government in order to protect themselves from any possible political criticism.

Owing to the size of the Chinese Mainland and the diversity of its dialects and regions, as well as the fact that it contains many minority areas, it is not possible to provide a really adequate summary concerning shamanism in the most recent period. The following example is drawn from the authors' fieldwork in central China. More work needs to be done to gain a clearer picture of what this example means and to have sufficient data to describe the range of variation throughout the PRC. Nevertheless, tentative conclusions can be drawn. The following healing session was witnessed by the authors in the mid-nineties.

An old woman in her early sixties began to have recurrent dreams that seemed to indicate that her relatives would soon visit, yet she had no living relatives except her own children, who, though grown, were residents of the same village whom she saw everyday. The woman also developed a large lump on her wrist that the village clinic was not able to heal. Eventually villagers suggested that she might see the local shaman, so she went to seek her out. Upon hearing about her problems, Shaman Wang told her to return to her house, buy paper money, and fashion a paper house and paper suitcases. As night fell the shaman came to her house to help her. A dinner was prepared for the shaman

and the family and other visitors. Shaman Wang described how her possession involved a voice entering into her from her right hand and shoulder and speaking through her, allowing her to diagnose and treat her clients. She explained that the old woman's dreams were due to the fact that the woman's deceased parents, whom the shaman had encountered in the Otherworld, had been living under another's roof and had been chased out. Now they had to hang around their daughter's house because they had no food or home of their own. They were hungry and cold. The paper images that Wang had told her to prepare were to supply provisions for her parents in the spirit world.

When the meal was almost over Shaman Wang unexpectedly closed her eyes and began humming; then she let out three prolonged yawns. Someone exclaimed that she was possessed, and the old woman moved so as to sit next to her. Everything was quiet for a moment, and then Wang, her eyes still closed, started to sing and chant in a high-pitched, yet audible voice. The spirits had entered her body, and she was speaking in their voices. The voices told the old woman that there were several spirits present and that she should set up an altar to them to burn incense and pray to them. These spirits in her house (they were deities worshipped by the local people) were neglected and unhappy and had caused the lump in her wrist. By setting up an altar she would please the spirits, and they would protect her, bless her with good health, and heal her wrist. She was also told to worship her ancestors for three generations. Finally the spirits told the old woman that she should also do something for the shaman, that is, gather a jin (1.3 pounds) of cotton for her, as she was in need of it. Shaman Wang then yawned several times, and the spirits said they had nothing more to say. She yawned once more and the trance was broken.

The old woman then recalled her dream and interpreted it using the shaman's insights. The shaman instructed the woman to prepare a bowl of water, over which she chanted for about a minute; she then sprinkled this magic water over the old woman's wrist and began to massage it. The shaman's final task involved sending the prepared paper house and suitcases to the old woman's ancestors. Everyone went outside, where the paper items were set on fire. As the old woman threw some paper money into the fire, Shaman Wang chanted instructions to the spirit soldiers who were supposed to carry the paper house and supplies to the netherworld. When the fire died down the old woman tried to thrust a ten-yuan bill (Chinese dollars) into the shaman's hand. The shaman insisted that this was not necessary, but the old woman persisted until the shaman accepted the gift.

Like the descriptions from other parts of China noted above, this episode manifests the traditional Chinese belief that good health and good family fortune are manifestations of harmony achieved between this world and the Otherworld, which is inhabited by ancestral spirits and other deities. Discord, sickness, and irregularities come from the neglect by human beings of the spirit worlds, or the wrong exercise of human free will. To avoid misfortune and maintain harmony, human beings must make offerings (in the literal sense) to these spirits. If denied shelter and food, spirits will be hungry and dissatisfied, and they may become active in bringing evil to the world of the living. Thus, the parents of the old woman who sought healing from Wang had died during the Cultural Revolution, when burial rituals and ancestor worship were severely criticized, and she had not been able to engage in the appropriate practices for securing the happiness of her parents in the Otherworld. Since 1949, ancestor worship had been under heavy attack, and popular rituals such as offering food to the spirits had been considered backward, superstitious, and feudalistic and were suppressed in public. Such attacks reached their climax during the Cultural Revolution, when the suppression of popular rituals extended to the domestic realm. Family altars as well as village temples were dismantled and destroyed.

Shaman Wang's father was one of the first Communist Party members in his village to lead the attacks that helped to tear down village temples and destroy family altars that were used to worship the ancestors. According to Wang, the spirits left homeless by these actions became angry and hungry ghosts. Many years later, they had reentered her body and wanted her to speak for them and to heal patients; at the same time her father was stricken with cancer as a retribution from the gods for his actions. This connection between the acts of her father during the Maoist period and her pres-

ent shamanistic role further legitimizes and validates Wang's practice under the current regime, where the previous extremes of Maoist policies have been discredited. Wang had experienced a period of "madness" a number of years after the Cultural Revolution and was eventually led to a shaman in a neighboring village, who treated her and asked her to become her student. Wang apprenticed herself to this shaman until the early nineties, when she started to see images of the gods and hear their voices on her own. She then began to see patients. Her history prior to her calling was undistinguished. She had had some elementary education, had started working in the fields in her teens, and had married and had children soon after that.

Since the early 1980s the Chinese countryside has witnessed a flourishing of popular religious activities such as fortune-telling, temple rebuilding, temple pilgrimages, Daoist masters presiding over funerals, and feng shui (geomancy) masters hired to choose housing and burial sites. Shamans practicing in the role of traditional healers and as contacts with the spiritual world also seem to have joined in the array of religious activities that have resurfaced. Much of this return to tradition, though, must be reframed within the new space that has been created by economic reforms and prosperity on the one hand and a loosening of political control in local areas on the other. Since many of the shamans who are practicing today matured during the Communist period, it is inevitable that many of their practices are an amalgam of old and new, reinventions of tradition that respond to their own time and history. Nonetheless it is a reliance on some idea of a traditional belief system that allows individuals like Shaman Wang and her mentor to perform their acts of healing. It is the idea of the shaman as the mediator between this world and the other that seems to have proved resilient throughout greater China in all its diversity.

Hong Zhang
Constantine Hriskos

See also: Daoism and Shamanism; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Uyghur Healers

References and further reading:

Anagnost, Ann S. 1987. "Politics and Magic in Contemporary China." *Modern China* 13, no. 1: 40–61.

DeBernardi, Jean. 1987. "The God of War and the Vagabond Buddha." *Modern China* 13, no. 3: 310–332.

Elliot, Alan J. 1955. "Chinese Spirit Medium Cults in Singapore." Monographs on Social Anthropology, no. 14. London School of Economics and Political Science.

Gallin, Bernard. 1966. *Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Gould-Martin, Katherine. 1978. "Ong-Ia-kong: The Plague as Modern Physician." Pp. 41–67 in *Culture and Healing in Asian Societies: Anthropological, Psychiatric and Public Health Studies.* Edited by Arthur Kleinman, Peter Kunstader, E. Russell Alexander, and James L. Gale. Boston, MA: G. K. Hall.

Jordan, David K. 1972. *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors: The Folk Religion of a Taiwanese Village.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kagan, Richard C., trans. and ed. 1980. "The Chinese Approach to Shamanism." *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 12, no. 4.

Kleinman, Arthur. 1980. *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture: An Exploration of the Borderland between Anthropology, Medicine and Psychiatry.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Madsen, Richard, ed. 2000. *Chinese Law and Government* 33, no. 3 (May/June): 5–11.

Potter, Jack M. 1978. "Cantonese Shamanism." In *Studies in Chinese Society.* Edited by Arthur P. Wolf. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Potter, Sulamith H., and Jack M. Potter. 1990. *China's Peasants: The Anthropology of a Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sawatzky, Sheldon. 1990. "Chinese Shamanism." In *Taiwan Journal of Theology* [Taiwan shen xue lun kan]. no. 12. Taibei.

Thompson, Laurence G. 1969. *Chinese Religion: An Introduction.* Belmont, CA: Dickenson.

Wolf, Margery. 1992. "The Woman Who Didn't Become a Shaman." Pp. 93–116 in *A Thrice Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Yang, C. K. 1967. *Religion in Chinese Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

HONG KONG

See Spirit Writing in Hong Kong

NONG SHAMANISM (SOUTH CHINA)

Among the Nong of southern China there is one kind of religious practitioner, entirely female, whose characteristics are close to those of a classic shaman. These shamans were able to continue practicing in secret even during the Cultural Revolution, and they still play an important role in the life of the Nong.

Background

The southern province of Guangxi in China numbers some 15 million Zhuang, and hence was proclaimed the Zhuang Autonomous Region in 1958. The term *Zhuang* appeared for the first time during the Southern Sung dynasty (1127–1279). This Zhuang minority group includes an ethnic mix of Thai speakers, including the Nong. This group occupies a territory located between the Xi River's two tributaries, the Zou and the You, in the southwestern part of the province. Following revolts led by chief Nong Zhi-gao in the eleventh century, a large proportion of the population took refuge in North Vietnam, where they can be found today, between Langson and Caobang.

The Nong practice *bu-luo fu-jia* (non-residence with the husband). The young bride lives with her parents until the birth of the first child, which must take place at the husband's home. Descent is patrilineal (according to the father's kinship). Inheritance concerns only the house and personal goods; the fields are not included in any division, since according to the laws of China "The land belongs to the entire people" (Cauquelin 1994, 19).

Professional religious practitioners among the Nong may be divided into five categories.

Mei mot, or *po mo,* is translated as "sorcery" when it occurs in Chinese texts. Richard Pottier explained: "The term *mo* designates, in Lao language, any individual gifted with a particular talent, knowledge or power, especially doctors, magicians, astrologers, soothsayers, musicians, etc." (Pottier 1973, 107).

Dao gong are priests, and always men. On the whole, they claim to follow Daoist practices, but some of them claim to be Buddhists. They are in charge of funerals.

Mot dao are also men. According to a survey done by the author, these men play the role of soothsayers, healers, and intermediaries between the population and Chinese institutions. During rituals, mot dao use the Nong language to call upon Daoist and Buddhist divinities, such as the Three Pure Beings, Buddha, and the like. They make their diagnosis using divining rods and heal the sick using oriental medicine. In some villages, they can replace the dao gong and accompany the soul, but to the southern rather than the western paradise. It seems probable that the mot dao are former healers who have lost their jobs to national medical practice, represented by small local dispensaries, and have taken on some of the rites practiced by the dao gong.

Mot nam are women. It appears that the rituals they perform are limited to the intoning of popular tunes known as *mot leng.* They do not possess any ritual objects and are probably subject to Daoist influence.

Mot nang ai are also women (*nang ai* here means "moon goddess"). During the moon festival, which takes place each year on the fifteenth day of the eighth month in Jingxi, two or three women are possessed by this goddess. They also reveal that they have been chosen by her, and undergo an investiture ritual. They are renowned for the recovery of lost souls.

Additionally, there is another kind of religious practitioner, known as a shaman, who also recovers lost souls, like the mot nang ai, but has other functions and is identified by the possession of a spirit-elector, the *paq.*

Becoming a Shaman

The Nong use the system of the "eight characters" (the four cyclic binomials that situate an individual's birth: year, month, day, hour) to determine each person's destiny. Only those who have what is called a light destiny "can travel into the supernatural world, and attract spirits," according to the Nong. "A light destiny" is the sign of spirits. Very early, children who have this destiny manifest strange behavior and sudden personality changes: For example, a silent child will become talkative; an-

other will remain white and drawn for hours. People fear a decrease in their own "breath of life" via contact with a "light-destined" person, and familiars keep their distance, while adopting a respectful attitude toward that person. Those with a "heavy destiny," on the other hand, have no contact with spirits, who are afraid of them.

Auxiliary Spirits

One can only be a shaman if one possesses a spirit-elector, that is, a certain kind of spirit who chooses one, the paq. The paq is allied to Maolang, the chief of the troop of auxiliary spirits, and reveals itself in the form of a horse, which the shaman uses during the ritual to reach the "Flower Garden," where the paq live with the other spiritual beings. The shaman's soul then crosses a bridge to enter this Flower Garden, where it goes to talk, and sometimes quarrel, with the spirits, or so it is said. Shamans say that in this place the houses are magnificent, the gardens are full of flowers and planted with great trees, and rivers wind through the beautiful landscape. Each paq has a personal name. A paq never dies. It is freed at the shaman's death and goes away to choose another person to begin a new life. The paq undertakes this step either as soon as the shaman dies, or a few years later. The Nong call this endless progression of the spirit elector from one shaman to the next, *mot tēt,* "transmigration of the *mot,"* (*te:t,* literally, "the spasms shaking the body before death"). This shamanic lineage is independent of kin relationship.

The Flower Garden where the paq and the other spirits live owes its name to the correspondence established between flowers and children's souls. Every child's soul has its double, a flower soul in the Flower Garden, and when the child reaches adolescence, this double becomes a star soul. On the ancestors' altar of every house, an offering bowl is dedicated to Grandma Flower, who watches over children. Grandma Flower does not look after adults, since their souls are taken care of by other spirits. The biological soul is lodged in the heart, and is reflected as in a mirror in its star-double in the sky. During dreams, illness, and nightmares, the soul flies out through the head, and the "reflection in the mirror is blurred"; the double becomes dull and ceases to shine. It is through this lack of light that the shaman discovers the illness. The temporary absence of the soul housed in the heart does not necessarily lead to death, and the shaman must recover it and reincorporate it in the patient's body.

At death, the star soul "falls down." The biological soul likes to wander. Some of its escapades require the intervention of a shaman to recover it, others, on the contrary, are voluntary: For example, during a ritual, a young girl may send her soul wandering into the invisible world. The diagnosis is obvious—this is the mark of a paq's presence.

Symptoms of Election

The Nong describe two forms of election, passive and active. In both cases, illness is the symptom of election by a paq, which occurs during adolescence.

Passive election is shown by disorders caused by the paq: illness, anorexia, repeated fainting fits, climbing cliffs, trees, or the roofs of houses, loss of sensations of cold and heat, unawareness of danger, and others. These first symptoms are followed by others that enable a diagnosis to be attempted, such as the recitation of ritual words, or the journey of the soul into the spirit world during a ritual. Most often the family circle tends to speak of madness. A shaman performs the ritual *sāiksi* to confirm the presence of the paq.

Active election also involves a disturbed girl, who meets a shaman during different rituals she performs. Sometime after being cured, this girl talks to herself and recounts in detail specific episodes of what she calls her life—in fact, of the life of a child who has died an early death in the region, even though, as far as anyone knows, she does not know either the child or the events of the child's life. Witnesses identify the child and are convinced that the child has chosen rebirth expressed through this girl.

Whatever the means of election, novices will all undergo the same apprenticeship and are in the same category. Their functions are identical; the only difference is internal, and it is not of interest to the population in general. Shamans, however, reply unambiguously if asked the question. The great majority of shamans have experienced passive election.

Apprenticeship

A girl chosen by a paq cannot escape her destiny as a shaman. Her family knows this and accepts it, and yet they fear complications. If the parents wish to postpone their child's destiny, they ask a shaman to "lock up the eight characters." The shaman "writes" (in fact, pronounces, since shamans do not know how to write) the girl's eight characters on a piece of red paper and locks them up in a jar, which she seals with a talisman. Then she asks the paq to immerse itself in a bowl of water, drinks the liquid, and sprays it onto the talisman. In this way, the paq loses track of the girl. This ritual requires the participation of a competent shaman, otherwise the paq resists. Parents do not oppose their daughter's fate, but simply wish her to be able to enjoy a love life before her investiture. As the Nong saying goes, "Shamans are often sterile."

Whatever curative treatment is used, after three or five years the paq becomes restless, and the ritual to "free the eight characters" must be performed and a teacher must be chosen. A girl who has experienced passive election listens to her paq, who guides her to the house of the shaman who will educate her.

If a girl has experienced active election, her biological and adoptive family (the family of the dead child having become her adoptive family) decide to send the girl to a shaman to celebrate the "wine rite," which, according to the Nong, resembles the welcoming ritual for a newborn baby. The shaman sits down in front of the ancestors' altar, holds her new disciple on her lap, chews some rice, and transfers it to the novice's mouth, as a mother does to feed her newborn child. Then the shaman leaves the girl on the mat, playing with her ritual objects like a baby with its toys. She becomes a disciple. The novice is reborn in the arms of her spiritual mother. The novice then calls her teacher paq. The close relationship between the shaman and her disciple is expressed in this term of address.

Whether chosen actively or passively, all disciples undergo three months of apprenticeship. The novice learns to sit in the lotus position for hours on end, manipulate her fan, ring the bells, memorize chants, and learn sign language. At the end of the first month, the girl's family goes to the shaman's house to celebrate the first-month ceremony; the novice can then follow her teacher and assist her in rituals. Once again, the disciple, like a baby, must wait for this ceremony before she can "go out."

The Investiture Ceremony

After three months' training, the disciple is free to leave her teacher. But she must first undergo an investiture ceremony. Her blood sisters prepare, at the shaman's house, the meal known as "the wine closes the belt," which may be translated as "the ceremony of the award of the belt." Her sisters must give the square of embroidered silk that covers the shaman's legs, the headband and veil, the embroidered shoes, and the ritual belt, which is tied around the new shaman's waist by her teacher. Her teacher presents her with the ritual objects: the fan, the chains, and the bell. The disciple becomes a shaman. She has gone through the different stages that will make her a professional, but her fame is not yet established, so she stays with the old shaman and assists her in rituals, playing a more and more important role. In all cases studied, incidentally, the teacher who trains the apprentice is not the one who revealed the paq's presence a few years previously to the passively chosen shaman.

Functions of the Shaman

Women shamans are responsible for the cohesion of the Nong group in the Jingxi region. They take care of all sociological and biological disorders and take charge of the souls of those dying an untimely death. During exorcisms, the shamans take these restless spirits home, place them under their altar, and "bring them up" as parents bring up their children, rendering them harmless. They also go in search of souls that have escaped through the top of the head; in this respect they seem to be in competition with the mot nang ai. However, they never take charge of funerals, which are reserved for the dao gong. According to the shamans, it is thanks to their paq that they have been able to survive the political upheavals in China. They remind us that a paq never dies, and so no temporal power, however repressive, can oppose its transmigration. During the dark years of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the shamans practiced in secret. Their omnipresence and the recruitment of young

shamans is proof of their perseverance, their ability to not only survive but thrive in the contemporary world.

Josiane Cauquelin

Translated by Caroline Charras-Wheeler

See also: Burmese Spirit Lords and Their Mediums; Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary; Hmong Shamanism; Malay Shamans and Healers; Thai Spirit World and Spirit Mediums

References and further reading:

Cauquelin, Josiane. 1994. "The Zhuang." *Péninsule* 29: 9–34.

Ling, Shu-dong. 1993. "Zhuang zu wu jiao de zhuan yong ji qi zu zhi he liu pai" [Perpetuation of Zhuang shamanism's teaching, its organizations, and its schools]. *Guangxi min zu yan jiu* [Studies of the minorities of Guangxi province] 3: 84–90.

Pottier, Richard. 1973. "Note on Shamans and Mediums and Some Other Thai Groups." *ASEMI* 4, no. 1: 99–109.

QIANG RITUAL PRACTICES

In a remote and mountainous part of western China lives an ethnic group known as the Qiang, Tibeto-Burmese language speakers, whose identity has been preserved and shaped by ritual practitioners who have some of the characteristics of shamans. The rituals of the Qiang, the practitioners who carry them out, and the language of the people are all in danger of disappearing with the urbanization and modernization of the region, but enough remains to provide an opportunity for studying a distinctive kind of ritual practice and the people who carry it out. Information in this entry is drawn from the author's interviews with the duangong Lao Beizhi (1995–1997) and Yu Yao Ming (1996–1997) in Sichuan, China.

Background

The Qiang people are one of the fifty-six ethnic groups living in China today. *Qiang* is a name given by the ancient Han Chinese to the nomadic people in western China. In their own language, they call themselves *Erma* people, meaning "our self." They inhabit the mountainous regions in the northwestern part of Sichuan Province in western China. The Qiang are recognized as "first ancestor" culture due to their ancient roots; evidence on bones and tortoise shells shows that the Qiang were living in communities in northwestern China during the Shang dynasty, circa sixteenth–eleventh centuries B.C.E. (Zhang and Zeng 1993, 144). Some Qiang were assimilated by the Tibetans, and some Qiang by the Han, leaving a small number unassimilated. This group gradually moved to the upper reaches of the Minjiang River and eventually became today's Qiang nationality, with a total population of about 198,000.

The Qiang people live in villages situated in difficult topography. The steep mountains with crisscrossing turbulent rivers prevent homogeneity or unity among the Qiang. Historically dominated by both the Tibetans and the Han Chinese, the Qiang have never been a unified political entity. The Qiang live in stone-fortress homes built on the mountain cliffs. There are also a growing number of urban Qiang, residing in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province, numbering about 600. Since the early 1980s, China has been opening to the outside world. As a result of efforts to modernize and promote economic development, enormous changes are taking place for both individuals and within the social body. These changes are influencing the ancient belief system and traditional customs of the Qiang culture. Although the Qiang people have their own language, most speak Mandarin Chinese, and a few are even learning English in the hopes of obtaining better jobs outside of the village. Therefore, the Qiang language could be considered to be an endangered species. More and more villagers, after obtaining changes in their household registrations—easier to achieve now, though it is still a rigorous process—are able to move to the county town, where they pursue a variety of jobs, sell their crops in the free markets, or perhaps open small shops. In the villages, they are primarily farmers, raising crops such as corn, buckwheat, potatoes, vegetables, apples, walnuts, tobacco, hemp, and livestock—pigs, chickens, goats, yaks, oxen, mules, and dogs.

In Sichuan province, the Qiang inhabit primarily the counties Maoxian, Wenchuan, Lixian, Songpan, Beichuan, and Heishui of the

Aba Tibetan-Qiang Autonomous Region, an area interspersed heavily with Tibetans and Hui (Muslims), as well as Han. Although this area was opened to outsiders in the 1980s and tourism is being actively developed, it is officially considered a minority area. Linguistically, the Qiang language is part of the Tibetan-Burmese branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. Qiang language is categorized into northern and southern dialects, with five and four subdialects, respectively. As mentioned above, most Qiang are bilingual, speaking Mandarin Chinese as well as Qiang, until recently an exclusively oral language. It is quite often the case that residents from villages twenty kilometers apart have trouble understanding each other, if they speak in the Qiang language. Beyond the very obvious aspects of language, this diversity among the Qiang is also evident in their customs, music and dance, and religious practices as well. Several years ago, Chinese linguists developed a script and educational materials in hopes of salvaging the Qiang language, and there are pilot language programs now in place in the village schools.

At the center of Qiang culture stands the shaman, *duangong* (in Chinese), called *Bi* in the Qiang language. The Bi is the keeper of the culture, the scholar of the community. Although there are several stories of female duangongs in the past, and there is no limitation as to gender, there are no living female duangongs at this time, and so in what follows the masculine pronoun is used. Among his many responsibilities, the Bi coordinates the relationships between human beings, spirits, and deities for the welfare of all the villagers. Like the Qiang language, the Bi's skills, knowledge, and wisdom—as well as his tools and implements and practices—traditionally transmitted orally from generation to generation, are endangered. Since a growing number of children and young adults today cannot speak the Qiang language, the duangong has also become a keeper of the language, and as he recites the chants and songs, the words themselves are emblems of the changing culture. The Qiang sutras have no written form and were memorized by the duangongs when they were youngsters. Yet it is the case now in more and more villages that only elders know the Qiang language.

Qiang Belief System

The Qiang's belief system has been influenced by Daoism, Buddhism, and even Christianity (via missionaries). There is great variety in spiritual beliefs, even between villages within close proximity. Generally, there is belief in souls and in spirits, ghosts, and demons. Some people have adopted the Chinese belief in three major souls and seven lesser souls (Graham 1958, 43). There is belief in reincarnation and fate as well as regular practice of ancestor worship. The Qiang believe in a large pantheon of gods; unlike the Chinese and the Tibetans, however, both of whom make images of their numerous gods, the Qiang have no holy images of their gods. There are two possible exceptions: AbaMulah, the original duangong, and the King of Demons, often carved on the duangong's sacred staff. The AbaMulah is a monkey skull wrapped in bundles of white or brown paper. Once each year, the AbaMulah is wrapped with another layer of paper.

The Qiang people hold a polytheistic belief system based on animism; basically, they worship gods associated with nature and ancestors who are believed to have become gods. People offer sacrifices to the gods of nature; the ancestor-gods are enshrined in the family house. There are five great gods and twelve lesser gods worshipped in each village (Graham 1958, 46) as well as a variety of other gods, such as mountain gods, tree gods, door gods, god of fire, god of domestic animals, a god of wind and rain, a god of births, occupational gods (hunter, stonemason, blacksmith), a god blessing women in their work, and a god blessing men in their work. Many Qiang people believe Chinese gods, such as kitchen gods and house gods, to be real deities and worship them regularly. According to Wang Kang and his colleagues, there are up to forty-eight kinds of gods. "All the gods, with the exception of *Abamubita* (God of Heaven), are of equal rank and assume social functions and duties within certain limitations. For instance, the god of a certain mountain can only govern this mountain; the god of a certain place can only rule that place. There are no degrees of seniority among the gods, nor are any statues of them given. People can choose any god(s) to worship according to their needs" (Wang, Li, and Wang 1992, 14).

The religious practices of the Qiang are the most complex aspect of Qiang culture. Their religious customs encompass a diverse and vast array of activities. Dress, food, residence, travel, marriage, funerals, festivals, daily life etiquette, and social contacts—all have strong links to the religious customs. Since the Qiang language has no written form and its spoken forms are quite numerous and distinct from each other, these religious customs vary greatly from locality to locality and even from village to village. Without question, the most visible and distinctive element of Qiang culture and religious practice is the white stone. Commonly found in all areas where the Qiang reside, the quartz stones are enshrined on roofs, towers, and mountains, in fire pits and field and forests.

The Duangong and His Artifacts

The duangong wears no special clothing and in fact lives an ordinary, everyday life, with family and fieldwork responsibilities no different from anyone else in the village. The duangong's tools and implements, however, are emblematic of the spiritual place he both holds for and carries within the community. The duangong is believed to have contact with the gods and spirits. It is believed that the duangong can prevent and heal diseases. He also calculates (through divination and fortune-telling) the best dates for important events in community life, carries out rituals and ceremonies, and conducts sacrifices and blessings. The duangong deals with spirits on three levels: upper, middle, and lower.

The tools and implements of the duangong are sacred, handed down from duangong to student after the teacher dies. There is great variety in design, though not in function, between the implements of the Northern Qiang and the Southern Qiang. Generally, it is believed that the tools hold supernatural powers, which increase with age. The Qiang have no holy statues for their numerous gods; even at shrines their positions are vacant, represented at most by white stones or incense sticks. It is important to note that most duangongs now practicing do not possess an entire kit of tools, and may even lack a tool kit altogether. Some items, or even the whole tool kit, may have been destroyed or lost. The most important tools of the duangong include the following:

The White Stone

The quartz stone is believed to provide protection. Such stones are often collected and placed on shelves above doors and windows on homes. There are many legends about the origin of the white stone. To the outsider's eye, the white stone is remarkable, set against the landscape of mountainsides covered with mudslides.

Language

As noted, language is included in the duangong's tool bag. Just as the hat is worn and the drum is played, the texts of the epics and chants are draped around the duangong. An indispensable element in the ceremonies and rituals performed by individual duangongs, language, which is subject to the restrictions and demands of the Han majority, is also used as a sign of identity by the Qiang community.

Monkey Skull

The AbaMulah, as discussed above, could be considered the most sacred item for the duangong. This is the only holy object worshipped and enshrined, often held in a special drawer.

Hat

For Southern Qiang, this is stitched together from a golden-haired monkey skin. In some cases, the eyes and ears and tail are left on. The hat is decorated with cowry shells and small round plaques, made of silver or brass or copper. For duangongs of the Northern Qiang, the hat is made out of leather, usually five rectangular boards stitched together, sometimes with painted images on each. In both the north and the south, the duangong's hat is considered holy and efficacious.

Drum

The Southern Qiang use a single-sided sheepskin drum constructed on a wooden frame and played with a drumstick, usually covered with monkey skin. A pair of copper bells may be

hung inside the drum on a wooden crossbar. The drum is often heated in front of a fire to tighten the head, a procedure that is useful in producing a pleasing timbre when the drum is played. For Northern Qiang, the drum is quite different: It is a small double-sided handheld drum on a stick, with small balls attached on a leather thong. The stick is held in the hand and twisted or rolled back and forth, and the balls, like a child's toy, bounce around, hitting the skins and producing a relatively high, tinny timbre.

Holy Stick

Made out of wood, this looks like a walking stick and has three parts: the handle, the middle wooden pole, and the iron tip. The handle often has a head carved into it, sometimes two faces and sometimes just one face. The head is also said to represent the King of Demons, useful for the rituals the duangong does to drive out the devils from a sick person. The staff is rugged and knotted, sometimes shaped like a spiral or coil.

Small Gong

This gong, made of brass or copper, with a leather handle, has a tapper inside. It is used to drive away demons.

Dagger

Used to kill the sacrificial goat or sheep or chicken, the dagger can also be employed to make small flags and straw men for ceremonies.

Magic Seal

Usually made from iron or bronze or brass with Chinese characters, the magic seal is used to print charms on paper.

Spell Board

The spell board is a wooden printing board with Chinese characters used to print charms on paper. Often the duangong has two, one long and narrow, the other wide and short. Spells printed with the former board are used to treat the sick; they are burned in open places or pasted up on walls or burned and then eaten by the patient. Charms produced by the latter board are used for the villagers' animals, pasted up on the pigsty or sheepfold to provide protection.

Sacred Bundle

The sacred bundle is a valuable item for Southern Qiang duangongs. It includes horns of wild animals such as mountain goats, seashells, bones of birds, shoulder blades, claws of hawks and eagles, small brass horse bells, Chinese coins kept as charms, and tusks of musk deer, wild boars, bear, leopards, and tigers. The equivalent for Northern Qiang duangongs is a holy necklace—heavy and long, with many of these objects strung on a leather cord.

Horn

Probably from an antelope, the horn is used to exorcise the demons. Both David Graham and Wang Kang and colleagues concur that the horn is used specifically in a water ritual to relieve pain in a patient. Holding the horn in a digging posture, perhaps even sticking the point into the ground, the duangong chants "Get out and go home" and then pours some water into the ground where the spirit was disturbed. The patient is then healed.

Divination Book

This is a reference book used to calculate the best dates for life events including marriage, to arrange funerals, and to predict good or bad luck in making big money. It contains folding pages of colorful images of people, constellations, and the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac. When consulted, the duangong uses the pictures selected and gives interpretations.

At first glance, it would appear that the duangong is a shaman. As a holy priest, he plays a drum and is constantly sought out to heal the sick. He is believed to have mysterious powers and deals with the world of spirits, demons, and ghosts. Wang Kang and his colleagues make a convincing argument that the duangong carries out some functions of a shaman but that the duangong is, at the same time, quite different from a shaman (1992, 78). Briefly, their argument can be summarized as

follows: The duangong carries out several roles, including presiding over religious ceremonies (Graham labels him as priest), carrying out of magic spells to relieve people of evil spirits, acting as a wizard, as healer, doctor, and psychologist, treating patients for their sicknesses, and at festivals and major gatherings, organizing and performing the Qiang epics, myths, and legends, thus acting as the community's intellectual and scholar. At the same time, the duangong is an ordinary member of the village and never makes his living as a duangong professional. Although both shamans and duangongs deal with the spirit world, using magic and special chants and the drum, duangongs deal with a wide range of spirits and have the supreme AbaMulah god in common, while shamans often deal with a much smaller number of gods and each shaman has a personal protector god. Shamans generally have been chosen by the spirits to become shamans (often after a test or life-threatening event), whereas anyone can become a duangong as long as he completes the training and education. Often, shamans receive the spirits in a state of trance or possession; duangongs never do. Possession and trance do occur during some rituals, but this happens also with other people, often called *tongzi,* and hence is not an exclusive mark of a shaman.

Emma Zevik

See also: Burmese Spirit Lords and Their Mediums; Chepang Shamanism; Hmong Shamanism; Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles; Tibetan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Graham, David Crockett. 1958. *The Customs and Religion of the Ch'iang.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Wang Kang, Li Jiangzhong, and Wang Qingyu. 1992. *Shen Mi De Bai Shi Chong Bai—Qiang Zu De Xin Yang He Li Su* [Mysterious white stone worship—beliefs and social customs of Qiang nationality]. Translated by Tang Qinquan, 1997. Chengdu, Sichuan Province, China: Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House.

Zevik, Emma. 2001. "Lao BeiZhi Never had a Gaigua." *Shaman* 9, no. 1: 61–72.

Zhang, Weiwen, and Qingnan Zeng. 1993. *In Search of China's Minorities.* Beijing: New World Press.

SPIRIT WRITING IN HONG KONG

Spirit writing is one of the prominent features of shamanism in Hong Kong, a form of the ancient shamanistic practice in China. Shamanism in Hong Kong is derived largely from Cantonese religious traditions, given that Hong Kong, Kowloon, and the New Territories had been part of Guangdong province (of which Canton is the major city) prior to British colonization (1841–1997). There are three forms of "Cantonese shamanism": (1) The shaman's body is possessed by heavenly deities who speak and sing their messages to humans (in Cantonese, a shaman of this type is called *bai san po,* "grandmother who worships the gods"); (2) the shaman's body is possessed by departed souls who may or may not be in heaven and who also speak and sing their messages (in Cantonese, a shaman of this type is called *man mai po,* "grandmother who asks those who are lost," or *man gwai po,* "grandmother who asks the ghosts"); (3) the person's hands are possessed by spirits who choose to write their messages, rather than speak and sing (in Cantonese, the procedure is called *fugei*).

As indicated in the terminology, those in the first two categories of shamans are all older women, whereas the third category may be either men or women. In Hong Kong, the first two categories of shamans seem to be found only in the lineage villages of Hong Kong's New Territories, the area that abuts the mainland of China (see Liu 1995 and Potter 1974). The "lineage villages" here refer to the villages that consist of certain lineages and whose villagers are bonded under a traditional Chinese kinship system. Since these lineage villages have undergone massive restructuring in recent decades, with most of the original population having moved elsewhere, the traditional shamanism associated with such villages has also gone into decline. There is little evidence that such forms of shamanism have diffused into the more urban areas of Hong Kong, probably because of their specific association with lineage ideology and organization.

Thus the prevalent form of shamanism now found in Hong Kong is fugei, "spirit writing," whereby spirits send written messages to humans via the mediation of human "spirit writers." All spirits can speak, but only educated

spirits can write. Given the high value that Chinese people place on education, this makes spirit writing (pinyin: *fúji*) a superior form of shamanism.

Most shamans use voice to transmit messages between spirits and humans. Chinese spirit writers use a different method—a stick that writes messages from the spirit world. Spirit writing can now be found mainly in Hong Kong and Taiwan, although it was once prevalent also in Mainland China.

Spirit writing brings messages from powerful and wise spirits. These spirits are considered to be gods *(shen)* in the Chinese context, even though most of them were once humans before they ascended to heaven and became immortal. These spirits offer remedies for all kinds of problems to reverent petitioners. They may also deliver sermons on morality and virtue, along with veiled prophecies about the coming year, to small groups of worshippers who have gathered around a particular spirit writer.

The technology of spirit writing is simple. The spirit writing stick is usually Y-shaped, with one or two spirit writers holding the branched end of the stick and the stem tracing the characters. Some spirit writing uses a basket with a stick inserted through it. The stick traces characters on a table or tray, which is usually covered with a layer of sand. If sand is used, the tray is scraped after each character has been identified and recorded, to prepare for the next character.

Spirit writing is a collaborative enterprise, and requires a minimum of two persons: one to write the spirit messages on a table, calling out each character as it is written, and a second person who serves as the scribe and writes each character on a piece of paper or in a notebook for later use and study. The mood in sessions with only two participants is often casual, with no obvious manifestations of trance. However, the person doing the writing—the spirit writer—claims not to know what he or she is writing. Rather, the spirit is guiding his or her hands, which are thereby possessed. It is this partial spirit possession of only one part of the body—the spirit writer's hands—that makes this ritual less intense than full-bodied spirit possession entailing trance states. As a result, spirit writing does not look very different from an outpatient clinic where a doctor receives patients and writes out prescriptions (except that the petitioner will often kneel before a statue of the god while the spirit writer is busy producing the god's message).

In this type of spirit writing operation, the petitioner writes down the question on a specially prepared piece of paper provided by the organization that sponsors the sessions. The questions are answered patiently by the spirit writer, one by one, and the scribe hands each petitioner a copy of the message or prescription provided by the deity for that particular question or problem. The spirit writer is not supposed to know the content of the question—only the spirit knows—but at some sites the spirit writer and the scribe retain the paper containing the original question and may discuss it after the petitioner has left. The next time the petitioner comes for a consultation with the deity, the spirit writer probably knows the type of question that the petitioner will ask. In any case, these sessions are calm, quiet, and businesslike. But some sessions involve a larger number of participants in the spirit writing, and these sessions are usually more intense.

The number of persons who collaborate in the spirit writing session indicates the seriousness with which an organization's members devote themselves to this practice. The most complex form of the procedure was observed by the authors at a session in a small temple near one of Hong Kong's satellite towns in April 2002. About thirty people attended the session to watch the messages arriving from the spirit world and to seek instructions and guidance from the spirits. There were seven persons involved in the actual spirit writing: two persons to hold the writing implement (in this case, a basket with the stick protruding from the bottom of the basket), two others to announce the characters and to check that each announced character had indeed been written by the stick, a fifth person who scraped the tray of sand after each character had been written, and two scribes who separately recorded each character in the message to be sure they did not miss anything. The members of such organizations are fervent believers, who look forward to the god's messages and study them carefully later.

What do people seek from these spirit writing sessions? In Hong Kong, as elsewhere, spirit writing is mainly devoted to personal and medical problems. Petitioners come to the spirit writing sessions to ask about various difficulties

in their lives and to seek remedies and prescriptions for their ailments. Spirit writing sessions may also produce pronouncements about morality and righteousness. Like other forms of spirit mediumship (Lewis 1989), spirit writing can provide the focus for a sectarian worship group (Jordan and Overmyer 1986) and can occasionally lead to the development of a new cult (Lang and Ragvald 1998). In the past, spirit writing has also played a role in the founding of new temples and in justifying the migration of god cults to other cities (Lang and Ragvald 1993).

Medical problems are the simplest of the questions that petitioners bring to these sessions. When city dwellers ask for help with a medical problem, there are several possible responses. The most frequent response from the spirits is to prescribe Chinese traditional medicines, available from any local Chinese-medicine shop. The spirit writer produces the list of ingredients, along with instructions for preparing them. Some of the persons who serve as part-time spirit writers actually work in the area of Chinese traditional medicine, as shop owners or herbalists. Thus, they are familiar with traditional remedies for various ailments.

Petitioners also ask about distressing family problems. For example, at a large public Daoist temple in one of Hong Kong's satellite-towns, on a hot Sunday afternoon, a middle-aged woman named Stella (a pseudonym) came to the temple to ask for guidance. Stella had previously asked the deity for help through spirit writing for her medical problems. She was taking Western medicines but had experienced unpleasant side effects, and with the deity's apparent approval she stopped taking the medicine and switched to Chinese herbal remedies. Stella's problems, however, were much deeper. She had come today to ask the deity, for the second time, about her marital troubles. Her husband, like many other Hong Kong men who travel regularly to Mainland China on business, had taken a mistress, or "second wife," across the border. (On the second-wife phenomenon in southern China, see Lang and Smart, 2002). Deeply distressed, Stella came to ask the god whether her husband had left his mistress (as he had apparently claimed) or whether he still secretly lived with the mistress whenever he traveled to China for business. In a previous visit to the temple, Stella had asked the same question, and had received the following reply: "In the midst of the fog, the sun's rays are shining through at an angle; after you recover what should return to you, the responsibility is not ended." Stella interpreted this message approximately as follows: "Your husband is now charmed by the 'second wife,' but their relationship is going to end. When your husband returns to you again, you will still have to be attentive."

On this day, Stella asked whether her relationship with her husband was good enough to survive these difficulties. The deity replied: "When you strike the plank, that constitutes a fact; when you reach the time, then it is easy to settle the matter." The deity seemed to be saying: "The facts cannot be changed. When everything has settled down, it will be all right." But Stella was not quite certain what the deity was trying to tell her. She really needed someone's help and advice, and the deity provided, at best, ambiguous answers. Nevertheless, Stella had returned for more counseling and reassurance from the god. Such poignant stories can be heard at any spirit writing shrine in the territory.

Spirit writing may also be used to provide a deity's comments on current or imminent events. This is rare, and not many spirit writers have the courage and the skill to do it successfully. There are many risks in such an enterprise: Making a mistake about impending events, or offending some patrons with the wrong analysis, are the most obvious risks. However, Chinese spirit writing, like shamanism and spirit writing in many other societies, is occasionally used for such purposes. Shamans use their roles as intermediaries with the spirit world to analyze the struggles within their own societies (Vitebsky 1995, 116–119), and Chinese spirit writers also cannot resist the call of such events. For example, in 1989, around the time of the June 4 events in Beijing, during which hundreds and perhaps thousands of civilians were killed by soldiers attempting to clear Tiananmen Square, a private spirit writing session in Hong Kong produced a message that electrified those attending with the opening words, "The blood of the ignorant children is running as a river . . ." (Lang and Ragvald 1993, 158). The members of this private temple later printed the full message to demonstrate that their god had foreseen the tragic events.

Another small spirit writing operation, headquartered in a suburban Hong Kong temple, now produces a number of predictions in March of each new year and publishes these messages on the group's Web site. In 2001, for example, this spirit writing operation produced the following message from a Chinese deity: "The East will rise, and the West will sink; such are the affairs of the gods." They printed this message and posted it on the wall in the shrine, accompanied by their interpretation of the message. They believed the message had predicted the following: "China will enter the WTO [an event that occurred later in the year]. The economy of China will continue to grow, while the economies of the Western powers will decline." The prophecies in March 2001 also included the following: "The bing-shen month [September] will cause the qi [energies] to be in discord; the sky will clash with the earth, and evil people will arise; everyone at this time will feel panic, and the six spirits [of the household] will be in disarray; in the middle of the night, orphaned souls will cry." After the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, they decided that this statement from the spirits had been a prophecy of those events. Alas, the prophecy was too subtle to provide forewarning.

Graeme Lang
Vivienne Wee

See also: Chinese Shamanism, Classical; Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary; Spirit Mediumship; Spirit Possession; Taiwanese Shamanic Performance and Dance

References and further reading:

Jordan, David, and Daniel Overmyer. 1986. *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lang, Graeme, and Lars Ragvald. 1993. *The Rise of a Refugee God: Hong Kong's Wong Tai Sin.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

———. 1998. "Spirit Writing and the Development of Chinese Cults." *Sociology of Religion* 59, no. 4: 309–328.

Lang, Graeme, and Josephine Smart. 2002. "Migration and the 'Second Wife' in South China." *International Migration Review* 36, no. 2.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1989. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 2d ed. London: Routledge.

Liu, Tik-sang. 1995. "Becoming Marginal: A Fluid Community and Shamanism in the Pearl River Delta of South China." Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh.

Potter, Jack. 1974. "Cantonese Shamanism." Pp. 207–231 in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society.* Edited by Arthur P. Wolf. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Vitebsky, Piers. 1995. *The Shaman.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

SPIRIT MEDIUMSHIP (SINGAPORE)

Chinese spirit mediumship in Singapore is derived historically from religious traditions in southern Fujian province, where the ancestors of most Singaporean Chinese came from. (See de Groot 1886 on religious practices in southern Fujian in the nineteenth century.) Spirit mediumship of this type is also practiced in West Malaysia and Phuket in South Thailand. (See, for example, Cheu 1988 and Cohen 2001).

Why are some people spirit mediums and not others? It is commonly believed that spirit mediums are people fated to have short lives. This belief is expressed in the Chinese term used for referring to mediums, *dangki* (in the Minan dialect spoken by Singaporeans of Fujianese ancestry) or *tóngji* (in its Putonghua equivalent, although it is doubtful whether this term is found outside southern Fujian). Significantly, this term literally means "child medium." Those with the fate of a short life are described as having a "light eight-character fate" (*pàzi* in Putonghua)—the "eight characters" being the symbols for the year, month, day, and hour of birth. When spirit mediums are possessed, their bodies are intermittently occupied not by their own souls, but by the possessing deities. This intermittent suspension of their souls from their bodies enables the spirit mediums to live longer lives, by spacing out their limited amount of soul over a longer period of time. For this reason, spirit mediums claim to have no recollection of what happens

during the time when their bodies are possessed by the gods. They cannot remember because their souls were absent; only their bodies were present. It is also for this reason that older spirit mediums are said to be particularly *líng* (powerful). Their age is taken as proof that the gods have truly possessed their bodies, thereby enabling their originally fated short lives to have to been prolonged.

The belief underlying Chinese spirit mediumship is that the medium's body becomes the physical embodiment of a deity, as the image of a deity does, with the difference that the god embodied in the medium can talk and move. Mircea Eliade's differentiation between shamanism and spirit mediumship is relevant here (Eliade 1964). Whereas shamanism is associated with mastering spirits, spirit mediumship is associated with being possessed and controlled by spirits. In Chinese spirit mediumship, however, this logic of possession is limited to the medium's body, and it does not extend to the medium as a person. Outside of the periods of spirit possession, the medium is seen only as a devotee among other devotees.

How is it possible to tell that a medium has been possessed and is, for that moment, no longer himself or herself? The state of possession is ritually demonstrated by signs of loss of control over one's body, such as intense shaking, ritualized violence self-inflicted upon the body without getting hurt (also called self-mortification), and unintelligible speech uttered during possession.

By inflicting ritualized violence on their bodies without getting hurt, mediums demonstrate that they are, for that moment, more than mere mortals. This is done in standard ways, including licking burning joss-sticks (incense), cutting one's tongue with a sword, sticking metal skewers or a wooden pole through one's cheeks, striking one's back with a ball of spikes, climbing a ladder of knives, or bathing in a cauldron of boiling oil. While possessed, the medium utters unintelligible speech, which is supposedly the divine tongue of the deity. This requires translation by an interpreter blessed with the ability to understand. From a devotee's point of view, utterances in this divine language are the most important manifestation of the deity's presence, as these express the divinations and advice that the devotee should heed.

There is a gender bias in Chinese spirit mediumship. It is apparent that there are more male spirit mediums than female spirit mediums. In Chinese symbolism, the male body is regarded as yang (and so belongs to light), while the female body is yin (and so belongs to darkness). Because most of the possessing gods are believed to dwell in heaven, which is the realm of light, they prefer to occupy male yang bodies, rather than female yin bodies. However, spirit possession as such is not gender-specific. Female gods may possess the bodies of male mediums, and male gods may possess the bodies of female mediums.

A typical spirit medium session is a collective activity at a designated place of worship, such as a temple, the site of a festival or the home of the spirit medium. For everyday consultations, regular sessions are held at least once a week. Festivals are organized at least once a year.

A session generally proceeds in the following manner. The medium lights three joss-sticks and prays to an image of the possessing deity on an altar. At this initial stage of the session, a male medium would be dressed only in a pair of Chinese silk trousers, with his upper body left bare. A female medium would be dressed in a Chinese blouse and trousers.

The medium sits on a red wooden armchair, painted with dragons, facing the possessing deity on the altar. In the meantime, a ritual assistant—invariably a man—proceeds to light a thick bunch of joss-sticks, which he holds, while using a thick rope to whip the four corners of the site of worship. This is to chase away evil spirits. The joss-sticks are placed in an urn on the altar. Then several ritual assistants (all male) start to beat loudly on drums and gongs, and to chant an invocation, inviting the deity to come. After a while, the seated medium starts to shake, first the legs, then the whole body. The medium's head rotates, slowly at first, then increasingly faster. This shaking is interpreted as a sign that the deity has started to take possession of the medium's body. The medium starts to rise from the red chair. The ritual assistants quickly dress the medium in the clothing appropriate to that possessing deity. After being dressed, the medium manifests behavior characteristic of that deity. For example, a medium who has been possessed by the Monkey God may jump onto chairs and tables.

At this point, the deity-in-the-medium may begin to speak in an unintelligible divine tongue. However, at least one of the ritual assistants will be fortuitously blessed with the ability to interpret this language. The deity-in-the-medium may ask for joss-sticks and a sword. When these items are handed over, the medium would start licking the lighted joss-sticks and cutting his or her tongue with the sword. This is minimal ritualized violence, which may be manifested in both male and female mediums. This level of self-inflicted violence tends to be the norm for everyday sessions. It is only during festivals that extreme acts of ritualized violence are carried out, such as skewering one's cheeks or striking one's back with a ball of spikes. Extreme acts of ritualized violence tend to be the prerogative of male spirit mediums. It is believed that if a menstruating woman were to touch an instrument of ritualized violence to be used by a medium, such as a cheek-skewer, she would bleed to death. Female spirit mediums tend to inflict only minimal ritualized violence on themselves. How then is their possession by gods demonstrated? They have to rely on speaking in a divine tongue. Sessions with female mediums thus tend to consist more exclusively of verbal exchanges between deity and devotee.

Mediumship sessions are held to enable devotees to seek the help of the possessing god. These devotees are usually well informed about the time and place of the regular mediumship session, either because they frequent a particular place of worship or have been brought there by someone who knows. Generally, they gather together before the session begins. If the crowd is large, the ritual assistants may distribute queue numbers, so that the devotees can consult the deity in turn. During the session, the devotees play no role in invoking the possessing deity or enabling the deity's possession of the medium's body. They merely stand around as witnesses to the ritual spectacle, including the acts of ritualized violence. It is only after the deity has demonstrated possession of the medium's body, through the acts of ritualized violence, that any communication is established between the deity and the devotees. This is done with the deity-in-the-medium sitting on the red chair, using the altar as a writing desk. The consulting devotee approaches the deity-in-the-medium and poses a question. Some devotees put their hands together in a gesture of worship while approaching the deity. Others simply approach the deity as they would someone in an official position, such as a government official or a doctor. The deity-in-the-medium is addressed as that particular god—the Monkey God, the Goddess of Mercy, the Third Prince, and so on.

The devotee presents a problem, which may involve health, examinations, jobs, business, relationships, or almost anything else. The deity-in-the-medium gives advice in a divine tongue, which is interpreted by a ritual assistant for the devotee. Sometimes, before giving advice, the deity-in-the-medium may ask for further information, thereby engaging in conversation with the devotee, with the help of the ritual interpreter. Apart from verbal advice, the deity-in-the-medium may give ritual prescriptions. This is done by writing (unintelligible) divine characters on red charm papers. The deity-in-the-medium may write using blood from the tongue, if this had been cut with a sword as an act of ritualized violence. If no tongue cutting was done or if the blood has dried up, red ink is used instead. The devotees are given instructions by the deity about what to do with their charm papers. For example, some charm papers may have to be burned and their ashes mixed with water and then drunk. Others may have to be posted on the front and back doors of the house to keep out evil spirits. The deity-in-the-medium may also provide some treatment on the spot. For example, he or she may light some charm papers and wave them around the devotee. This is to give protection from evil spirits.

After the devotees have consulted the deity, they depart. At the end of the session, before the deity leaves the medium's body, the ritual assistants may have questions to ask. These may concern themselves or their collective worship. In the former case, the ritual assistants are just consulting as ordinary devotees. In the latter case, they are engaged in a collegial discussion about collective matters, such as ritual procedures for organizing a festival. When all questions have been addressed, the deity leaves the medium's body. This is manifested through shaking of the body and rotation of the head, culminating in sudden physical rigidity. Then the medium falls limp, either into the arms of the ritual assistants or onto the red chair. Medi-

ums then awake as themselves, claiming to have no memory of all that has happened. The ritual assistants have to tell them what happened.

The manifestation of spirit possession through ritualized violence and a divine tongue suggests a state of trance, meaning altered consciousness and loss of self-control (Strathern 1995). However, this is not seen as an end in itself, but as a means for achieving the this-worldly aims of the devotees.

While the belief structure of spirit mediumship in Singapore has persisted, its institutional practice has changed through time. To understand the continuities and changes to be found in spirit mediumship in Singapore today, compare the studies of Alan Elliot (1955), Vivienne Wee (1976, 1977), Ruth-Inge Heinze (1997) and Wee Thiam Lester Chua (2001).

Many spirit medium temples have been demolished in the massive re-urbanization of Singapore. In most cases, the medium, ritual assistants, and devotees still wish to continue practicing spirit mediumship as a collective activity. Thus, they need to find a new place of worship. However, because such mediumship groups usually did not register themselves as religious associations, they have difficulties in getting government permission to set up new spirit medium temples. As a result, they have to conduct their mediumship sessions in private homes—usually at the home of the medium. Despite this, mediumship groups still conduct lavish festivals at least once a year. Such festivals are held over several days in large tents on open grounds and involve processions, Chinese opera, feasts, and marathon mediumship sessions lasting days and nights.

Certain changes have occurred in mediumship practice in keeping with larger social changes in Singapore. In some mediumship groups, the manifestation of ritualized violence has decreased. Conversely, greater emphasis is placed on divine utterances. Some of these utterances have become so elaborate that they go on for hours, particularly during festivals. In one noteworthy case of ritual innovation, the possessing deity has dispensed with the divine tongue. Instead, as a manifestation of his power, this deity speaks in English, albeit with a singsong intonation. This has indeed enabled greater accessibility, particularly by younger, English-educated Singaporeans. In another noteworthy case, there is a significant degree of syncretization with Buddhism, such that Buddhist chants are played on a hi-fi set before and after the mediumship session. This helps devotees to feel that they are partaking of a ritual belonging to a world religion.

Vivienne Wee

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary; Spirit Possession in Rajasthan

References and further reading:

Cheu Hock Tong. 1988. *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults.* Singapore: Times Books International.

Chua, Wee Thiam Lester. 2001. "A Temple at Its Crossroads: A Study of Change and Struggle in a Taoist Temple in Singapore." B.A. honors thesis, National University of Singapore.

Cohen, Erik. 2001. *The Chinese Vegetarian Festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island.* Bangkok: White Lotus.

de Groot, Jan Jakob Maria. 1886. *Les fêtes annvellement célébrées à Emoui (Amoy): étude concernant la religion populaire des Chinois* [Annual Feasts celebrated at Amoy: A study concerning the popular religion of the Chinese]. Translated from the Dutch by C. G. Chavannes. Paris: E. Leroux.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Elliot, Alan J. A. 1955. *Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore.* London: Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science. Republished in 1964, Singapore: Donald Moore Books.

Heinze, Ruth-Inge. 1997. Rev. ed. *Trance and Healing in Southeast Asia Today.* Bangkok: White Lotus.

Strathern, Andrew. 1995. "Trance and the Theory of Healing: Sociogenic and Psychogenic Components of Consciousness. In *Questions of Consciousness.* Edited by Anthony P. Cohen and Nigel Rapport. London: Routledge.

Wee, Vivienne. 1976. "'Buddhism' in Singapore." Pp. 155–188 in *Singapore: Society in Transition.* Edited by Riaz Hassan. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

———. 1977. "Religion and Ritual among the Chinese of Singapore: An Ethnographic Study." M.S.S. thesis, University of Singapore.

TAIWANESE SHAMANIC PERFORMANCE AND DANCE

The theatrical nature of contemporary Taiwanese shamanism, in the forms to be discussed in this entry of self-mortification and *lingji* performance, reflects the importance of drama and dance in early Chinese shamanic practice to end drought or floods, and to exorcise malevolent spirits. During the Great Exorcism *(Danuo)* rituals, twelve ritual functionaries played the roles of the twelve animals: "Rat, Ox, Tiger, Hare, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Sheep Monkey, Cock, Dog and Boar" (Loewe 1982, 54). Emphasizing the role of the shaman in dances, the Han dynasty lexicon *Shuowen jiezi* defined the shaman *(wu)* as a priest or invocator, who was female and who danced for rain. Among the early rituals performed by shamans, these rituals to summon rain were the most important and most coveted for proving a shaman's power.

Although present-day shamans continue to dance for rain in the rituals of the indigenous Taiwanese, one more commonly encounters the Taiwanese shaman called a *jitong* (or *tāng-ki*) as entranced dancer, exorcist, and theatrical performer in festivals, pilgrimages, and processions. Taiwanese shamans are spirit mediums, healers, diviners, changers of fate, exorcists, and counselors on issues ranging from fengshui to fertility. These contemporary Taiwanese shamans can be divided into two groups: those who perform spirit writing, who are associated with literature *(wenji),* and those who perform self-mortification, who are associated with martial gods *(wuji).* It is the second group of shamans who are the entranced dancers, exorcists, and theatrical performers in festivals, pilgrimages, and processions. These shamans are for the most part male, but women who have entered menopause can become self-mortifying shamans (Ahern 1975). Perceived as children of the demigods possessing them, self-mortifying shamans wear special costumes during performances in which they dance and strike their skin with sharp objects to cause themselves to bleed. Typically these costumes allow for the exposure of skin on the back. If they are male shamans, they appear bare-chested, wearing only an apron *(duer)* and pants, and no shoes. If they are female they wear special backless shirts, over which the apron is placed.

Donald Sutton explained the occasions that call for self-mortification in Taiwan:

> For Taiwan temples that have self-mortifiers, there are three kinds of occasions at which it is considered obligatory. The most important is in procession or pilgrimage to mark the encounter with another god's temple or his possessed medium. A second kind of occasion is a temple's events of transition at which chiefly temple members are present, for example at the dotting of the eyes (dianyan) of new images of gods, at the raising of the ridgepole in new construction, or at the initiation of a new medium. Thirdly, self-mortification is occasionally utilized on behalf of families of the temple community, to exorcise a dwelling at night, to expel evil airs (xieqi), or to exorcise objects such as unsanctified gods' statuettes that have brought bad luck. (Sutton 1990, 101–102)

Self-mortification requires the use of the five treasures *(wubao)*—the prick ball, axe, barbed stick, dagger, and double-bladed barbed stick. During performances involving self-mortification, shamans will strike their arms, back, face, and chest with each of the five treasures (and sometimes lit incense). Each blow to a shaman's body causes temporary cuts and demonstrates the power of the possessing deity. The blood from these temporary cuts is cleaned up with yellow paper called spirit money by those who accompany the medium through the procession. Unlike other forms of ritual performance in Taiwan, the dances and postures that make up the performances of self-mortifying shamans have a set structure and pattern.

During processions and festivals, the entranced mediums will chant and perform dances in which they dance, twirl, shadowbox, skip, and hop, for example, in order to scare away and battle with malevolent spirits. David Jordan explains: "Their performance consists of an athletic ballet, magnificently rehearsed and

Female jitong performing self-mortification. (Courtesy of Alison Marshall)

enthusiastically performed, in the pugnacious tradition of Chinese shadow boxing" (Jordan 1972, 48). Many of the other performers in processions and festivals also enter trance. These individuals are often boys from the village community who have begun their training with a local temple master. Some of them hold the sedan chair (carrying the image of the god) during processions and festivals and demonstrate their training in martial arts and in boxing "parading in strategic formations that repeat the cosmic diagrams: the Eight Trigrams, the Five Cardinal Points, the Dragon-and-Tiger" (Schipper 1993, 46). Others dance with the parasol, and the five flags, representing the five armies, and still others play musical instruments such as drums and gongs. For larger events, an electric flower truck *(dianzi huache)* is ordered, upon which attractive young women (often wearing very little) sing karaoke to entertain the gods.

Developing out of the performance tradition of shamans in Taiwanese festivals, processions, and pilgrimages is the new religious movement of the *lingji* (diviners of the spirit), sometimes called *lingxiu* (cultivators of the spirit), or *lingmei* (spirit mediums). Like the shamans who perform dances of self-mortification and exorcism while they are mediums of a god, lingji are mediums who perform dances when they are moved by a god *(lingdong)*. These performances take place both informally, in private and formally, in public, in both individual and group settings, and although they share performance elements with self-mortification (such as the use of costumes and flags in their dances), they are not linked to exorcism or the martial gods. During a performance a lingji may become moved by any one of the Taiwanese goddesses—Mazu, the Buddhist Guanyin, Jigong Bodhisattva—or even by Mao Zedong, God, or the Virgin Mary. Lingji may be either male or female, but many of those who dance and sing are female; they range in age from teens to eighty years old. The performances, unlike those of self-mortifying shamans, are not routinized and vary from individual to individual. Many of them use exercises from qigong or the martial art sometimes considered part of qigong, taiji (tai chi). There are those who twirl—some slowly like the parasol holders and mediums in festivals, pilgrimages, and processions, and some very quickly in the manner of dervishes. Many of the dances feature hand movements or mudras of Buddhist deities in which the index finger and thumb are joined, the middle finger and thumb are joined, or the ring finger and thumb are joined. Some dance on the balls of their feet, incorporating movements that appear to taken from western ballet. Others dance with flags.

Lingji practice and beliefs associated with it have much in common with qigong practice, which became popular in China during the 1950s. Lingji practice is a primarily spontaneous and rapidly growing religious phenomenon in which individuals cultivate increasingly intense states of ecstasy reflected in the way they shake, dance, and move with others (Ots 1994, 120–123).

Lingji practice has also been influenced by the practices of others called lingji who belong to and adhere to the standards set by the Republic of China Association of Mediums (Zhonghua Minguo lingji Xiehui). The association began in 1989 to establish standards for lingji practice. It offers lectures that instruct one in how to behave according to the institutionalized standards and also publishes a journal to help those belonging to the association understand what they should be doing. In one issue of the journal, Lai Zongxian explains the lingji, emphasizing the lingji's role as a medium:

> *Lingji* signifies someone whose body is available to the *ling* (spirit) realm to communicate to humans, which may be special messages, songs or poems to advise, wake up or save the world, or answers to questions asked by people. *Lingji* are selected by the spirits primarily from those who have inherited the ability through their family lineage or, secondarily, from those who in their previous life developed a relationship with spirits due to a number of reasons. One can recognize that one is potentially a *lingmei* if one begins to have visions with the eyes closed, if one has special dreams, if one hears voices, if one sees written characters while the eyes are open, if one begins to do automatic writing of literary Chinese (not having studied it) or if one spontaneously speaks or sings (Chinese) opera, etc. (Cited in Paper 1996, 110).

Unlike these lingji who belong to the association, the new religious movement of lingji

cultivation practice is not institutionalized, and emphasizes informal performances. When a lingji comes to the temple or gathers with friends to move the spirit in practice sessions, she puts on a special costume. Costumes vary from the favored loosely fitting long white top over white loose pants. Lingji also wear brightly colored embroidered satin tops and pants in green, yellow, and red. Still others combine aspects of the traditional and contemporary costumes, with white tops and yellow pants or yellow tops and white pants and yellow slippers.

The ever changing performance can be any combination of lingji meditating, burping, singing, or dancing and comes into being initially through the individual's discovery of her original spirit *(benling)* and original nature *(zixing).* The place for the performance can be anywhere, and the way in which the dance will unfold is never known before it is performed. As the dance emerges, so does the context. Although some of these performances might be appreciated for their aesthetic beauty like other forms of modern dance, their spiritual value lies in the way they reflect the moving of the spirit (Marshall 2002). Contemporary Taiwanese shamanistic practice continues to manifest the importance of dance, drama, and exorcism in formal and informal rituals.

Alison R. Marshall

See also: Chinese Shamanism, Classical; Chinese Shamanism, Contemporary; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Spirit Writing in Hong Kong

References and further reading:

Ahern, Emily. 1975. "The Power and Pollution of Chinese Women." In *Women in Chinese Society.* Edited by Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Jordan, David K. 1972. *Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors: Folk Religion in a Taiwanese Village.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Loewe, Michael. 1982. *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period (202 B.C.–A.D. 220).* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Marshall, Alison R. 2002. "Cooperation and Lingji Performance on Taiwan." Paper presented at the American Academy of Religion National Meeting, Toronto, November 23.

Ots, Thomas. 1994. "The Silenced Body—The Expressive *Leib:* On the Dialectic of Mind and Life in Chinese Cathartic Healing." Pp. 116–136 in *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Paper, Jordan. 1996. "Mediums and Modernity: The Institutionalization of Ecstatic Religious Functionaries in Taiwan." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 24: 105–129.

Schipper, Kristofer. 1993. *The Taoist Body.* Translated from the French by Karen C. Duval. Foreword by Norman Girardot. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sutton, Donald. 1990. "Rituals of Self-Mortification: Taiwanese Spirit-Mediums in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 4, no. 1 (winter): 99–119.

Overview

SOUTH ASIA, THE HIMALAYAS, AND TIBET

The subcontinent of South Asia comprises the present-day states of India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and the Maldives; its influence over the adjacent countries of Tibet, Burma, and Afghanistan has been sufficiently strong that they too are often included as parts of the region. Among these countries, Nepal, Bhutan, Ladakh (part of India), and Tibet are located in the Himalayan region, the highest mountain range in the world. The economic, cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity of this region, which includes nearly 25 percent of the world's population, is staggering. India alone has recorded over 1,600 languages. Major religions originating in the region include Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Jainism, while Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity have also existed for many centuries in well-established communities. The arrival of Islam in the twelfth century transformed the region, with Muslims forming nearly a quarter of the region's population and accounting for approximately a quarter of the world's Muslims.

South Asia has a complex prehistory, being considered, along with China and West Asia, as one of the three "cradles of civilization." Agricultural settlements in the Indus Valley cultivating barley and wheat date back at least 5,000 years, as does the domestication of sheep, goats, and cattle. Pottery also appeared by 5000 B.C.E. and came to be mass-produced with the introduction of the potter's wheel around 3500 B.C.E. Although the earliest written materials that have been preserved, the inscriptions of Emperor Ashoka, date back only to 240 B.C.E., the magnificent collection of hymns known as the Ṛg Veda has been preserved orally from the second millennium B.C.E., brought at that time to the subcontinent by Indo-Europeans, arriving in waves from the northwest to become the ruling power throughout much of the region. Prayer and sacrifices were the key characteristics of Vedic religion, which evolved to contribute to the complex practices, doctrines, and philosophies generally grouped together as "Hinduism."

Siddhartha Gautama, who became known as the Buddha, the Awakened One, was born in the region circa 563 B.C.E., his birthplace traditionally identified as Kapilavastu in the lowlands of Nepal. Buddhism spread from northern India throughout Asia, yet, except in Sri Lanka and the Himalayan regions, by the twelfth century C.E. it had nearly disappeared from the subcontinent, losing ground to a vigorous Hindu resurgence and the arrival of Islam from West Asia. Most of the region was colonized by the British during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a legacy that has helped shape much of the region's current politics and economies, though the states involved gained their independence in the mid-twentieth century. South Asia has rich traditions of poetry, linguistics, science (having invented, most notably, decimal numerical notation), medicine, music, dance, architecture, and the decorative arts, but these all lie outside the scope of this present work.

Within a region so diverse and historically complex, the variety of divination, healing, possession, exorcism, and other ritual activities loosely identifiable as *shamanism* can only be sampled, yet indigenous shamanic expressions are well represented in the series of articles covering South Asia, the Himalayas, and Tibet. The historic depth of the phenomenon, with multiple expressions of

hypnotic trance, possession states, healing ceremonies, and prophecy, is demonstrated in the entry "Ancient South Indian Shamanism," which focuses on the Tamil-speaking region of South India, using the Sangam anthologies of poems that date back approximately two thousand years. These early Tamil poems describe various categories of ritual performers, several of whom appear to have had shamanic functions, including healing while in altered states of consciousness induced by drumming. A second entry, "South Asian Shamanism," reviews the earliest record of shamanic phenomena in South Asia, found in the classical texts of the Vedas, and also discusses some of the unique features of shamanic activity as it has evolved in South Asia.

The diversity of ritual activity found throughout India today is sketched in three other entries, covering Rajasthan, Manipur, and Ladakh, completing the four poles of India's compass. Although it focuses on India's western desert state, "Spirit Possession in Rajasthan" discusses many of the common themes regarding possession throughout India, particularly the tension between "popular" and "classical" modalities of Hinduism. That entry also emphasizes pragmatic aspects of spirit possession, which, like sorcery accusations, frequently has links to property disputes and social or familial tensions, aspects that deserve wider consideration throughout South Asia. Devotional and healing aspects of shamanic acculturation that draw on Rajasthani examples are also detailed in "South Asian Shamanism." In common with the ritual specialists of Manipur, most of those found in Rajasthan are more accurately termed spirit mediums rather than "shamans" in the strict sense, as they act as human vehicles for supernatural forces who overpower and occupy humans who have suspended their own consciousness. The situation in Manipur, as noted in the entry "Manipur Meitei Shamanism," is particularly noteworthy for the prominence of women as mediums there, including ritual specialists who function as midwives, responsible for cutting the umbilical cord of newborn infants and invoking their shadow souls to enter. Manipur mediums also have the social responsibility of pronouncing death. "Manipur Meitei Shamanism" also notes the opposition of written and oral traditions, another important axis of contrast when comparing indigenous healing practices throughout Asia.

Spirit mediums who incorporate many more characteristics of shamans than those of Rajasthan and Manipur are found in Tibet, most notably the State Oracle, best known of the high-ranking monastic oracles, a role also found in Ladakh, though in decline there. Other forms of oracular expression in Tibet and its adjacent areas occur among local curers, as noted in both "Tibetan Shamanism" and "Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles." The situation in Ladakh is particularly interesting, as it is characterized by growing popularity, with oracular possession gaining increasing centrality in local ritual practices, as what was formerly a hereditary calling has shifted toward becoming a vocational practice, a shift apparently not yet true in other Tibetan communities. Village oracles articulate concerns of the disempowered, sometimes so forthrightly that the authorities may seek to suppress them. "Tibetan Shamanism" adds detailed discussions of the spirit mediums' pantheon, examines their training, and describes their equipment and ritual practices. Of particular note are discussions in this entry of the very shamanic practice of calling back the soul, and the phenomenon possibly unique to Tibet of travelers to the realm beyond death, those who die "by mistake" and are sent back to the living with advice on how to avoid the hells where sinners are tormented.

Nepal provides more examples of the varieties of shamanic activity, as nearly every ethnic group in the country has its own forms of shamanic expression. These various forms are introduced in the entry on "Nepalese Shamans"; specifics on two ethnic traditions are found in the entries "Chepang Shamanism" and "Rai Shamanism." The entry "Nepalese Shamans" uses the common distinction between shamans and other forms of spirit possession and mediumship by the degree of control over the forces involved, a shaman having full control over the agents of possession rather than being simply a passive vehicle used by spirits to express themselves. That entry also reviews the complexity of shamanic etiology as well as the diversity of diagnostic, curing, initiation, and death rituals found among Nepalese shamans. The situation among the Chepang, a marginalized ethnic group of south central Nepal, is distinctive, in that shamans are the group's only religious specialists. Chepang shamans are responsible not only for conducting healing ceremonies that involve travels to the upper and lower worlds, but also for officiating at all life cycle rituals for

the community. Oral mythological traditions, a key aspect of shamanism, are discussed in the entry on "Rai Shamanism." Among Rai groups, the systems of ritual specialists differ considerably, with tribal priests existing alongside shamans in most groups. Thus this entry appropriately completes the sampling of South Asian diversity offered by these entries.

Gregory G. Maskarinec

ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN SHAMANISM

Although shamanism per se is not a major force in the historical development of the Hindu tradition, there are subtraditions in South Asia in which certain figures appear to have shamanic functions. The existence of these figures historically indicates that the present-day subtraditions of the Hindu tradition in these areas may show an important influence from them. One of these areas is the Tamil-speaking region of South India, which coincides by and large with the present-day Indian state of Tamilnadu.

The primary sources of information and descriptions of the ancient culture and religion of South India are the large, well-developed, and beautifully crafted groupings of poems known as the Sangam anthologies. These poems were written approximately two millennia ago. The anthologies fall into the two categories of *akam,* "interior," poems focusing on love and personal relationships and *puṟam,* "exterior," poems focusing on war and political relationships. The poems themselves are classical in nature and show clear characteristics of being written compositions rather than oral compositions. George Hart, who has written extensively on the Sangam anthologies, has argued convincingly that numerous characteristics of these poems, especially their periodic use of enjambment, preclude the possibility that they are oral compositions. Figures referred to in the poems indicate, however, a preexisting tradition of oral poetry, powerfully religious in nature, which was the expression of a culture in which certain groups of sacred performers played roles that were important artistically and ritually—with no distinction being made between art and ritual. These performers appear to have produced a tradition of ritually powerful oral poetry, upon which the later written compositions of the classical Sangam anthologies were modeled.

Though these ritual performers may not precisely fit the standard definition of shamans, they appear to have had a shamanic function. If the distinctive and vital traditions of shamanism found throughout the world include ritually powerful healing figures who enter altered states of consciousness autohypnotically by means of various types of performance such as music, percussion, song, and sacred utterance in the form of oral poetry, then these ritual performers of ancient South India had a function in the society that crossed over into the shamanic. Moreover, considering the diversity found among shamans worldwide, it is important to explore cultures not traditionally or primarily associated with shamanism in order to find where on the scale of the shamanic to the non-shamanic these cultures fall. The culture and religion of ancient South India appear to be ripe for such exploration.

Early Tamil poetry describes and mentions several categories of ritual performers. The most important among them were the Pāṇar, Kūttar, Porunar, Viṟaliyar, and the Akavunar. The first of these, the Pāṇar, appears in numerous ritual contexts in the Sangam poems and is associated with drums and instruments that were ritually powerful. The performer could lend an aura of auspiciousness to a household that summoned him by performing songs and poems at various times of the day and during various types of activities. The Pāṇar played a lutelike instrument called the *yāḻ* that was believed to be filled with the sacred. The music he played on this lute was performed in sacred modes called *paṇ*s, from which his title Pāṇar is derived. Attesting to the ritual power of this music, these paṇs appear to be the basis from which the present-day traditions of South Indian classical ritual music called Saṅkītam are derived. The Pāṇar also played and was associated with ritually powerful drums and drumming. At times of harvest and during battle, they played a resounding drum called the *taṇṇumai.*

The Kūttar were ritual performers who danced as well as sang. They appear to have also been connected with ritual reenactments. Most probably the present-day *kūttu* tradition

of epic reenactment has its roots in these ancient performances. The Kūttar were associated with ritually powerful drums and with altered states of consciousness best described as sacred entrancement, or possession. There are clear references in the poems to such performers dancing ecstatically to the resounding, sacred drum called the *muḻavu.* The context of these dances of sacred entrancement/possession (called the *kaḷam*), was an area ritually initiated and bounded by the Kūttar. *Kaḷam* means "threshing floor," indicating an important connection between this area connected with grains and the harvest and the sacred entrancement ceremonies of the Kūttar.

The third category of ancient Tamil ritual performer mentioned above are the Porunar, who were singers and ritual poets. They also appear to have been associated with sacred drums and other instruments. Their ritual and artistic activities seem to have been connected with harvest festivals and with conferring blessings of prosperity, fertility, health, and success on communities and individuals. In the contexts of these groups of sacred performers and the importance of their experiencing sacred entrancement/possession or autohypnosis, the origin of the name *Porunar* is instructive. It is derived from the Tamil verbal root *poru,* which means "to join, to unite with, to be combined" (Winslow 1979, 822), indicating a theological concept of some type of fusion with the divine. It is important to note that in the devotional movements that developed centuries later in South India analogous concepts concerning sacred entrancement/possession played central roles. Still in the early twenty-first century in Tamilnadu, the experience of sacred entrancement/possession is vital to the religious movements and traditions that predominate in this region.

The Viṟaliyar were female ritual performers. The term is almost always glossed or explained by commentators as a word referring to the wives of the Pāṇar, Kūttar, and Porunar, indicating that they had achieved a status as sacred singers, dancers, and reenactors distinct from that of their spouses. The Viṟaliyar, as with the male groups of ritual performers, appear to be linked with sacred songs, sacred instruments such as the lute and various ritual drums, and ceremonies of blessing and ritual entrancement/possession.

The Akavunar appear to have been diviner-poets, both male and female. Their poetry, specifically linked to the sacred sounds of their words and music, has a particularly mantic quality. The term *Akavunar* is derived from the verb *akavu,* "to summon, to call," and is often linked to certain birds, carrying also the meaning of "to utter sound, as a peacock." This verbal root and its derivatives take on a particularly sacred sense in the ritual contexts of ancient Tamilnadu. The term *akaval* comes to refer to a meter for sacred poetry, particularly oracular poetry, and also takes on a primary meaning of prophetic utterance. The link with birds is also important in that certain birds were considered ominous. Of further significance is the association of the Akavunar with certain ritual instruments and implements. There appears to be a linkage with a drum called the *kiṇai,* which seems to have been used in ceremonies in which sacred figures were awakened or summoned. There is a more distinctive association of the Akavunar with a ritual rod or staff, probably made of bamboo. It is called the *piṟappuṇaṟttuṅkōl,* which, according to George Hart, is, "the staff that gives knowledge of the future" (Hart 1975, 145).

Several important characteristics emerge from a close study of the poems composing the Sangam anthologies that developed out of the traditions of sacred oral poetry associated with the ritual performers discussed above. One of these relates to the epithet *mutu vāy,* "ancient wisdom," which was frequently applied to them. This epithet was specifically linked with persons or creatures who possessed a knowledge of the past and future and who were associated with divination. Men and women from these groups of ritual performers received these powers of divination in the context of the rituals that characterized ancient Tamil culture and religion. These performers went into sacred hypnotic trance/possession, and their words were *mutu vāy,* "prophetic." The male diviner became a priest who was an exorcist, a dancer-priest in sacred trance/possession (Kailasapathy 1968, 64). In the early Sangam poems the male diviner was described as doing a sacred dance called *veṟi ayartal,* "to dance in frenzy/possession." These two vital ritual concepts, *mutu vāy* and *veṟi ayartal,* indicate that traditions of ecstatic prophecy and mantic poetry were central

to ancient Tamil culture and that the ritual performers discussed above were foci of these sacred traditions.

A poem from the Sangam anthologies that is an elegant and telling manifestation of the traditions and ritual performers of ancient Tamil society discussed above is *Akanāṇūṛu 98,* which has been translated into English:

> Women who utter ancient truths, skilled at lying,
> Spread out rice in a winnowing fan
> To discover the truth
> And say, "It is the presence of Murugan, hard to bear."
> Mother believes them,
> And in a house so well made it could be a picture,
> She prays:
> "May my daughter's loveliness,
> As lovely as a doll's, return."
> The sweet instruments are played together,
> The floor is prepared,
> A large pandal is decorated with ornaments for the dance,
> They put on Kaṭampu [sacred flowers] and white pieces of palmyra leaves,
> The sweet drone sounds behind a compelling beat,
> They cry out the great name of the god
> Throwing up their hands,
> And the priest makes the large floor resplendent
> With his frenzied dancing,
> Moving like a puppet
> Manipulated by a skillful puppeteer.
> (Hart 1975, 28)

The above typology of ritual performers from ancient Tamil society indicates that their sacred ceremonies and oral poetry were linked with hypnotic trance/possession, healing and blessing, and prophecy, each of these important aspects of traditions of shamanism worldwide. Studying these ancient Tamil traditions of sacred performance from a comparative perspective will enable those scholars specifically interested in more distinctly shamanistic traditions to place them on a spectrum from the shamanic to the non-shamanic and make important cross-cultural comparisons along this spectrum.

Richard A. Frasca

See also: Divination; Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Healing and Shamanism; Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions; South Asian Shamanism; Trance, Shamanic

References and further reading:

Frasca, Richard A. 1990. *The Theater of the* Mahābhārata: Terukkūttu *Performances in South India.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Hart, George L. 1975. *The Poems of Ancient Tamil: Their Milieu and their Sanskrit Counterparts.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kailasapathy, K. 1968. *Tamil Heroic Poetry.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sivathamby, Karthigesu. 1981. *Drama in Ancient Tamil Society.* Madras: New Century Book House.

University of Madras. 1936. *Tamil Lexicon.* 8 vols. Madras: University of Madras.

Winslow, M. 1979. *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary.* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

CHEPANG SHAMANISM (NEPAL)

Very little is known about Chepang Shamanism despite its extraordinary importance, and the Chepang, who at present reside in the central southern area of Nepal, in particular in the districts of Dhading, Makwanpur, Chitwan, and Gorkha, are one of the least studied ethnic groups in the country. The present geographical distribution of Chepang settlements is the result of a series of migrations that have, over the past fifty years, led them to abandon the lands originally inhabited by their forefathers, which was mainly in the district of Dhading, in search of arable land.

Up to a few decades ago, the Chepang were a nomadic population of hunters and gatherers, but a combination of violent deforestation and a ban on hunting activities in many parts of the country has brought sudden and violent change in the life patterns of the group. Most obviously, their subsistence economy had to change from one based on hunting and gathering to one based on agriculture. When the Chepang began their migration in search of land for cul-

tivation, the best land had already been occupied by other ethnic groups, which meant that the Chepang had to settle in areas that were particularly arid and often almost inaccessible. The Chepang are in fact one of the poorest ethnic groups in Nepal, where Hinduism prevails. The Chepang do not recognize the Hindu caste system, which is particularly rigid in Nepal. Though most profess to be Hindus to ensure a peaceful coexistence, their religion is clearly shamanistic and still closely linked to the world of the forest and hunting.

The relatively unsyncretic nature of their form of shamanism would also appear to be confirmed by the fact that their shamans, known as *pande,* are the only religious experts present in the group. Many other ethnic groups in the country have other figures functioning alongside the shaman, such as Buddhist or Hindu priests or other religious experts who conduct particular ceremonies such as funerals. The pande covers all functions and is the key figure in Chepang society. Apart from functioning as an intermediary between the world of humans and the divine, he or she also functions as a diviner, therapist, and psychopomp, whose presence is indispensable for all rituals connected to life cycles.

Though many inhabitants of Nepal consider the Chepang to be Untouchables, members of the lowest rank of the Hindu caste hierarchy, pande command great respect and are held to be the most powerful shamans in the country by other ethnic groups whose villages are located in the vicinity of Chepang settlements. The Chepang pande consider themselves to be *tunsuriban,* a term that denotes their ability to conduct cosmic journeys into both the Heavens and the Underworld. Shamans from other ethnic groups are classed as *urghsuriban,* as they are considered, though this is not strictly correct, only to be able to travel in the celestial regions. According to the Chepang and many other tribal groups in the country, the world is divided into three parts: nine celestial levels, an intermediate level, which corresponds to the human world, and seven levels of the Underworld. All three zones are inhabited by divinities, various types of supernatural beings, and demons.

The Chepang are undoubtedly closely linked to the Underworld, in which it is believed they have their origins and where the spirits of the most worthy ancestors are called upon to live alongside the divinities. Though accessing the Underworld is extremely dangerous, it is described by the pande as an idyllic place full of forests, rivers, and jungles in which the ancestors can hunt freely and where there is no reminder of anything negative, none of the hunger or illness that afflict the Chepang in the course of their sojourn in the human world. The Heavens, on the other hand, are conceived as a source of many problems and even death and destruction. The ninth and last celestial level is inhabited by the lord of death, known by the Hindu name Yama-raja. This lord is served by dangerous planets that inhabit the lower levels, in particular the Kal and Niu, which he sends to the human world to bring on illness and death.

The Kal and Niu, together with a host of supernatural beings and witches, for the main part human, are the greatest opponents of the Chepang pande during the frequent shamanic séances for almost all their nocturnal duration. The pande can only undertake cosmic journeys in the night, which journeys take place only during trances. These trances are sometimes so deep that they may, in particularly dramatic cases, lead to the pande falling into states of catalepsy. The séances held during the day are strictly diagnostic in nature, and pande never enter into the altered states of consciousness that allow them to conduct journeys into the celestial world or Underworld or to act as a host for spirits and divinities during the day.

No particular costume is worn during ceremonies, and a limited number of ritual objects are used, including two necklaces, one made out of black seeds and one of *rudraksha* (*Elaeocarpus ganitrus*), which are also common to other ethnic groups in Nepal and function as protection for the pande against attacks from evil spirits. The main instrument used is the single skin drum, termed *rin* or *ring* in the Chepang language, which has a diameter of forty to fifty centimeters. The ring has a cross-shaped grasp on the inside and various forms of iron chains and hangings dangle from the back of the drum. The role of the drum as it is used by the Chepang is particularly interesting. The drum is never associated with animal forms and never takes the form of a steed. Instead, it has its own personality and its own name, which is kept secret and is identified with the figure of a hunter who ac-

companies the pande on his or her cosmic journeys. The duties of the ring are to protect the pande and search for the causes of illnesses or calamities that may have befallen a certain individual or a whole village. The ring will chase wicked spirits and, especially during divinations, is also often associated with a mirror, which reflects the images of other cosmic zones.

Dreams play a particularly important role in Chepang Shamanism, especially during the initiatory call to the profession. The pande do not recognize any earthly instruction, and gurus can almost always be recognized in supernatural beings that appear in dreams to the initiates and provide instruction over the course of several dreams. Generally speaking, novice pande do not undergo any physical or other form of suffering in the course of initiation, as has been noted to be the case with many other Nepalese groups. The supernatural spirits involved in initiation vary from individual to individual though it is not uncommon for the guru to be the spirit of an ancestor, an ex-pande belonging to the same clan as the initiate, who undertakes the training of the future shaman. One of the most important figures that appears in many tales linked to the call to the profession is that of the spirit shaman of the forests known in Nepalese as the *ban-jhā̃kri.*

Those pande considered to be the most powerful generally tell of how they were kidnapped at a very young age or even when they were newborn babies by the ban-jhā̃kri. The ban-jhā̃kri is believed to take children he has chosen for initiation into the profession to his palace, where he lives with his terrible wife, the *ban-jhā̃krini,* who is an extremely dangerous witch, very fond of flesh and human blood. The ban-jhā̃kri has to protect the future pande from her. In the ban-jhā̃kri's palace candidates for initiation learn to play the ring, sing, and do everything else they need in order to practice the profession. Some, though not many, tell of experiencing cleansing and purification operations during which the ban-jhā̃kri opened their bodies to clean their internal organs. Once instruction has been completed, be it in the form of a dream or during a kidnapping, the pande must then be recognized as such by the community.

An important festival called the Chhonam Festival is held once a year, in the month of Bhado (August 15–September 15), to celebrate the new harvest. During Chhonam, harvest offerings are presented and offered by the pande to the divinities and ancestors. Many patients also appear at the dwellings of the pande where the ceremony is held, as this day is believed to be the most propitious for the curing of illnesses, especially for complicated cases or those cases that have not been resolved in earlier séances. Chhonam is the period during which novice pande are presented to the community to which they must prove their abilities and knowledge. These séances are usually watched over carefully by expert pande who help the novices and maintain control of the situation, especially during the phases in which the novice pande go into trance. These trances are considered to be dangerous since, if the novice has not yet acquired enough experience, he or she may well be possessed by evil spirits, which could endanger the lives of all present. The control exercised by the pande over the novices suggests that, though initiation apparently takes place in the course of a dream, the role played by those who are already pande is by no means secondary. Not all novice pande presented to the community in the course of the Chhonam are considered to be ready to practice the profession of the shaman, and those who are judged to be insufficiently prepared have to wait for the next year's Chhonam to be recognized as pande.

Apart from this important annual festival, the Chepang pande celebrate another in the course of the year, which is held in honor of the god of hunting, Namrung. As we have already said, Chepang shamanism and Chepang culture in general are closely linked to the world of hunting, and for this reason one of the main divinities of the pantheon is the god of hunting, who controls all wild animals and is believed to live in the dense forests. Namrung is one of the few divinities that appears to be common to all Chepang groups, whereas the names and characteristics of many other supernatural beings vary greatly from one area to another and even from one pande to another. This may also be because the pande receive the call to the profession and instruction in the course of dreams from different spirits and supernatural beings, which makes the personal element particularly strong in Chepang shamanism.

Shamanic séances are held fairly frequently and for different motives. People turn to the

pande in the case of illness or when they want to find the reason for which a person or an object has been lost. Funerals are extremely important, and the pande are called on to celebrate complicated and dangerous séances in the course of which they accompany the soul of the deceased to the world of the ancestors.

Therapeutic séances are still the most frequent, and are held according to a common pattern. The ceremony always begins with a request by the pande addressed to the friendly supernatural beings, some of which will accompany him or her on the cosmic journey in search of the soul of a patient that is believed to have been kidnapped by some angry divinity or malevolent spirit. Once the soul has been located, or in other cases once the cause of a patient's sufferings has been found, the pande attempts to negotiate with the supernatural spirits and often engages in real battles with the latter. Most of the time the pande succeeds in his or her task by promising the spirit some offering of blood. After the pande comes out of the trance in the course of which his or her soul has completed the cosmic journey, he or she communicates the requests of the divinities or spirits to the audience. This communication is often followed by a sacrifice of an animal, usually a chicken or in the most serious cases a goat, whose blood and head are offered up to the angry spirits.

The séance is concluded with the greeting of the friendly spirits, some of which possess the pande. In every way the pande function as intermediaries between the human world and the divine, and this role is of vital importance for the spiritual and physical well-being of the entire community.

Diana Riboli

See also: Animal Sybolism (Asia); Colonialism and Shamanism; Daoism and Shamanism; Drumming in Shamanistic Rituals; Drums, Shamanic: Form and Structure; Initiation; Nepalese Shamans; Psychopomp

References and further reading:

Gurung, Ganesh Man. 1989. *The Chepang. A Study in Continuity and Change.* Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.

Hitchcock, John T., and Rex L. Jones, eds. 1976. *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips.

Rai, Nivak. 1985. *People of the Stones.* Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University.

Riboli, Diana. 1993. "Shamanic Paraphernalia and Dances among the Chepang Shamans." Pp. 122–127 in *Shamanism and Performing Arts.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Tae-gon Kim. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

———. 1994. "Shamanic Rites of the Terai Chepangs." *East and West* 44: 327–352.

———. 2000. *Tunsuriban. Shamanism in the Chepang of Southern and Central Nepal.* Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.

HINDUISM AND ECSTATIC INDIAN RELIGIONS

Hinduism is not a unified, rigidly coherent religious system organized around a single revealed text or charismatic founder, but rather a congeries of beliefs, practices, and texts arising from different cultural and linguistic regions within India, all of which nonetheless are bound together by a history of mutual influence and share many cosmological features. Hinduism can be compared to a vast ocean into which streams of influence from many different regions have poured, and whose waters have, in turn, mixed thoroughly with those of the tributaries that feed it. Among those influences, ones flowing from what one could call shamanism have been particularly significant. Yet here too, terminological problems complicate the task of straightforward description. Scholars have described a variety of Indian ritual practices as *shamanism* and a variety of religious specialists as *shamans.* Indeed, the ecstatic states said to be characteristic of shamanism are a regular feature of Indian religiosity; meditation, devotional worship of deities, and spirit possession, for example, can all induce altered states of consciousness.

For the purposes of this article, the Indian religious specialists who will be identified as shamans are those who actively will supernatural beings to come to them, often using special drum rhythms or other techniques to induce in themselves the states of consciousness necessary for these beings to speak and act through their bodies. They do this not mainly for their own

spiritual benefit, but to assist people with difficulties, the causes of which may be moral, medical, or supernatural, or all three simultaneously. In general, Indian shamans usually do not describe their work as involving either journeying to another world or retrieving lost souls. Rather, an Indian shaman's performance usually entails the convincing bodily impersonation of a supernatural being.

Arguably the most prestigious and widely influential stream of texts, beliefs, and practices within Hinduism is that of Brahmanical Hinduism, which takes as its authoritative reference point a body of ancient inspired texts known as the Vedas. Devout Hindus would argue that the Vedas are eternal, heard rather than composed by human beings, but scholars estimate that they were composed in the north of India and compiled into a single collection around 1200–1000 B.C.E. The sages *(ṛṣi)* who first "heard" the Vedas have some of the characteristics commonly associated with shamans. Intoxicated by a drink prepared from the soma plant, rishis perceived the hidden webs of similarity that connect things that otherwise seem distinct, and they "trembled" *(vipati)* with the intensity of their visions. The religion described within the Vedas centers on the sacrifice *(yajña),* an elaborate ritual initially performed to nourish the deities, called *devas* (from the Sanskrit root √*div,* to "shine," to "be brilliant"), who create and sustain the universe. Later (around 900–600 B.C.E.), ritual commentaries elaborated on the inner meaning of sacrifice, revealing that the components of both the sacrificial altar and victim were identical with the constituents of the natural world and the social order. In the sacrifice, Brahman priests harnessed the power underlying these identities through the use of sacred syllables (mantras) and ritual action to provide their patrons with this-worldly benefits such as success in battle, wealth, long life, and sons.

Over time, the Vedic sacrifice lost its central place within Hinduism, but the authority of the priests continued. Brahman priests are still a significant component of Hinduism today. In their role as family priests *(purohits),* they preside over key life cycle rituals such as marriages, funerals, death anniversaries, and coming of age initiations, lending the authority of tradition to events through their recitation of Sanskrit texts and mantras. In addition, as experts in the science of astrology, Brahman *paṇḍits* (scholars) compete with shamans for clients seeking relief from problems with apparently supernatural causes.

In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E., a new style of religiosity emerged in the urban centers of northern India, crystallized in the figure of the *śramaṇa,* or "renouncer" (lit. "one who toils, who practices asceticism"). As a religious ideal first introduced in the Upaniṣads (Brahmanical philosophical texts), the renouncer rejected the this-worldly desires of the householder who patronized the Vedic sacrifice, abandoning spouse and family for a life of anonymous wandering or seclusion in the forest. Freed from social obligations, he devoted himself to ascetic and meditative practices that quelled egoistic desires and led to a revelatory understanding of the universe. A distinctive and influential cosmology developed from the renouncers' milieu, according to which no individual being comes into the world for one time only. Instead, beings move through an aeons-long cycle of birth, death, and rebirth (*saṃsāra*), in which the kinds of bodies individuals are born into are shaped by their actions in their previous lives (karma literally means "action" seen as bringing upon oneself inevitable results).

Within the Brahmanical orthodoxy, this cosmology reinforced the ideology of caste, according to which society was organized into an interdependent, hierarchical whole by the division of people into distinct social classes. Thus Brahmans and other elites deserved their high status and social privileges by virtue of their good deeds in previous lives, just as low castes deserved their low status and deprivation. Renouncers sought to escape this cycle of death and rebirth altogether by eliminating the karmic effects of action, which bound one to the world. The new Indian religions of Jainism and Buddhism took these ideas to their furthest realization, but they also deeply influenced Hinduism, as seen in the prevalence of *sādhus* (ascetics), yogis (spiritual adepts), and *sannyāsins* (mendicants) in present-day India.

Mircea Eliade, Sergei Shirokogoroff, and others have entertained the idea that the Sanskrit word *śramaṇa* is related to the Tungus word *shaman* (through a Pali cognate, *samaṇa*) (Eliade 1964, 495; Maskarinec 1995, 97). Although this etymological argument (and the argument about influence that it implies) is dis-

puted, one could argue that the meditative states of a sixth-century renouncer bear some similarity to the trance states of Central Asian shamans. A significant difference, however, is that the South Asian renouncer does not enter into trance states to act as a conduit for the divine for the sake of others, but rather to attain redemptive power and knowledge for him or herself. Buddhist monks and Hindu yogis *do* serve their communities—through preaching as well as through the exercise of the superhuman powers (*siddhi*s) they develop in the course of practicing meditation. In this way, like Brahman priests, they function as professional rivals to shamans. But the renouncer is ultimately engaged in a solitary journey, the goal of which is to transcend the cosmos altogether.

Renouncer ideals posed a challenge to the religious authority of Brahman priests, prompting a creative reconsolidation of Hinduism. Key for our purposes was the reemergence at this time of theism. The worship of divine beings had been an important component of Vedic religion, but with the elaboration of the technical aspects of sacrifice, the gods had taken a backseat to the awesome power of priests. Gods again resumed their central place with the rise of the Sanskrit mythological texts called Puranas (*Purāṇa*s) and epics such as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. In the Bhagavad-Gītā (a section of the Mahābhārata composed between 100 B.C.E. and 100 C.E.), one learns of an alternative way to achieve salvation known as *bhakti.* Here, salvation comes not through the performance of Brahmanic rituals, or the meditative and ascetic rigors of the renouncer, but through absolute devotion to a god, who is generally understood as the Supreme Being. The word *bhakti* is derived from the Sanskrit verbal root, *√bhaj,* which means to "share" or to "participate in," and it refers to a style of devotional religiosity that stresses the intimate, embodied, and personal relationship of devotees to deities. Bhakti also gave rise to a new kind of ritual, *pūjā,* in which one offered pleasing substances to the deity. The characteristic bhakti theme of "sharing" is seen vividly in this ritual, in that after offering flowers, fruit, and other such things to the deity, worshippers distribute them among themselves. By consuming the leftovers that a deity has already sampled, devotees display both their intimacy with, and their subordination to, the divine.

The love of the divine celebrated in the path of devotion reached phenomenal heights in the regional forms of bhakti that arose first in seventh-century southern India and later throughout the subcontinent. Bhakti literature composed in regional languages such as Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Kannada, and Tamil describes how groups of devotees sought to cultivate and intensify the experience of god-love through exercises involving visualization, energetic singing and dancing, and repetition of divine names. For example, when the "mad" Vaishnava saints of Bengal experienced the *bhāva* (the "mood," or "feeling") of Lord Vishnu they would cry, shout, writhe in the dust, babble and laugh incoherently, and engage in all manner of unorthodox behavior (McDaniel 1989).

Tantra is another theistic style of Hindu religiosity that emerged early in the Common Era. A mostly elite, conservative tradition within Hinduism, which is more extra-Vedic than anti-Vedic, tantra can be defined as a fast-track practical path to salvation aimed at the achievement of supernatural powers and salvation in this life through the practice of complex rituals that lead the adept to a reintegration with the original cosmic powers. Tantric cosmology does not stray far from established Hindu views in seeing the cosmos as saturated with the presence of a divine godhead, conceptualized as powerful, beguiling, and feminine. But while Hindu ascetics view the cosmos with its sensuous qualities as something to transcend, tantrics seek to achieve mastery over it by harnessing the feminine cosmic power and becoming fully, consciously integrated with it. In contrast to bhakti ritual, which encourages submission to the divine, the rituals of tantra enable the adept to *become* divine through visualization of the deity *(dhyāna),* recitation of mantras, and magical gestures *(mudras)* that "put" or "set" *(nyāsa)* the deity in the body of the practitioner. Having become divine, tantrics can command all the forces of the cosmos, including spirits, to achieve their own desires or the desires of others.

An argument that scholars often hint at, but rarely develop systematically, about both bhakti and tantra is that one sees in them ecstatic techniques found in indigenous shamanistic traditions channeled toward the worship of the gods of the Hindu pantheon. Given the difficulty of locating historical sources that repre-

sent indigenous regional traditions before contact with Hindu ideas, this theory will probably remain speculative. But the links between bhakti, tantra, and shamanism in India are undoubtedly very strong. Two theological assumptions are central to all three traditions in India: first, that the gods are physically close, easily accessible, and intimately concerned with human affairs, and secondly, that the gods are capable of both protecting and harming human individuals and communities.

One would be hard-pressed to find any community in present-day India that has not been influenced to some degree by the movements that have shaped Hinduism, as described above. However, at higher elevations and in more remote areas, the religions of the local people sometimes bear only a very slight resemblance to Hinduism. They may, for example, assign the names of Hindu gods to their own deities, while retaining religious practices and beliefs whose overall structure and tone are very different from Hinduism. The shamanistic elements in these religions are quite varied. This entry focuses on the shamanistic patterns that one sees in the religions of communities of the plains and riverine areas where Hinduism has had a deeper influence.

The type of religious specialist identified for the purposes of this article as *shaman* exists alongside many other specialists in India. The shamans do the work of diviners and astrologers when they offer diagnoses of present difficulties and make predictions about the future; but, like mediums and oracles, they do so by summoning deities who assume control of their body, speech, and mind. Like exorcists they can drive afflicting ghosts out of their clients, and like healers and curers they provide other kinds of diagnoses of and treatments for illness, but again they do so by channeling the power of a deity. Sometimes they function as priests for the gods who possess them, and sometimes they work in a complementary fashion with priests, prescribing the necessary sacrifices and rituals to propitiate a deity, which a priest must then conduct. The common thread connecting all of these functions is spirit possession, but of a particular kind.

Many Indian languages distinguish between two states that English conflates under the single word *possession:* an unwelcome, afflicting type of possession and a benevolent type that is actively sought out. In Tamil, for example, spirit possession is described and experienced as affliction when an unsatisfied ghost *(pēy)* or offended family deity *(kuladeyvam)* is said to have "caught" someone *(piṭikkiratu).* This sense of an entity that is hard to brush off, that is attached like a thorn or a burr, or a sticky stain, is also conveyed in the phrases used to describe unwelcome spirit possession in Rajasthan: *bhūt lagnā* or *bhooth laiyo* or *churail lagi,* which literally mean "a ghost lays hold of" or "gets stuck to" someone (Kothari 1982, 11). On the other hand, possession by a deity who is welcomed, sought out, and experienced as benevolent is described in Tamil as the god "coming to," or "descending upon" someone *(vakiratu, azhakiratu).* Similarly, the phrase *bhāv ānā* (literally the deity's "feeling" is "coming") in Rajasthan denotes the arrival of a welcomed and worshipped entity (Gold 1988, 38).

Consistent with Ioan M. Lewis's observations on the etiology of spirit possession (1986), there is a correlation between social status and possession. Women and young or low-caste men are generally more vulnerable to the negative type of spirit possession, while the benevolent type is experienced more often by men than by women, and more often by those with relatively more wealth, power, and status than their peers. In South India, for example, spirit mediums tend to be from the lower castes, but are often individuals with exceptional wealth or status.

This contrast between benevolent and malevolent possession depends in part on the hierarchical nature of the popular Hindu pantheon. A different set of specific deities presides over each region and village in India, but the underlying structures of each set exhibit considerable similarity. At the top is usually a local form of one of the great gods of the Brahmanical tradition, Śiva or Viṣṇu. These gods accept only vegetarian offerings from their devotees and are attended to by Brahman priests. At the next level down is usually a local goddess *(amma̱ṉ, śakti)* identified with the pan-Indian goddess. At this level and below, the deity usually accepts nonvegetarian offerings (e.g., goat and chicken sacrifices) and is attended to by non-Brahman priests *(pūjāris).* Next are the hero-deities, ancestors, local nature deities, apotheosized spirits of those who died violently or prematurely, and theriomorphic deities (e.g.,

the snakelike *nāgas*). Finally, at the bottom of the hierarchy one finds an assortment of largely malevolent supernatural beings, who may be recruited into the service of gods higher up in the pantheon but more often roam about spreading disorder: ghosts and demons *(pēy-picācu, bhūt, pretas, churail),* witches, the jinns of folk Islam, and so forth.

The notion that the divisions between types of beings, whether supernatural, human, or animal, are not absolute or fixed allows for considerable mobility between the levels. The spirits of men and women who died prematurely or with many unsatisfied longings may become afflicting ghosts who lurk in the branches of trees, in cremation grounds, and in lonely spots near rivers or crossroads. Even the most frightening ghost, however, may become a beneficent ancestor if worshipped properly. In time, a local godling with a large following may become identified as a local incarnation of or a guardian deity to one of the great gods of the Sanskritic tradition. Generally speaking, the deities invoked by Indian shamans are the minor gods and local hero-deities who partake of the ferocious power of the lowest beings, but who use it in the service of both humans and gods. In Tamil Nadu, the shamanistic ritual of exorcism vividly displays the hierarchy of gods, as the more powerful deity who speaks through the shaman dominates the afflicting ghost (speaking through the mouth of the possessed), berating it, beating it, and forcing it to disclose what it needs in order to go away.

Hindu shamans are almost always devotees, and often priests, of the gods who come to them. This is true for the *sāmiyāṭis* (lit. "God-dancers") and *kōṭāṅkis* (exorcists who use hourglass drums) of Tamil Nadu, the *gāḍigas* of Karnataka, the *bākīs* of the Pahari-speaking people of the Lower Himalayas, and the *bhopās* of Rajasthan. In addition, shamans tend to follow the purification conventions established by regular temple priests. Before conducting important rituals that require them to enter possession states they purify themselves by bathing and abstaining from sexual intercourse, eating meat, and drinking alcohol. When the deity comes to them, they become a kinetic icon of the deity and receive worship from others.

The line separating what one could call a *shaman* from people to whom a deity regularly or occasionally comes is fairly thin; in fact, crossing over that line is a regular element in the career of a shaman. Nevertheless, a distinctive professionalism characterizes those who can generate income and prestige by invoking the deity at will. A sign of such professionalism is often the use of special objects during their shamanistic performances. In Tamil Nadu, where the tradition of serving as the *sāmiyāṭi* for a particular deity is passed down by inheritance from one generation to the next, the office usually passes to an individual particularly adept at becoming possessed, along with the implements used to physically embody the divine (ceremonial staff, billhook, drum) or demonstrate that the possession-state is genuine (iron nail–embedded shoes, torch, hooks for piercing the skin, and the like).

The training of a shaman is often informal, based on a process of observation and imitation. As elsewhere, an effective shaman is sensitive to the cultural codes of a community, is aware of local gossip, and is a good judge of character; the shaman is also able to respond quickly and convincingly to minimal cues. This latter ability is especially important when clients come with the expectation that the deity will know without being told what problems or issues they wish to have addressed, as is common in Tamil Nadu and the Pahari-speaking areas of North India. Insofar as their performances consist of bodily impersonations of the gods, shamans must adhere to the conventions that shape the way audiences expect the gods to appear: The presence of Mariamman, a village goddess of South India, is physically signaled with wide-open, bulging eyes; Kaliamman sticks out her long tongue; and serpent deities cause the arms of their mediums to entwine above their heads in a sinuous, sometimes sensual manner. But successful shamans, those who attract many clients, are able to do this convincingly while adding their own distinctively personal touch.

Some scholars have maintained that shamanism in India displays a critical stance toward the established caste and gender hierarchies of Brahmanical Hinduism. Gerald Berreman noted in 1964 that low-caste Pahari shamans and their audiences seemed to derive considerable pleasure from the fact that higher-caste clients were compelled to do the shaman's bidding when he spoke in the voice of the god. Indeed, shamanism, like other deviations from

Brahmanical orthodoxy, denies the exclusive authority of Brahman priests, enables both men and women to assume prominent roles, values rather than denigrates the "natural" qualities of women and members of low castes, and encourages the expression of strong, one might say extreme, emotional and psychological states that may lead to the transgression of orthodox norms. To the extent that the authority of shamanism is based on a speaker's perceived ability to represent authentically the point of view of the divine, shamans can and do authorize departures from tradition. But on the same authoritative basis, they may just as easily support or reinforce prevailing norms.

Recently, scholars have questioned the extent to which shamanism necessarily sanctions resistance to the dominant social order, or whether it does so in a simple, straightforward manner (Hancock 1995; Kapadia 1995). For example, when the goddess "came" to the urban, middle-class Brahman mediums of the goddess Mariamman, as described by Mary Hancock, they were able to buck the social norms that compel a wife and mother to attend unquestioningly to the needs of her family, and they were also able to dictate unorthodox innovations, such as that women who are menstruating are not ritually impure (contrary to orthodox belief). But these moments of liberation were relatively fleeting and dependent on the cooperation of family members. One can also see a correlation between the caste identity of Indian shamans and the hierarchical position of the deities who regularly come to them. In general, higher-caste mediums serve as the vehicles for gods higher up in the pantheon, while lower-caste mediums serve gods lower in the pantheon. Moreover, higher-caste mediums, or those bent on upward mobility, often manifest spirit possession in a much more subdued manner than do mediums from lower-caste backgrounds; higher-caste mediums tend to "Sanskritize" the appearance of the deities they channel, even when these deities are from the lower echelons of the pantheon (Hancock 1995; Harper 1957). Such observations support I. M. Lewis's contention that where shamanism is marginal to a dominant religion it can offer opportunities to critique the prevailing social order, but when it is central, it tends to reinforce the dominant social hierarchies (Lewis 1986).

Eliza F. Kent

See also: Ancient South Indian Shamanism; Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles; Manipur Meitei Shamanism; South Asian Shamanism; Spirit Possession in Rajasthan; Tantrism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Berreman, Gerald D. 1964. "Brahmins and Shamans in Pahari Religion." *Journal of Asian Studies,* 23 (June): 53–69.

Blackburn, Stuart H. 1985. "Death and Deification: Folk Cults in Hinduism." *History of Religions* 24, no. 3: 255–274.

Dumont, Louis. 1986. *A South Indian Subcaste: Social Organization and Religion of the Pramalai Kallar.* Translated from the French by Michael Moffatt et al. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Gold, Ann Grodzins. 1988. "Spirit Possession: Perceived and Performed in Rural Rajasthan." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 22, no. 1: 35–63.

Hancock, Mary. 1995. "The Dilemmas of Domesticity: Possession and Devotional Experience among Urban Smarta Women." Pp. 60–91 in *From the Margins of Hindu Marriage: Essays on Gender, Religion, and Culture.* Edited by Lindsey Harlan and Paul B. Courtright. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harper, Edward B. 1957. "Shamanism in South India." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13: 267–287.

Kapadia, Karin. 1995. *Siva and Her Sisters: Gender, Caste, and Class in Rural South India.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Kothari, Komal. 1982. "The Shrine: An Expression of Social Needs." Pp. 5–31 in *Gods of the Byways.* Oxford, UK: Museum of Modern Art.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1986. *Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maskarinec, Gregory. 1995. *The Rulings of the Night. An Ethnography of Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

McDaniel, June. 1989. *The Madness of the Saints: Ecstatic Religion in Bengal.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

INDIA

See Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions; Spirit Possession in Rajasthan (India)

ISLAM AND SHAMANISM

See Tajik Shamanism (Central Asia); South Asian Shamanism; Zarma Spirit Mediums

LADAKHI SHAMANS AND ORACLES (HIMALAYAS)

In Ladakh as elsewhere in Asia, shamanism is hardly a dead or desiccated issue as was once predicted (Geertz 1973). Once thought to be scholarly survivals, shamanism and spirit possession are part of a growing social phenomenon within that indeterminate and contested cultural realm known as the Himalayas. The growing popularity and centrality of oracular possession in local ritual practices is proof of its persistent ability to articulate an increasingly fragmented and contested social and cultural reality. The ability to resist the reductionism of rational or medical idioms is what allows possession to encompass the wider domains beyond the Cartesian mind and body, including family, kinship, society, and polity (Atkinson 1992; Boddy 1994). At the western end of the Indian Himalaya, the shamanic traditions of Ladakh both bridge and transcend a number of critical symbolic oppositions in local discourse—lay and monastic, male and female, purity and pollution, order and disorder, sickness and sanity.

Ladakhi shamans, or oracles (as they are known locally) both disrupt and consolidate key cultural norms through their flexible, pragmatic, and ad hoc approach to healing and divination. The oracles' paradoxical pronouncements both reinforce and resist the superiority of the monastic authorities who ultimately provide the authority for the oracles' ritual status. Yet even as oracles subtly submit to the monastic discourse of power and knowledge, they creatively adapt these discourses by enabling or empowering others to disrupt extant social hierarchies. In local discourse, oracles, or *lhapa (lha pa),* are one of a range of healers who engage in the strategic and professional transformation of personal and social suffering (Kleinman 1980). Other customary healers include monks *(dge slong),* reincarnate priests *(rin po che),* lay astrologers *(dbon po),* and practitioners of traditional Tibetan medicine *(am chi, lha rje).* Part doctor and part diviner, part psychiatrist and part lawyer, oracles not only diagnose and cure various illnesses and misfortunes, but also negotiate property disputes and divorces, counsel couples and families, and make predictions about individual, household, and community prosperity.

Ladakhi shamans are best understood as oracles or spirit mediums who are possessed by one or more named spirits of the local Buddhist pantheon. From a perspective outside of the culture, Ladakhi oracles are understood less as *journeying to* than *communicating with* a distant spirit world, as their bodies become vessels through which the divine can speak. Whereas Eliade was inclined to exclude spirit possession from his definition of shamanism, contemporary research on Himalayan shamanism and possession (Hitchcock and Jones 1976) regard both as variable aspects of a single phenomenon. Ladakhi oracles share an ability "to divine the future, diagnose disease and misfortune, and otherwise bring aid to . . . clients" with many other spirit mediums across the Buddhist Himalayas, including the Sherpa and Dolpo *lhapa,* the Tamang *bombo,* and the Tibetan or Bhutanese *dpa'-bo, dpa' mo,* and *lha pa* (Hitchcock and Jones 1976, xiii). Ladakhi shamanism is a historically and culturally mediated social practice with traditional links to the monastery as well as the state, the medical as much as the ritual realms. Although A. S. Anagnost (1987) has suggested that the rise of state and religious bureaucracies led to the replacement of charismatic male shamans by more peripheral female spirit mediums, the evidence from Ladakh suggests a more complex interpenetration of shamanism, monasticism, and the state. Rather than the replacement of male shamans by female mediums, the two roles coexist and complement each other in local discourse. In Ladakh, as in Tibet, the conversion to monastic Buddhism between the seventh and tenth cen-

turies never fully suppressed earlier shamanic traditions (Samuels 1993; Stein 1972; Tucci 1988). The synthesis between shamanic or ecstatic mediation and a more scholastic and institutionalized Buddhism is evident in the two types of oracular possession: a disruptive village level medium and a more official, formalized monastic medium.

The two major types of Ladakhi oracles—village/house mediums and monastic/state mediums—are both known as Lhapa (Brauen 1980, Day 1989). Whereas the village oracles have a more peripheral and ambiguous status as personal healers and diviners who are closely linked with the demonic and misfortune, the monastic oracles serve as official diviners who are closely affiliated with the monastery and the state. Village oracles diagnose and cure the body and spirit of their patients, the household, or the community. By contrast, monastic oracles simply divine but never cure the political fortunes of the state and its public servants. Village oracles are laypeople of either sex whose ability to enter into controlled trance is triggered by prior illness or a possession experience. In recent decades, village oracles have mostly been women. By contrast, monastic oracles are always men, either lay or monastic, who are chosen by lottery or election to be possessed by protector spirits *(chos skyong, srung ma).* Although their service to the kings ended with Ladakh's absorption into the Indian nation in 1947, monastic oracles still serve local bureaucrats and citizens who ask about politics and social welfare. While the popularity and prevalence of village oracles has grown steadily, the impact of monastic oracles remains small. By 1990 only two out of Ladakh's dozen monasteries, Matho and Stok, still maintained monastic oracles. By contrast, oracles (*lha mo*) are now found in many villages along most the heavily populated portion of Indus valley, half of whom were female by 1981 (Day 1989).

Ladakh lies in the Himalayan portion of Jammu and Kashmir, which borders the vast Tibetan plateau as well as Pakistan's Northern Area. With historic links to Central Asia, Tibet, and Kashmir, Ladakh has a mixed Buddhist and Muslim population. It is made up of two districts, Leh and Kargil, whose combined population is just under a quarter of a million people. Buddhists and Muslims each make up about 48 percent of the population; the rest of the population comprises Sikhs, Christians, and Hindus. There is also a small community of Tibetan refugees, who came across the border from Tibet after 1959. Ladakhi oracles are drawn from and cater to a predominantly Buddhist population that is concentrated in Leh district and the Zangskar region of Kargil district. Occasionally, clients and oracles are drawn from Muslim, Christian, and Hindu communities (Day 1989).

The rising prevalence of oracles in Ladakh is most related to changing work, marriage, and residence patterns. Older forms of status and rank cannot compete with new forms of wealth, status, and the growing spread of modern Indian cinematic and media culture. Despite rapid modernization, the household and its land remain the primary economic, legal, and social unit of Ladakhi society. Traditional practices of primogeniture, polyandry, in which many brothers marry the same wife, monastic celibacy, and the joint family system are on the decline, as younger sons commonly marry separately and divide the family estate or migrate to the city for work in the military, civil service, or tourist sectors. Most daughters move to their husband's natal household unless there are no sons, in which case a daughter inherits her natal household and brings in a husband from elsewhere. Although young wives are still subject to the authority of their in-laws, shifting careers have led some couples to set up house independently. The incomplete transition from primogeniture and the joint family to nuclear households and individual inheritance has left a growing percentage of the younger generation disenfranchised. Oracular possession is related to increasing conflict over collective identities framed around ethnicity, religion, or gender (Aggarwal 1994; Beek 1996; Gutschow 1998).

Local explanations for the recent rise in oracular possession point to politics, economics, and Buddhist cosmology. The rising number of oracles is said to be due to increased militarization and insecurity, state development initiatives, a growing cash economy, and increased external and internal migration (which causes ritual pollution, *grib*), along with the worsening state of the world, which forces deities into the human world or causes them to flee to Ladakh from elsewhere, such as Tibet (Day 1989). Within Ladakh, village oracles are con-

centrated most heavily in and around Leh, where the social fabric has been most dramatically altered by internal transience, population growth, militarism, and the influx of Kashmiri merchants, Indian soldiers, foreign tourists, and migrant workers from Bihar and Nepal. The slight increases in education and jobs have left a younger generation frustrated with limited social mobility, poor educational standards, and consistent discrimination against them as inferior subordinates who cannot compete at the state or national level. Extended stays by young people outside of Ladakh for higher education or employment, along with the influx of migrants, have led to heightened strain on cultural boundaries and local concepts of purity and pollution. Oracles mediate cultural and social boundaries as they attend to stresses such as finding a job, a wife, or a place in the education system. The anonymity and secularization of urbanization have led to increased incidences of depression, mental illness, suicide, and drug use. These have led to greater participation in the cult of village oracles, even as the monasticism oracles are in decline.

Village oracles are made, not born in Ladakh. What was formerly a hereditary calling has become a largely vocational practice. Although village oracles used to be drawn from households with a long tradition of oracular possession (Day 1989), village oracles currently come from a range of households, not necessarily associated with an oracular lineage. Oracles are drawn from both lower and middle classes, from wealthier and older households as well as more indigent newcomers, and from both commoner and outcaste strata, though rarely from aristocratic households. Despite varied social, economic, and personal backgrounds, all oracles undergo some form of an initiatory ordeal or illness. Although individual ailments may vary, a generic pattern can be tentatively identified. Before being formally inducted as oracles, most initiates experience a prolonged period of psychosomatic illness, often accompanied by involuntary possession attacks. During this prolonged attack by malevolent forces, which may last from several months to several years, initiates commonly face some form of social censure or ostracism. Although the initiates' unpredictable behavior—sudden fits of emotion, fainting spells, and inability to work—may be deemed evidence of divine election in the long run, they earn certain disapproval and loss of social status in the short run. The inexorable logic of karma may turn the victim into the accused, as present suffering is considered the well-deserved result of past misdemeanors.

Like psychoanalysts, village oracles must undergo a ritualized "cure" before they are trained to heal. Initiates become oracles by submitting to the same ad hoc treatments that they will recommend to their future patients. Most initiates seek out competing diagnoses and cures from a range of healers, including oracles, Tibetan doctors, monks, astrologers, and biomedical doctors (Day 1989, Gutschow 1997). With the exception of biomedicine, all of the traditional discourses—medical, monastic, oracular, and astrological—draw on shared idioms and compatible notions of causality. Although all of the discourses draw on the law of karma for ultimate or primary causality *(rgyu),* each recognizes a number of secondary or proximate causes *(rkyen).* The secondary causes of spirit possession include behavior, emotion, diet, season, astrological factors, mental illness (known in local idiom as wind disorder, *rlung gi nad pa*), demonic influences, witchcraft *(gong mo bzhug byes),* and ritual defilement *(grib).*

Ritual defilement in particular includes a range of transgressions from the ritual to the moral realm (Gutschow 1998). Defilement is caused by both accidental ritual oversights harming *(gnod)* unseen spirits and by improper behavior or emotions, such as theft, lying, violent activities, mixing with Muslims, obsessive thoughts, excessive anger, and violent jealousy. This emphasis on defilement defines possession as an attack by vulnerable spirits, who are in continual danger of being offended or wounded. In local idiom spirit possession is conceptualized as a transgression, excess, or imbalance of the spiritual, psychic, or moral order. Spirit possession reflects and refracts a broader Buddhist discourse about the disturbance of cosmic boundaries, natural balances, and bodily barriers. Oracles learn to repair that which has been transgressed as they begin to channel the spirits and their emotions in a more socially productive fashion. Whereas medical, ritual, and oracular discourses stress the physicality of the invasive demons or spirits, Buddhist philosophical discourses recognize demons as psychic projections or illusions, ultimately empty

of inherent and independent existence. All of the discourses, however, even the philosophical, accept the conventional validity of phenomenal reality and its spirits, even if they subordinate this reality to the Buddhist doctrines of karma, emptiness, and dependent origination.

Before becoming village oracles, initiates undergo extensive medical and ritual interventions. It is possible to make a tentative distinction between the medical approach, which focuses on the body, behavior, and emotion, and oracular, ritual, and astrological discourses, which focus more on morality and cosmic causality. In practice, the discourses are interdependent and inclusive rather than exclusive and separate. Most initiates who experience involuntary possession begin with medical treatments ranging from "gentle" herbal mixtures to "fierce" remedies such as acupuncture and moxibustion (use of the moxa plant, placed on the skin and used as a counterirritant. In Tibetan medical discourse spirit possession is grouped with other mental illnesses *(smyo ba)* caused by a profound imbalance of the body's three major humors, wind, bile, and phlegm (Epstein and Rabgyay 1982; Rabgyay 1985). If the medical treatments fail to assist the displacement of the body's central life wind *(srog rlung),* ritual intervention may be required to call back the soul or enhance the life force. The life force *(srog)* and soul *(bla)* are two of the five factors calculated in a Tibetan horoscope: The other three are body *(lus),* power (*dbang*), and luck *(klung).* Any number of personal or household rituals, including exorcisms *(brgya bzhi, lha gsol)* and enhancement rites such as putting up prayer flags *(rlung rta)* or calling the soul (*bla 'gugs*), may be performed to ransom the initiate's health, call back the soul, or enhance the initiate's luck and power in order to avert sickness and death. Initiates may be required to purify themselves by undergoing ritual performances, including ritual ablutions or fumigations *(khrus, bsang),* fasting, circumambulation, meditation, and pilgrimage, as well as other forms of gaining merit.

After completing ordinary rituals and taking standard ways of gaining merit, initiates may petition a high-ranking or reincarnate monk to use his tantric prowess to divine the god or demon that afflicts them and provide a ritual purification *(khrus),* blessing *(sbyin rlabs),* or sacred amulets *(srung ba)* to ward off further impurities or spiritual malaise. This monk may perform a standard tantric liturgy *(sadhana),* in which he generates and embodies his tutelary deity *(yi dam),* in order to dispel the demonic and bind the beneficial spirits plaguing the initiate. Only senior monks or reincarnates can confirm the presence of beneficial spirits and fully banish the demonic. The emphasis on tantric ritual and Buddhist merit making reinforces the primacy of Buddhism over the lesser spirits and folk beliefs with which it does continual battle. From an external viewpoint one could say that the monks use their monopoly of tantric practices to authorize the new oracles as ritual healers. Although oracles must submit to the monastic authorities for recognition, they may continue to challenge or resist the supremacy of the monks in their healing practice.

Village oracles can only be inducted as healers through explicit ritual recognition from a senior oracle and a senior monastic. During or after their ritual or medical interventions, initiates apprentice themselves to a senior oracle, from whom they learn to recognize and control the possessing spirits, as well as to perform basic healing practices. All village oracles undergo a lengthy tutelage under a senior oracle, a practice known as "submitting to the gods" *(lha 'bogs).* During this training period, initiates repeatedly enter trance in the presence of the senior oracle and a senior monk (Day 1989). The two ritual authorities interrogate the initiate in order to identify and authenticate any spirits that are present. These training sessions are used to confirm that all demonic influences have been banished and that the possessing spirits are dedicated to work only for the welfare of others, a standard Buddhist objective. The training and induction rites mirror the process by which Buddhism subdued *('dul ba)* the fiercely independent shamanism it encountered across the Tibetan plateau. The initiate, who is possessed by worldly spirits *('jig rten pa'i lha)* still trapped within the cycle of birth and rebirth *(srid pa'i 'khor lo),* submits to the monks, who draw on the power of higher tantric deities and transcendent gods, '*jig rten las 'das pa'i lha,* literally those who "have gone beyond" the world of suffering (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975).

In Tibetan Buddhism, tantric virtuosos are the most highly prized ritual experts because they can call on the widest range of forces in

their battle against demonic chaos. Tantric experts make use of Buddhas, celestial bodhisattvas, and tantric protectors, as well as more worldly gods, such as monastic protectors *(chos skyong),* household gods *(pha lha),* village gods *(yul lha),* and personal protectors *(dgra lha).* Oracles, by contrast, primarily access the worldly gods, such as protectors and more ambiguous sprites of the Underworld *(klu),* earth *(sa bdag),* and space *(gzhi bdag).* Such autochthonous worldly spirits are domesticated and absorbed within the Buddhist pantheon in order to secure the clerical sphere of authority and efficacy (Gutschow 1998; Samuels 1993).

The final induction into the status of full oracle involves a critical separation rite *(lha 'dre phye byes)* in which the senior oracle and an ordained monk determine that the initiate's spirits have come to work for Buddhist purposes (Day 1989). The senior oracle and the students will undergo trance simultaneously in order to separate and dispatch the negative demons and positive spirits accordingly. A variety of symbolic idioms are used to test the initiate's ability to distinguish the good spirits from the bad—arrows, stones, or a game of dice. The initiate may be required to break or discard the arrows or stones symbolizing demonic spirits and correctly identify those that signify certain Buddhist deities, such as the guardian deities *(chos skyong, dharmapala)* of the four directions. Alternatively, the initiate's fate may be decided by a ritualized game of dice, recalling the famous episodes from the Central Asian Gesar epic and the Indian Mahābhārata (in the latter the fate of the Pandava kingdom is decided by a game of dice) (Day 1989). In this ritualized competition, the senior oracle champions his or her protégé against a monastic adversary, whose victory spells defeat for the initiate. In the course of the separation rite, the monk discards a set of tantric offering cakes *(gtor ma)* signifying obstacles and performs a ritual ablution or fumigation to purify the space.

This final authorization of an oracle neatly illustrates how monks and oracles both complement and contest each other's ritual power. The induction process confirms monastic preeminence in dispelling impurity and danger, while restoring ritual order and purity.

After induction, village oracles begin practicing by performing healing séances in their own home or, if necessary, in the form of a house call. Most séances follow a typical pattern, as the oracle becomes temporarily possessed by one or more local guardian deities or more remote mountain deities from Tibet. Depending on the oracle's popularity, the séance may include anywhere from one to a hundred patients who have gathered at the appointed hour in the oracle's home. The oracle prefaces the rite by carefully washing of the hands and mouth, for most spirits are deemed to be particularly offended by human smells and other forms of defilement. While patients chat informally, the oracle prepares the standard set of offerings as invitations of hospitality *(gsol ba)* or requests for assistance from a range of Buddhist and local spirits (Ortner 1975). The oracle then dons her ritual costume after preparing the customary Buddhist altar of seven offerings, including water, flowers, incense, barley, a butter lamp, and offering cakes, as well as "golden drinks" *(gser khyem)* and juniper incense. In full view of the patients and audience, the oracle dresses herself with a ritual apron *(pang khebs),* cape *(stod le),* and five-pointed crown *(rigs lnga),* and ties a scarf over her mouth before picking up her major ritual implements—the bell, thunderbolt, and small hand drum, used in standard tantric practices.

The arrival of the god is signaled by hiccuping, sneezing, or other behavioral tics, often while putting on the crown or scarf. The oracle begins her séance with a lengthy chant, while spinning the hand drum, shaking the bell, and performing basic tantric gestures *(mudrās).* As the hypnotic combination of the bell, drum, and chant take effect, the oracle may address the god who has come to possess her, by offering the golden drinks.

The healing session begins when the oracle is fully in trance and turns toward the patients, who offer a blessing scarf and then present their ailments, predicaments, or queries. Most patients are treated either with an extraction or a divination. To extract noxious substances believed to be causing illness or misfortune, the oracle places a short copper tube upon the patient's body, vigorously sucks, and then spits the resulting substance into a bowl of water set aside for this purpose. The oracle may then divine the cause of illness by reading the offensive substances just removed from the body. She may also read the barley corns dancing across her drum or use her rosary beads to calculate

an answer. Patients may seek answers to any number of concerns, including marriage prospects, upcoming exams, jobs, and other mundane worries. The extraction of substances may offer only limited healing, yet the divination may specify the secondary causes of the ailment, including pollution, accidental transgression, or the attack of harmful spirits. Because accidental pollution is so common in a system where unseen spirits are offended by daily human activity, the question is not so much whether pollution is present but who has been offended. The oracle either identifies the wronged spirit and recommends ritual treatment or refers the patient to other healers for further diagnosis. After the tense acrobatics and power of the ritual, each patient contributes a small donation in cash or kind before leaving the oracle's house.

Oracular possession encourages multiple interpretations and a flexible, inclusive rather than exclusive approach to illness and treatment. Using Arthur Kleinman's terms for analyzing indigenous healing systems (1980), oracular possession uses informal institutional settings; a relatively intimate and yet authoritarian interaction between healer and patient; empathic and charismatic healers who accept limited payment for their services; and a ritualized rhetoric of diagnosis and healing using somatic, psychic, and moral idioms. The therapeutic stages of the healing process are open-ended and inclusive, as the diagnosis, treatment, and cure of the illness and final authorization as an oracle often require the wider involvement of the family, community, and religious establishment. Yet oracles do not supply seamless harmony at all costs. The village oracle may reject previous diagnoses, scold patients for seeking treatment elsewhere, and forcibly counter prior diagnoses offered up by supplicants.

Both village and monastic oracles may serve as a local voice of resistance, scolding villagers about the decline in morality, purity, and loyalty to tradition and custom. They may also go so far as to critique the establishment, by singling out lazy and lecherous monks, scheming astrologers, doctors, or merchants, and politicians with no sense of shame. In other words, the oracle voices truth to power, by articulating the concerns of the displaced or disempowered in a direct, shameless manner, openly disregarding customary norms of polite nonconfrontation. In the case of village oracles, such critique can earn both respect and disparagement, or even outright retribution from higher authorities such as monastics. It is not uncommon for village oracles to lose their abilities to enter into trance, unlike monastic oracles who are simply rotated out of their position. A village oracle may stop channeling spirits for a number of reasons, including personal health, concerns about the accuracy of her diagnoses or divinations, and monastic anxieties about the authenticity or benevolence of the spirits in question. Unlike monks, who draw on institutional backing even when rituals fail, village oracles renegotiate their healing authority every time they practice. Their ambiguous position outside of the institutional monasticism stands in sharp contrast with the second, much smaller group of spirit mediums in Ladakh: monastic oracles.

Monastic oracles have more legitimacy than most village oracles, although their practice is less frequent and more circumscribed. The two monastic oracles left in Ladakh are closely associated with royalty or aristocracy. In Stok village is the palace *(mkhar)* and estate granted to the last king of Ladakh in the nineteenth century; Matho housed a lesser aristocracy, which frequently intermarried with the kings and nobles of Ladakh, Zangskar, and Lahaul. Even after the fall of the Ladakhi monarchy to the neighboring Dogra rulers in the nineteenth century and up through Ladakh's incorporation into the Indian nation in 1947, monastic oracles were called upon to give advice to the kings and ministers who continued to adjudicate local affairs (Heber and Heber 1977). Because monastic oracles are chosen by rotation or by lottery, they bear little of the stigma associated with the prolonged ordeal of involuntary possession. At Stok, two village households each provide a man to serve as oracle every year, in turn, while the two Matho oracles are chosen by lottery from the monastic population, although they used to come from among the lay population. The laymen who serve as oracles are paid in grain for their performance, which is collected as a tax from every household in the village.

Before their ritual appearance during the two-day festival at Stok monastery, the two laymen chosen as oracles undergo fifteen days of ritual preparation, including daily ablutions *(khrus)* at the hands of the Vajra master (tantric master) *(rdo rje slob pdon)* of Stok monastery (Brauen

1980; Day 1989). The two oracles become possessed when the monks of Stok hold their annual sacred dances *('chams)* on the ninth and tenth of the first Tibetan month. While the monks present their spectacular dances of tantric deities and local protectors dressed in rich costumes of silk brocade topped with fierce masks, the oracles appear on the monastery roof, now running along the parapets, now slicing their tongues with heavy brass swords, now gesticulating wildly and making pronouncements or answering random questions that are warily tossed their way. Each oracle is possessed by one of the two manifestations of the local village protector *(yul lha),* Ser rang, one of which has a close relation to the palace and the other to the monastery. The oracles wear almost identical ritual dress. On the first day, they wear a red felt hat *(btsan zhva)* marked with three eyes linking them to the fierce Tsam spirits of the Middle World, a brocade coat, collar, and aprons, and on the second day they are dressed more plainly in light pants, aprons, and collars, as well as red and black wigs.

Matho used to have laymen serve as oracles until they complained of the strenuous nature of the possession; the Matho oracles are now chosen from the monastic assembly by lottery a year before the monastic dances *('chams)* take place on the fourteenth and fifteenth of the first Tibetan month. The two monks, who are selected from a group identified as fully purified, must spend a year in retreat, performing meditations, avoiding certain foods like garlic and onion, and receiving weekly ablutions from the monastery's Vajra master. During Matho's two-day dance festival, the oracles receive high-ranking visitors before they make a spectacle of themselves in the monastic courtyard by making ominous predictions and answering questions from the audience. The two oracles are possessed by either the wrathful or peaceful manifestation of the local village deity *(yul lha),* known as Rong btsan, who was brought from the Tibetan region of Kham by the Sakyapa monk who founded Matho in the fifteenth century, Drung pa Dorje. Each oracle wears a ritual costume over his monastic dress, including a red hat with three eyes, a brocade coat, and a large breastplate made of iron, and brandishes a spear and a sword as he runs along the monastic parapets, making pronouncements about the future of Ladakh to all and sundry.

Last but not least, the Shey oracle continues to serve as a state oracle, by making predictions about communal and agrarian welfare during the fall harvest festival *(shrub lha),* which marks the beginning of the scything period in the seventh Tibetan month. This oracle may date back to well before the seventeenth century, when Shey rather than Leh was the capital of Ladakh.

Kim Gutschow

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions; Siberian Shamanism; South Asian Shamanism; Tibetan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Aggarwal, Ravina. 1994. "From Mixed Strain of Barley Grains: Person and Place in a Ladakhi Village." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.

Anagnost, A. S. 1987. "Politics and Magic in Contemporary China." *Modern China* 13, no. 1: 40–61.

Atkinson, Jane Monnig. 1992. "Shamanisms Today." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 307–330.

Beek, Martijn van. 1996. "Identity Fetishism and the Art of Representation: The Long Struggle for Regional Autonomy in Ladakh." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University.

Boddy, Janice. 1994. "Spirit Possession Revisited: Beyond Instrumentality." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 407–434.

Brauen, Martin. 1980. *Feste in Ladakh* [Festivals in Ladakh]. Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt.

Day, Sophie. 1989. "Embodying Spirits: Village Oracles and Possession Ritual in Ladakh, North India." Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics.

Epstein, M., and L. Rabgyay. 1982. "Mind and Mental Disorders in Tibetan Medicine." *gSo Rig: Tibetan Medicine* 5: 66–84.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "Religion as a Cultural System." Pp. 87–125 in *The Interpretation of Cultures.* Edited by Clifford Geertz. New York: Free Press.

Gutschow, Kim. 1997. "A Case of Madness or 'Wind Disorder' in Zangskar." Pp. 177–202 in *Recent Research on Ladakh 7.* Edited by Thierry Dodin and Heinz Räther. Ulm: Ulmerkulturanthropologische Schriften, Band 9, Universität Ulm.

———. 1998. "An Economy of Merit: Women and Buddhist Monasticism in Zangskar,

Northwest India." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.

Heber, A. Reeve, and Kathleen M. Heber. 1977. Reprint. *In Himalayan Tibet and Ladakh. A Description of Its Cheery Folk, Their Ways and Religion, of the Rigours of the Climate and Beauties of the Country, Its Fauna and Flora.* New Delhi: Ess Ess. Original edition, 1926.

Hitchcock, John, and Rex Jones, eds. 1976. *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips.

Kleinman, Arthur. 1980. *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1991. "Suffering and Its Professional Transformation." In *Writing at the Margin.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mumford, Stan. 1989. *Himalayan Dialogue: Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de. 1975. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of Tibetan Protective Deities.* Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt.

Ortner, Sherry. 1975. "God's Bodies, God's Food: A Symbolic Analysis of Sherpa Ritual." Pp. 133–169 in *The Interpretation of Symbolism.* Edited by Roy Willis. London: Malaby Press.

Rabgyay, L. 1985. "*Rlung* Diseases and Their Treatment." *gSo Rig: Tibetan Medicine* 9: 47–68.

Samuels, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press.

Stein, R. A. 1972. *Tibetan Civilization.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Tucci, Giuseppe. 1949. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls.* 3 vols. Rome: ISMEO.

———. 1988. *Ruichenbzapo and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet around the Milennium.* English Version of Indo-Tibetica 2. Translated by Nancy Kipp Smith, edited by Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashau.

MANIPUR MEITEI SHAMANISM (NORTHEAST INDIA)

The shamanistic tradition in Manipur is part of the pre-Hindu religious tradition of the Meitei community who live in Northeastern India. There are both male and female shamans in this tradition, and their duties and practices are clearly designated and distinguished from one another.

Bordered on the east by Myanmar (Burma), the state of Manipur (total area: 8,456 square miles) in northeastern India consists geographically of an oval valley of about 700 square miles surrounded by densely forested mountain ranges. The members of the Meitei community are the principal residents of the valley, and the community has had a rich history. Their religious tradition combines pre-Hindu beliefs and Hindu Vaishnava practices. The pre-Hindu religion has a rich shamanistic tradition. There are both female and male shamans in the pre-Hindu tradition, and they are called *maibas* (male) and *maibis* (mostly female), respectively, in Meitei language. As female shamanism is such an uncommon feature in India, the maibis have received much more attention from scholars, and there are extensive accounts written about them. Less written material is found about the maibas.

Female Shamans

The priestesses, the maibis of the pre-Hindu religion are chosen by divine intervention. They may be chosen either in the Lai-haraoba ceremony during *Lai-nupi thiba* or at some other time. (The Lai-haraoba ceremony is a yearly public festival celebrated throughout Manipur. It is the principal religious festival of the pre-Hindu religious tradition.) If a woman falls ill and no other medical practitioner can cure her, the belief is that a god has chosen her to become a maibi. She is treated by a maiba, then sent as an apprentice to a senior maibi. She becomes a full-fledged maibi only after a long period of apprenticeship (Brara 1998, 136). It is considered normal for a woman to be a maibi and to also continue married life and have children. In some cases, however, maibis have to give up married life, since some families do not like their women to be traveling and performing in public. Socially the maibis perform several roles. They officiate as priestesses in the Lai-haraoba ceremony, leading the proceedings. They also sit in trance making divine predictions every morning during the Lai-haraoba ceremony. Many women consult them throughout the year when in any kind of uncertainty or trouble, and they make divine predictions about people's lives and futures. Apart

from some yearly rites such as the Sagei-apokpa khurumba (yearly functions for the progenitor of the clan), the main role of the maibis in the society is during Lai-haraoba.

After becoming a maibi, a woman has to follow certain food restrictions. She cannot take fire from a lit fireplace; instead, she has to light her own fire by friction. If a maibi deviates from the food restrictions, she tends to suffer from acute bodily pain and uneasiness, causing restlessness. Her hair becomes locked and matted (Chaki-Sirkar 1984, 168), and she develops some kind of lump in the abdomen, which surgeons are unable to find in order to remove. All these symptoms are thought to be curable through the *lairen puba* (purification process) of *laikhai-taba* (complete training) (Brara 1998, 137). Once she is possessed by the *lai* (god), she acquires incredible strength. (It is to be noted here that even though the word *lai* in the Meitei language is used to refer to both Hindu and pre-Hindu gods, in the context of the maibis it is used to refer to the pre-Hindu god, whom the maibi is propitiating.) When she is possessed, even a number of persons cannot control a single maibi.

The maibis belong to three *salais* (clans), Mangang, Luwang, and Khuman, and they are represented by their respective clan colors, *shanglen, nongmai,* and *phura*, respectively. These three groups have different languages. The deity of the shanglen group will only possess a maibi of its own group, and if a maibi of another group wants to talk to the deity of Shanglen, the deity will not listen to her. Hence the *lairon* (language) for all the three groups is different, so that each maibi can converse with only the deity of her own group. A Shanglen maibi will always look for an *Ima-guru* (mother-teacher) belonging to the Shanglen group; in fact, she will be automatically led to the Ima-guru of that particular group.

There is a hierarchy among these three groups, and they are trained differently, as they are headed by three different deities. If either of the other two groups performs the rituals and offers flowers to a deity from the third group in any of their own houses, that particular house is said to face chaos. These three groups stay in different places, are trained differently, and acquire different lairon. The maibi herself cannot change her group. She has to serve the deity who has chosen her.

Maibis are functionally divided into two categories: (Brara 1998, 138)

1. *Wangong shang da Angangbu Ngaibi* (who waits in the house for the child). This kind of maibi specializes as a midwife. She delivers the child, cuts its umbilical cord with a bamboo-knife, and while cutting it, requests the *limi* (shadow), or the soul, to enter the newborn.
2. *Khabi shingta chakpa larak phambi* (one who can stop the god). This kind of maibi has the ability to confront the god (or spirit). She is the kind of maibi who experiences possession. At the beginning of of her conversation with the god in lairon, she sits on a banana leaf, considered sacred and conforming to good etiquette, in order to reach the gods. It is also believed that the growth of banana trees is an indication of fertile ground. The banana leaf is a symbol of fertility, hence prosperity. She covers her head and face with a white cloth, holds a bell in one hand, and rings it near her body.

The dance of maibis and the ritual theater of the *lairoi numit* (meaning "the last day") (the last night of the Lai-haraoba ceremony) are the oldest examples of dance and traditional theater among the Meitei. The evening rituals of Lai-haraoba consist of Hoi-laoba (singing by the maibis), Thougal-jagoi (dancing by the maibis to invoke the deities), Laiching-jagoi (dancing by the maibis that involves a variety of expressive movements), and Laibou-chongba (the dance of creation, done by maibis). The sequence ends with Leiren mathek, in which a maiba leads a line of the participants in an imitation of the movement of a snake, a symbol of the snake-god Pakhangba), Wakol, during which all the cultic objects are put back in the temple, and a concluding song to put the deities to sleep. In the all-night function of lairoi numit, the mythological story of Tangkhul and Nurabi is enacted by the *Pena-khungba* (Pena [bow-stringed musical instrument] player) and the maibis. This enactment is highly ritual in nature and symbolizes the propagation of fertility in the Meitei society (Achoubisana 1989, 18).

The maibis can also be male. The male maibis dress up in women's clothes when they officiate at a function. In recent times, there has been an increase in the number of male maibis. One of the major maibis of Manipur today is a man. A member of the community told the author that, due to security problems in the state, organizers of Lai-haraoba prefer to have male maibis officiating at the festival, as they do not want to take responsibility for protecting women.

Male Shamans

The maibas, the male priests, are an important institutional presence in the Meitei society. Their services range from acting as medicine men to serving as counselors. They are experts in the indigenous medicine system of Meitei society. They are, however, not chosen by divine intervention as the maibis are. A man may choose to become a maiba if he wants to. He does *Ojha–Boriba* (a ceremony by which the teacher accepts the disciple) with a teacher and thus can become his disciple. The medical tradition of the Meitei community has been written down in the traditional text *Maibarol.* It is interesting to note here that even though socially both maibas and maibis are considered equally important, the male tradition of the maibas has a written tradition, but the female tradition does not.

The Meitei community has a long tradition of writing and literature, which is found in the ancient manuscripts of this community, popularly known as the *puyas* (Ray 2000). These manuscripts are handwritten in the archaic script on ancient paper derived from tree bark, and they are considered sacred by the community. They have been written from the fifteenth century up to the recent past. Many scholars are of the opinion that the writing of the puyas continued through the conversion into Hinduism. The royal authorities were hostile to the pre-Hindu puyas during the time of conversion, but later attempts were made to syncretize the two belief systems (Hindu and pre-Hindu), and writing and studying of puyas found royal patronage again. The subject matter of the puyas is varied. They encompass religion, philosophy, ethics, martial arts, dance, music, botany, zoology, mountaineering, anatomy, physiology, medicine, and so on. Very few of these puyas have been transcribed into the popularly used Bengali script and published. Most of them are still in handwritten form. Very recently under state initiative the puyas have been archived in the newly established Manipur State Archives.

From ancient times, the royal authority of Manipur has been the patron behind traditional scholarship. The shamanistic healing tradition was very much a part of this knowledge system. The royal administration was divided into eight departments, *loishangs,* and the foremost among them was the *pandit loishang,* the royal house of scholars. The palace of Manipur as it still stands today houses the adjoining royal temple of Govindji (a Hindu god). The temple along with the several royal departments includes the royal house of scholars. Even today the house of scholars stands in its place. There are three scholars in residence in the loishang, and the deputy head of the loishang has office hours there every day. The head of the loishang visits occasionally. The pandits (scholars) are allowed to choose their area of specialization, and many of the pandits also function as maibas or *amaibas.* Among the current residents of the loishang there are some prominent medicine men.

In the early part of the twentieth century there was a feud in the royal establishment. As the then Maharaja of Manipur, Maharaja Okendrajit, became a convert to a revivalist religion called Sanamahism, the royal temple separated from the palace and established a managing trust of its own. The royal departments, including the pandit loishang, came under the temple board. The head of the pandit loishang at that time was the renowned pandit M. Chandra Singh. In parallel to this establishment, a separate *maichou loishang* (department of scholars) was set up by the king, which was headed by a revivalist scholar, Nodiachand Amaiba. This system continues at the present time. The head of the pandit loishang adjoining Govindji's temple is Ngariyambam Kulachandra, and the head of the maichou loishang patronized by the present royal family is Ng. Kangjia, a well-known preacher of the Sanamahi religion.

As the pandit loishang and the maichou loishang belong to separate schools of thought, the difference in the religion has given rise to acute differences in the interpretation of the

puyas. But despite differences, there is a certain degree of standardization that is found in the shamanistic tradition of Manipur, as it is grounded in a textual tradition. The actual procedure of the healing can vary vastly. There is a medicinal tradition, in which herbal medicine is manufactured by the maiba and administered to the patient. There is also an indigenous science of studying the pulse beats of the patients. The ritual healing process is, however, completely different. It is a procedure of intense prayer on the part of the maiba, the details of which are usually unknown to the public.

In modern times, there are a number of doctors and nurses available in the state, and people usually do go to Western-trained doctors for treatment. In many cases, however, the ritual traditions of medicine as found in the traditional faith are considered important (Brara 1998, 144). Thus, in everyday life in Manipur no ceremony of birth is complete without the maibi ceremonially cutting the umbilical cord and invoking the *mi* (shadow), or the sixth soul, to enter the child. Even after a Western-trained doctor has written a death certificate, families wait for a maiba to come and declare the death ritually. The clientele of the maibas and maibis is thus varied. In villages in interior parts of the country, where people cannot afford to go to physicians, maibas are often contacted. There is no question of caste or creed among the clientele of the maibas and maibis. Their clientele may be composed of any resident of the state, including Brahmans, non-Brahmans, and even non-Manipuri residents of Manipur. In general people who are educated and Westernized do not openly admit that they believe in this indigenous system of healing. But when it comes to a crisis they usually resort to these indigenous healers. As uncertainty looms in the everyday life of the community, people depend more and more on the divine predictions of the maibas and the maibis of Manipur to make decisions about their future.

Sohini Ray

See also: Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions; Spirit Possession in Rajasthan

References and further reading:

Achoubisana, R. K. 1989. "Lai-haraoba: The Gods Rejoice." Pp. 11–18 in *Dances of Manipur: The Classical Tradition.* Edited by Saryu Doshi. Mumbai: Marg.

Brara, N. Vijaylakshmi. 1998. *Politics, Society and Cosmology in India's North East.* New Delhi, India: Oxford Publishing House.

Chaki-Sirkar, Manjusri. 1984. *Feminism in a Traditional Society: Women of the Manipur Valley.* New Delhi: Shakti Books.

Indira, Elam. 1998. *Laiharaobagi wakhallon paring* [Series of thoughts on Lai-haraoba]. Imphal: Elam Indira.

Maibi, Ngambam Kumar. 1988. *Kanglei Umanglai Haraoba* [Rejoice of folk-gods of Kanglei]. Imphal, Manipur, India: Thambal Angou Devi.

Parrat, Saroj Nalini Arambam, and John Parrat. 1997. *The Pleasing of the Gods: Meitei Lai Haraoba.* New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Ray, Sohini. 2000. "The Sacred Alphabet and the Divine Body: The Case of Meitei Mayek in North-Eastern India." Unpublished dissertation. Los Angeles: Department of Anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles.

Singh, Khumujam Ratan Kumar. 1995. "The Lai-Haraoba of Manipur: A Social, Cultural and Historical Study." Unpublished Dissertation. Imphal: Manipur University.

Singh, Ngariambam Kulachandra. 1963. *Meitei Laiharaoba.* Imphal: Keishamthong Leirak Machin.

NEPALESE SHAMANS

To understand the diversity of shamanic expression found in Nepal, any discussion of Nepalese shamans must be first situated in the context of Nepal's history and cultural complexity.

The kingdom of Nepal, which for a brief time included most of the southern slopes of the Himalayas, began to emerge in the mid-eighteenth century, as the king of one of many petty hill states, Gorkhā, embarked on the conquest of his neighbors, successfully conquering in 1769 the sophisticated Newari cities of the Kathmandu Valley. That king, Prithvi Narayan Shah, described his kingdom as "a flower garden of four castes and thirty-six subcastes" (*cār varna chattis jātko phulbāri*). This remark, by recognizing the ethnic diversity found within

Nepal while simultaneously reframing those groups within a Hindu caste structure, may be regarded as the beginning of both Himalayan ethnography and Hindu hegemony. Prithvi Narayan's remark acknowledges the complex ethnic and linguistic heritage of Nepal, in whose small but geographically rugged area of 56,000 square miles 120 distinct languages have been recorded. Military interventions by the British in the early nineteenth century established the present borders of the kingdom but preserved Nepal's nominal independence, an independence that was strengthened by Nepal's strong support of the British during the Indian sepoy mutiny of 1857.

Never having been genuinely colonized and rigorously outlawing all missionary proselytizing, whether by Christians or Muslims, Nepal has preserved its diverse cultural traditions, which include many varieties of shamans, oracles, and spirit mediums, as well as Hindu priests, Buddhist lamas, Tantric practitioners, astrologers, fortune-tellers, wandering ascetics, Ayurvedic doctors (practitioners of the ancient Hindu science of health and medicine), and herbal healers. Within such diversity, it must be observed that there is no "Nepalese shamanism," not in the sense of a coherently integrated religious system practiced throughout the country, neither one paralleling those reportedly found among the Ural-Altaic peoples, as the term was originally applied by the ethnographers of Catherine the Great, nor as some systematic institution whose priestly specialists perform life-cycle rites or exclusive healing rituals for some society. Whatever their status elsewhere in the world, it is misleading to describe Nepal's shamans as forming a distinct religious practice, or to think of shamanism as constituting a "religion." Most groups of Nepalis have been sufficiently exposed to South Asian religious thinking during the past three millennia to think of what the West calls religion in terms of the concept *dharma* shared by both Hindus and Buddhists, and, except perhaps as part of the very recent emergence of increasingly militant ethnicity as a political force in Nepal and consequent efforts to define some ethnic practices in opposition to Hinduism, Nepalis do not regard shamans as part of their dharma. It is likewise untenable to see shamanism in Nepal as an atavistic survival of some earlier religious configuration, since there is little evidence to suggest what sort of practices may have preceded the emergence of the long-dominant Hindu and Buddhist life-cycle rites.

In Nepal, shamans may be most accurately characterized as intercessors who diagnose and treat afflictions that trouble their clients using ritual practices incorporating a mastery over spirits. To distinguish shamans clearly from other ritual specialists, such as the oracular mediums *(dhāmi)* of the Karnali Drainage area of western Nepal or Newari Tantric priests *(vajracarya)* of the Kathmandu Valley, this discussion follows Shirokogoroff's classic definition of shamans: persons of either sex who are masters of spirits, who can at will introduce these spirits into themselves, and who use this power over the spirits for their own purposes, particularly to help other people. Sergei Shirokogoroff listed five essential characteristics of a shaman: (1) The shaman is a master of spirits; (2) he has mastered a group of spirits; (3) there is a complex of methods and paraphernalia recognized and transmitted; (4) there is a theoretical justification of the practice; (5) the shaman assumes a special social position (Shirokogoroff 1935, 274). Additional characteristics that help distinguish shamans from other practitioners of spirit possession usually include a predilection for undertaking soul journeys to the underworlds and the heavens, trance states—sometimes described as "ecstasy"—that involve dramatically staged performances including specific initiation and death ceremonies, and an extensive repertoire of memorized oral texts.

Following Shirokogoroff's definition, there are shamans found in many different communities of Nepal. They are ritual intercessors. Their elaborate divination, exorcism, and healing practices incorporate command over extensive, well-defined groups of spirits; they use elaborate, traditionally affirmed paraphernalia; they often enter trance states to conduct ritual journeys; and their theoretical justification and major therapeutic tools can be found in their memorized oral texts, both long, publicly chanted recitals that preserve mythic stories and short, whispered, secretive incantations (mantras). As the article that first described Nepalese shamans observed, the shaman serves as "a privileged intermediary between spirits (who cause and cure illness) and men: between the past, present and future; between life and death, and most importantly between the indi-

vidual and a certain social mythology" (Macdonald 1962). Given the low caste of many of them and the accusations of sorcery with which they are sometimes faced, the special social position of these intercessors is ambivalent, but Shirokogoroff himself only meant by this that "a group distinguishes one of its members by bestowing on him their confidence" (274), something that the numerous clients of these intercessors do with each consultation.

Ritual specialists found in Nepal's different communities who meet most of the basic features of Shirokogoroff's definition (although each type of specialist has distinct characteristics, including different costumes, different rituals, and different oral texts) include Gurung *poju* and *hlewri* (Pignède 1966), Tamang *lambu* and *bonpo* (Höfer 1981, 1994, 1997; Holmberg 1989), Yolmo *bonpo* (Desjarlais 1992), Tharu *gurau* (Krauskopff 1988), Rai *bijuwā, padem,* and *lambu* (Allen 1976, Gaenszle 1991; Hardman 2000), Limbu *yeba* (Jones 1976), Sunuwar *puimbo* and *ngiami* (Fournier 1976), Chepang *pande* (Riboli 2000), and Sherpa *lhapa* and *mindung* (Paul 1982). However, the practitioners who most closely match the full set of conditions are the low-caste (Ḍum) *jhāngrī* (in central and eastern Nepal pronounced *jhākrī*) and Magar *rammā* of the western hill region, most significantly the *kāmī* (blacksmith) shamans who are found practicing throughout Brahman, Chetri, Magar, Gurung, and Tamang communities in western Nepal.

In an early article, John T. Hitchcock (1967) accurately noted the striking parallels between the symbols and practices of western Nepalese *jhākrī* and the shamans of Central Asia, clear parallels also visually demonstrated in a spectacular ethnographic film by Michael Oppitz (1980). Jhākrī still recognizable as closely related to those of Jājarkot, Rukum, and Baglung districts of western Nepal can also be found further to the east, at least as far as Parbat District, as the brief reports of Reinhard Greve (1982) and Wolf-Dieter Michl (1976) have shown. This distribution clearly results from the presence of blacksmiths found in the midst of other distinctive ethnic groups such as Chantals and Thakalis. How far to the east in Nepal this pattern holds true remains to be seen, since there have been no extensive studies of the lowest castes of Nepal, though they are often peripherally mentioned in ethnographies. Oral texts may demonstrate a much wider continuity, as fragments of text from a Lohorung Rai community of eastern Nepal (Hardman 2000, 65) and from among the Chepang of central Nepal (Riboli 2000, 134) show striking similarities with myths found among jhāngrī (Maskarinec 1998), though much more extensive documentation is required to establish how close the relationship is. As jhāngrī are the geographically most widely distributed and most numerous of the various types of intercessors found in Nepal, this article will concentrate on them, referring to them simply as Nepalese shamans.

Throughout Nepal, most shamans are male, although highly motivated women occasionally overcome the biases of patrilineality and gender discrimination and become shamans. Although many future shamans undergo disturbing possession crises as adolescents that prompt them to seek training, preparation of new shamans concentrates on their memorizing oral texts rather than on learning trance techniques such as drumming. Most important is to learn the secret mantras that control the many spirits that shamans must manipulate in their rituals. Unlike other circumstances that involve involuntary or spontaneous spirit possession, shamans thoroughly control the spirits that they summon to their ceremonies, ordering, flattering, bribing, cajoling, and threatening them to ensure that they obey the shaman's will. A line found in mantras used to summon dead souls and to dismiss the assembled spirits demonstrates most clearly the hierarchical relation between a shaman and his spirits: "Come when I say come, go when I say go" (Maskarinec 1998, 268, 391).

Spirits summoned by shamans belong to many distinct classes, including local gods and goddesses *(deutā, debī),* spirits of animals and inanimate forces *(bir),* souls of human suicides, particularly vengeance spirits—men or women who were unable to find justice in their life time and deliberately committed suicide in order to become such a spirit (male *barmā* and female *bājyu*), souls of other dead humans, especially those who died untimely deaths, whose funeral rites were improperly performed, or whose corpses suffered ritual pollution such as being touched by a dog *(masān, syāuryā),* familiars of living entities *(barāng),* familiars of dead entities *(māphī),* crossroads ghosts *(dhām,*

dhuwā), and the souls of other shamans *(gel).* Some of these groups are protective, solicitous, benign, and undemanding; others are malicious, oppressive, and threatening. Nearly all demand blood sacrifices, a key element of all major shamanic rituals. Communicating with these spirits allows shamans to diagnose problems, treat afflictions, and restore order and balance to the lives of their clients and their communities.

Shamans' diagnoses of their patients' afflictions commonly involve some combination of seven possible causes: (1) curses and spells, particularly those of witches and other shamans; (2) unlucky astrological configurations, foremost of which are dangerous planetary configurations called star obstructions; (3) the intrusion of alien substances into the body, whether by acts of sorcery, by violation of sacred space, or by violating rules of ritual purity, such as coming in contact with a woman's menstrual blood; (4) weakened life forces, including soul loss, lost wits, dullness, and several recognized forms of madness; (5) social disorder, especially disputes within families and communities; (6) fevers of autonomous origin; (7) the activities of spirits or ghosts, provoked by acts of neglect, pollution, or disrespect. When spirits are involved, the most common types are patrilineal family gods *(kul deutā, pitār)* or the numerous minor local spirits who inhabit particular hilltops, trees, waterfalls, and rivers. At other times, major local gods *(deutā),* particularly Masta; minor deities of nonhuman origin, such as the Barāh and the Mālā; quasi-spirits thought to have some degree of corporeality (Nāg, *moc*); the souls of recently deceased children *(rāh),* or even shaman helping or tutelary spirits may be diagnosed as causing affliction.

Witches figure prominently in the oral texts that shamans recite, where they are cast as traditional enemies, and treating cases of witchcraft is a special therapeutic domain of shamans. Nevertheless, Nepal's traditional legal codes set such strict criteria to ascertain bewitchment, as well as mandating severe punishments for unproved accusations, that cases specifically involving bewitchment are a small fraction of shaman consultations. These traditional sanctions remain well remembered. Nepal's first legal code, the *Muluki Ain* of 1853/1854, enforced for over a hundred years and still quoted in local discussions, stated that if a bewitchment accusation could not be proven, the person who made the accusation had to pay a fine, the amount of which could exceed local per capita annual income. Failure to pay this fine resulted in imprisonment. Strict criteria to demonstrate bewitchment included vicariously branding the witch by directly branding the patient, vicariously causing the witch's head to be shaved by shaving the head of the patient, or using a mantra to make the witch dance in public. Although cases documenting the successful use of all three proofs exist, most shamans now keep witch identifications vague, and prefer to diagnose astrological crises, soul loss, or the afflictions caused by spirits.

Even when the diagnosed cause of a problem is not witchcraft, however, every shaman performance acknowledges the close relation between shamans and witches, established when the first shaman allowed the youngest of the nine original witch sisters to survive, having negotiated a secure income by treating clients that she agreed to afflict. The story goes that the witch agreed, "I will cause illness, you will cure it," and she predicted: "You will eat land by deception, you will eat grain by deception" (Maskarinec 1998, 220). This is not just a guarantee of a profitable career for the shaman, however. As part of their treatment, shamans seek to replace the chaotic, unbalanced, inexpressible suffering of a patient with orderly, balanced, grammatical and eloquently expressed states. To do so, the healer has to take responsibility for the orderliness of affliction as well as for its cure, so that shamans must, ultimately, also take responsibility for the existence of witches as well as for the pervasiveness of suffering. This way of accounting for problems allows a patient to comprehend that their unfortunate situation is normal, that they are not singularly guilty, that they are not the cause of their own suffering, that suffering is an ordinary, even necessary, part of the everyday world, part of all human life.

Nepalese shamans perform diverse rituals, ceremonies that prominently incorporate throughout every stage of activity both long, publicly chanted recitals and short, whispered, secretive incantations. More accomplished shamans memorize between 10,000 and 12,000 lines of poetic oral texts, each line ordinarily a couplet of six or eight syllables in

length. It takes on average between seven and twelve years to memorize the complete repertoire, a pupil repeating each text line by line as a teacher performs them. These texts constitute the core of every Nepalese shaman's knowledge. In learning their texts, Nepalese shamans acquire the knowledge necessary for their profession and obtain a detailed view of the world and its participants. Most of the longer shaman recitals involve stories of origin, narrating the origin of the universe, this world and others, their inhabitants, and their afflictions. To cure acts of witchcraft, one retells the origins of witches; to repair a star obstruction, the story of the origins of the heavenly bodies is recounted; to counter acts of shamanic sorcery, the circumstances of the original curses are related. In each case, shamans seek to influence the history of the cosmos, to reestablish a natural order that has been disrupted, to produce a present time more favorable for their clients.

Different texts are used depending on whether the patient is male or female, adult or child, of high status or low. Nepalese shamans attempt to order the universe into patterns that more readily permit successful shamanic interventions, even seeking to rearrange inauspicious astrological configurations. As the texts recount actions by gods and by the original shaman to resuscitate the dead, the shaman mimics the same actions, waving yak tails at the patient's head, blowing into the ears, striking the back with an iron staff, tying strings around the limbs. Other public recitals conduct ritual journeys, search for lost souls or frayed wits, or dispel dangers. Other texts document the construction of the shaman's ritual equipment, most importantly, the construction of the drum, the brewing of beer, consumed as part of every ceremony, and the reconstitution organ by organ of the animal to be sacrificed, whether goat, sheep, or chicken.

Like the public recitals, the secret mantras portray an ideal world to which shamans seek to force this world to conform. Mantras suppress malign threats and encourage benevolent powers. Mantras are speech acts whose specific effective forces upon the listener differ, but whose primary goal or force is to exert compulsion. They compel spirits to be present. They constrain various items, quotidian and metaphysical, to stay in place, to be bound, to be distanced, delayed, or destroyed. They order dead spirits to stay dead, living villagers to stay alive. To accomplish these acts of compulsion, mantras incorporate aspects of any successful exorcism: They suppress, restrain, and eliminate. Mantras that open and close any ceremony protect by systematic prescription, ordering chaos into a comprehensively patterned taxonomy. At the beginning of a ceremony, the world receives shape and form, molded into a holding pattern of bound elements. The shaman's recitations and rituals then improve upon selected elements within that overall pattern. At the conclusion of rituals, the new system is fixed in place and held there with oaths, promises, and threats. "Seeds of truth" *(sat byu),* a mixture of raw grains, are scattered over patients, their families, their homes, animals, and property, to sprout into a reinvigorated life of reinvented meaningfulness.

Shaman repertoires clarify major concerns of traditional Nepalese society. They demonstrate the interrelatedness of illness, death, witchcraft, sorcery, land disputes, astrological impasses, political opportunism, childlessness, problems with in-laws, and accidents. In occasionally archaic but understandable language, the recitals clarify symptoms and provide explanations of the causes of problems, and they carefully describe the methods of intervention, detailing the proper ways to conduct rituals. Providing audiences with a perspective on their misfortunes that provides hope of possible relief, the results of public recitals parallel the ways that the whispered mantras seek to manipulate and change the world.

Many rituals illustrate in various ways the activities of repairing and postponing adverse fate and setting up barriers to protect the patient from its consequences. Two rituals incorporate explicit acts of raising the patient heavenward, where the crossed stars need repair, the closest that a Nepalese shaman comes to being a psychopomp (one who escorts souls to or from the world of the dead). In the first of these rituals, the shaman moves the patient's foot step by step up a small model of a pole ladder, in which he has cut nine notches. Upon return, the recital takes the form of a dialogue between the shaman and the patient, with the shaman speaking both parts: "Did you eat the green grass, the fresh water? Yes, did you see the nine suns, the nine moons? Yes, did you cross the seven star obstructions, the seven heavenly bar-

riers? Yes, if you ascend to the sky, I'll pull you pack by your feet. If you descend to hell, I'll pull you back by your top-knot" (Maskarinec 1995, 55). In the second lifting ritual, nine relatives and neighbors lift the patient as she crouches atop nine winnowing trays (Hitchcock 1974), ensuring both familial and neighborly solidarity in weaving the patient back into a normal life.

In other ceremonies, the shaman constructs a small barrier resembling a funeral pyre in front of the patient's house, helping to keep away the star obstructions, and to placate the Time of Death, Jama (Sanskrit: Yama) Kāl, and his ambassador, Jama Dut. Nepal's traditional legal codes forbade shamans to suck directly on their patients' bodies, but this is nevertheless still done to remove magical impurities that have become lodged in patients, sometimes with the drumstick as an intermediary tool. Shamans also employ diverse techniques as diagnostic or evaluative divinations. These are used at the beginning of treatment to identify the source of affliction, and afterward to determine if the ceremony has been efficacious. Once an animal has been sacrificed, the shaman carefully examines the liver of a goat or the gall bladder of a chicken to decide whether the patient will benefit from the offering. Some shamans also prepare amulets (Nepali: *jantar*) for their patients to wear to ward off negative influences.

Nepalese shamans perform their ceremonies at their patients' homes, not at shrines, after being personally invited by a member of the patient's family. The client arranges for an assistant, called a *curmi,* to carry the shaman's paraphernalia basket. The shaman never carries this basket himself, insisting on the minimal formal social recognition entailed by having a servant. For major ceremonies, shamans decorate their drums with simple line drawings of white clay. Crucial paraphernalia, besides the drum, include an elaborate costume whose elements deliberately suspend the shaman's identity between male and female, human and animal, living and dead, natural and cultural. The costume includes two kinds of women's outer wraps; men's pajamas; cinnamon, guava, oak, or chestnut leaves worn on their head along with pheasant feathers and porcupine quills, all secured by a turban; a vest made from the skins and cured leathers of several wild and domesticated animals, with bells and other iron objects such as miniature discs representing the sun and full moon attached; and necklaces of snake bones and *rudraksa* (Elaeocarpus) seeds. A piece of bitter turmeric root under the tongue and ashes on the forehead complete the shaman's adornment, all done as protection from witches, ghosts, gods, demons, and other shamans.

Ambiguous suspension of the shaman's personal identity is emphasized in initiations, which take place with the shaman suspended on a pole between heaven and earth, and in burial practices, when the shaman's corpse is seated in a mound half in the earth, half out of it, comparable to the tombs of Kānphaṭa yogis (religious ascetics that venerate the Hindu god Śiva). Shaman texts appear especially anxious to establish parallels with yogis, who are credited with miraculous abilities to intervene, and who also depend largely on a memorized repertoire to perform these interventions. Second only to shamans themselves and to witches, the descriptions of yogis found in shaman texts are elaborate and accurate, but the parallels are most pronounced in shaman death rites.

In the rites of initiation and their yearly reenactment, the shaman climbs a pine tree trunk erected in the center of the village whose "roots are in hell, whose branches are in heaven" (Maskarinec 1995, 217) to deliver prophecies while physically poised at the boundary of heaven and earth. In preparation, assistants have tied a living piglet toward the top of the tree. At the climax of the pole climb, the shaman drives his drumstick into the pig's neck and sucks out its blood. After drinking blood, he prophesies the future. He drums on the drum, which was first buried and then resurrected from the Underworld, and takes through his own mouth the blood drunk by the spirits who penetrate his body. The demands of those spirits become his demands, their appeasement his appeasement.

Nepalese shamans perform death ceremonies only for other shamans. They do not participate professionally in other funerals, nor do they guide souls to the Underworld. There is no evidence in their texts to suggest that they ever played a role in the funerals of ordinary individuals. Death ceremonies for a shaman have two parts. The first half of the ceremony is called "making a shaman disappear," while the second half is the "raising of the shaman." The first begins as biological signs of life fail. A

shaman is expected to predict his moment of death, so that it can take place at his home, with his pupils in attendance. Dressed in his costume, a shaman is expected to die sitting up, cross-legged. Relatives dig a shallow round grave not far from the shaman's home, at a spot chosen by him in advance. Pupils tie the corpse to a plow beam to support it and carry it outside in this posture, upright. They put a slice of bitter turmeric root under his tongue, a staff in his left hand, a drumstick in the right. They apply ashes treated with a mantra across his eyes, to protect him during his descent into the underworlds. Should a shaman have the misfortune to die away from home, his topknot is returned to his family, and the entire ceremony is performed with the topknot as a substitute for the corpse.

The tomb, built up into a cone, is sealed with a jug of alcohol inside and a pole planted either in the shaman's fontanel or between his legs, as though he were suspended on it. Above the tomb the pole pierces through the shaman's drum. On the ninth day, the shaman's pupils gather around the tomb and recite the stories of creation that shaped and animated the first man. The pole is expected to shake and the drum to sound, signaling that the time has come to open the tomb. The assembled shamans then drink the alcohol that was deposited inside. They become frantically possessed, and remove the shaman's topknot of hair, which becomes the foundation of his permanent monument in a prominent place elsewhere, such as a crossroads, confluence of streams, or on a ridge above the village. In at least one case personally documented by the author, the entire skull of the shaman was removed, hinting at a ritual dismemberment. The assembled shamans now claim the departed shaman as a participatory spirit in their future rituals, so that he remains committed to both the world of life and the world of death, detached from salvation, judgment, or cycles of rebirth.

Gregory G. Maskarinec

See also: Chepang Shamanism; Gender in Shamanism; Healing and Shamanism; Rai Shamanism; South Asian Shamanism; Tantrism and Shamanism; Transformation

References and further reading:

Allen, Nicholas J. 1976. "Shamanism among the Thulung Rai." Pp. 124–140 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.

Desjarlais, Robert R. 1992. *Body and Emotion. The Aesthetics of Illness and Healing in the Nepal Himalayas.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fournier, Alain. 1976. "A Preliminary Report on the Puimbo and the Ngiami: The Sunuwar Shamans of Sabra." Pp. 100–123 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.

Gaenszle, Martin. 1991. *Verwandtschaft und Mythologie bei den Mewahang Rai in Ostnepal.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Greve, Reinhard. 1982. "Deu Basne und antibiotika: Schamanistische Heilrituale und westliche Medizin in Austauch" [Deu Basne and antibiotics: Shamanistic healing rituals and Western Medicine in Interchange]. Pp. 257–268 in *Nachtschatten in Weissenland: Betrachtungen zu Alien und neuen Heilsystem.* Edited by Manfred Brinkmann and Michael Franz. Berlin: Verlagsgesellschaft Gesundheit.

Hardman, Charlotte E. 2000. *Other Worlds. Notions of Self and Emotion among the Lohorung Rai.* Oxford, New York: Berg.

Hitchcock, John T. 1967. "A Nepalese Shamanism and the Classic Inner Asian Tradition." *History of Religions* 7, no. 2: 149–158.

———. 1974. A Nepali Shaman's Performance as Theatre. *Artscanada* 30th Anniversary Issue: 74–80.

Hitchcock, John T., and Rex L. Jones, eds. 1976. *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* New Delhi: Vikas.

Höfer, András. 1981. *Tamang Ritual Texts I. Preliminary Studies in the Folk Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 1994. *A Recitation of the Tamang Shaman.* Bonn: Wissenschaftsverlag.

———. 1997. *Tamang Ritual Texts II. Ethnographic Studies in the Oral Tradition and Folk-Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Holmberg, David H. 1989. *Order in Paradox: Myth, Ritual, and Exchange among Nepal's Tamang.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Jones, Rex L. 1976. "Limbu Spirit Possession and Shamanism." Pp. 29–55 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya*s. Edited by John T.

Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.

Krauskopff, Gisèle. 1988. *Maîtres et Possédés: Les Rites et l'ordre social chez les Tharu (Dang-Népal).* Paris: Editions der CNRS.

Macdonald, Alexander W. 1962. "Notes préliminaires sur quelques *jhākri* du Muglan." *Journal Asiatique:* 107–139. (English translation, 1976. "Preliminary Notes on some *jhākri* of Muglan." Pp. 309–341 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya*s. Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.)

Maskarinec, Gregory G. 1995. *The Rulings of the Night. An Ethnography of Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

———. 1998. *Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Michl, Wolf-Dieter. 1976. "Notes on the *jhākrī* of the Ath Hajar Parbat/ Dhaulagiri Himal." Pp. 153–164 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya*s. Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.

Oppitz, Michael. 1980. *Schamanen im Blinden Land.* WSK Productions, New York. (16mm film).

Paul, Robert. 1982. *The Tibetan Symbolic World: Psychoanalytic Explorations.* Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Pignède, Bernard. 1966. *Les Gurungs: Une population himalayenne du Népal.* Paris and The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Riboli, Diana. 2000. *Tunsuriban: Shamanism in the Chepang of Southern and Central Nepal.* Translated from the Italian by Philippa Currie. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

PRIESTESSES (MEDIUMS) OF SRI LANKA

Shamanistic forms of religious practice coexist and intermingle with other forms of religion and magic in Sri Lanka, but it is the priestesses, or mediums, of Sri Lanka who come closest to the classic role of the shaman. Neither Buddhist *bhikkhu*s (monks), nor *dasa sīl mātā*s (ten precept–holding "nuns"), nor *kapurāla*s (shrine priests) usually function as intermediaries between the living and the dead. Although bhikkhus and dasa sīl mātās may serve as objects of merit-making practices (usually almsgiving) done by surviving kin for the benefit of their dead, and although some kapurālas who serve at *devālaya*s (shrines) dedicated to *baṇḍāra*-type (mid-level) deities may perform exorcisms or act as sorcerers, communications between the living and the dead are carried out almost exclusively by mediums who are not affiliated with royally established *vihāraya*s (temples) or devālayas. Almost all mediums within Sinhala religious culture and society are women, who respond to the needs of their clientele within the context of their own privately established devālayas. Nevertheless, the cultural and spiritual meaning of their work is thoroughly informed by the idioms of Theravāda Buddhist religious discourse. That is, their explanations for the manner in which the dead are perceived to persist, how their conditions may change in the future, and how they may interact with the living are predicated upon theoretical principles intrinsic to the moral economy of karma. Thus, the vocation of a priestess is driven not only by ecstatic experiences of the divine, but by the moral force of ethical precepts.

Since there is no formal community or guild, nor is the profession understood as hereditary, there are no regularized forms of initiatory rites for priestesses in Sri Lanka. In most cases, priestesses report a propensity or sensitivity, apparent already during a troubled childhood, for experiencing the presence of the divine or the supernatural. Ecstatic experiences of a significant deity (e.g., Viṣṇu, Pattinī, Skanda, Däḍimunda, etc.) are referred to in Sinhala as *diṣṭi* (derived from the Sanskrit root *dṛṣ* meaning "to see"), and function as a sine qua non for practicing priestesses, many of whom are raised in either impoverished socioeconomic urban conditions or in rural village contexts. In many cases, priestesses characterized their lives as children, youth, or young adults as very difficult. It is not uncommon to hear them speak about broken homes, sexual abuse, poverty, failed marriages, mental illness, and powerlessness (Holt 2004).

The ecstatic experience of diṣṭi signals the potential for acquiring supernatural knowledge and power. Some priestesses report that they re-

sisted these experiences at first and did not seek to use their supernatural encounters as the basis of a priestly career. They report that in Sinhala culture, a woman who is known to be frequently possessed might find that predilection a liability in hoping to secure a suitably arranged marriage. At the same time, many regard diṣṭis as a powerful and irresistible "calling" to do the bidding of the deity who has continued to encounter them. They believe that their own destinies as priestesses are somehow bound up with the power of a specific deity, a result of karmic retributions from the past. Some have come to regard the priestess vocation as kind of karmic debt that they are paying off, a way of making up for deleterious actions or mistakes that they may have committed in a past life (Holt 2004).

The supernatural knowledge and power priestesses acquire through diṣṭi is confirmed for them in the form of a *varama,* a "warrant" bestowed upon them by one of the higher or more powerful deities of the Sinhala pantheon, a deity who has decided to enlist them to work on the deity's behalf in response to devotees' entreaties. This pattern of understanding the priestess vocation means that the career of a priestess emulates the mythic careers of many of the lesser deities in Sri Lanka, whose own mythic charters in folkoric poetry and ballads usually contain stories about how their arrivals in Sri Lanka, and their divine provenance, were secured through the permission, bidding, and assistance of one of the higher guardian deities (e.g., Viṣṇu, Skanda, Pattinī). Varamas are thus given at important devālayas, such as Däḍimunda's chief shrine in upcountry Alutnuvara, and are usually symbolized by the purchase of ritual object; for example, a *halam̆ba,* "anklet."

The halam̆ba is a particularly potent and popular symbol of power for priestesses because it is associated with the cult of the goddess Pattinī, the most prominent female deity and one of the most active and powerful gods in the religious culture of Buddhist Sri Lanka. Often, a priestess will take the halam̆ba in hand while she chants her own especially designed mantra as a means of entering into an altered state of consciousness in order to perform her priestly functions. A priestess who claims a varama is indicating that she has passed a threshold: She is no longer only possessed by supernatural beings, but has now gained the ability to manipulate power in the supernatural world in the service of a deity's beneficent work. What separates the work of a priestess from that of a sorceress is that her power is derived from a morally sanctioned deity (as opposed to an ambiguous or demonic power), and therefore her intentions are wholly benevolent rather than malevolent. Insofar as most priestesses understand their work as assisting those in a state of existential distress, or suffering *(dukkha),* they understand their efforts to be fully aligned with the ethos of Buddhism.

Priestesses may communicate with or speak for the dead at any time, but they are usually "open to the public" on *kemmura* days, Wednesdays and Saturdays. These are the days in the astrologically configured calendar that are deemed intrinsically inauspicious, and therefore the days when devotees might be in greatest need and when the dead may be particularly active or attentive. In Sinhala culture, care and concern for the dead is an ancient legacy. While merit-making, almsgiving rituals involving Buddhist monks are performed for the benefit of the deceased on the seventh day after the third month after the death, and annually on the date of death for members of the immediate family, priestesses may communicate with the dead at any time, though sometimes they specify that departed kin must have been dead between three months and ten years if a successful connection is to be made. This specific time parameter reflects the belief that the period before three months is one of liminality (transition) for the departed and a time of pollution for surviving kin. After ten years, the soul of the dead is believed to be too far "gone" *(giya)* into the rebirth process to be reached.

A priestess's clientele is motivated to use her services for several reasons. They may simply want to inquire into the fate of the dead, a matter of compassionate curiosity. But often a priestess is sought to discover why inexplicable developments have occurred within the family since the death of a relative, especially if further tragedy or suffering has since occurred within the family. Often, troublesome departed kinfolk are envisaged as *preta*s (hungry ghosts) or *bhūta*s (malevolent supernatural beings) who are creating misfortune for survivors owing to some perceived motive of revenge. By inquiring

into the well-being of the deceased, clients often seek to know if a member of the surviving family has offended the dead, or if rituals performed on behalf of the dead have not been performed in an acceptable or efficacious manner. In addition to enjoining survivors to act ethically in relation to the memory of the deceased, priestesses often prescribe pilgrimages, donations, or almsgiving, with the idea of transferring the merit accrued from such actions to the deceased. The intended affect is to pacify a restless or unhappy preta or bhūta who may be wreaking havoc upon the living. Sometimes clients will ask the departed for specific advice about mundane family matters, including issues pertaining to arranged marriages, the selling of property, potential venues of education, and the like. On the whole, the vocation of the priestess is concerned primarily with those matters related to family affairs.

Successful priestesses attract a national clientele. As a result, some have risen out of poverty and have even entered the middle class. Others remain only locally known. In all cases, however, a priestess's varama is usually considered "valid" for only a prescribed period of time, usually for several years. Priestesses often claim that they can feel their powers ebb and flow, and that it is necessary to regularly recharge their powers by visits to important devālayas or pilgrimage sites. As a result of diṣṭis experienced at these sacred places, their powers are recharged and reaffirmed. Or, priestesses may learn that their efficacy is spent.

In Sri Lanka, many see the priestess vocation as a way of defending the psychic integrity of the family. Priestesses may see themselves as assistants to the great moral powers of the cosmos, antidemonic champions who defend the life, health, fertility, and the world of light against darkness, disease, sterility, disasters, and the world of darkness. They understand themselves as specialists in knowledge of death and the afterlife. It would not be wrong to see in the pattern of their experience a type of epic structure at work: They travel to the unknown realms of the supernatural world, acquire knowledge not known to normal mortals, and then return to this world armed with power to improve its plight. Priestesses in Sri Lanka are links to this Otherworld, and insofar as clients perceive them to exercise a beneficial influence on their lives, they represent the possibility that the laws of nature can be transcended in order to assuage the samsaric experience of suffering.

John Clifford Holt

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Burmese Spirit Lords and Their Mediums; Malay Shamans and Healers; Manipur Meitei Shamanism; Spirit Possession

References and further reading:

Barnett, L. D. 1916. "Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese Folklore from Ballad Sources." *The Indian Antiquary* 45: 1–116 (appendix).

de Silva Gooneratne, Dandris. 1865. "On Demonology and Witchcraft in Ceylon." *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the royal Asiatic Society* 4: 1–117.

Gombrich, Richard, and Gananath Obeyesekere. 1988. *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Holt, John. 2004. *The Buddhist Visnu.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Obeyesekere, Gananath. 1975. "The Idiom of Demonic Possession." *Social Science and Medicine* 14: 97–111.

———. 1983. *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Wirz, Paul. 1954. *Exorcism and the Art of Healing in Ceylon.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

RAI SHAMANISM (NEPAL)

Rai shamanism comprises a plurality of shamanic traditions, varied but closely related, like the Rai groups themselves. The Rai in East Nepal consist of numerous subtribes, and even though they speak different languages and have their own distinct traditions, they all share a common linguistic and cultural heritage. Together with Limbu (the language of a related group residing farther to the east, also in Sikkim and Darjeeling), the Rai languages belong to the Kiranti family, which is a subgroup of Tibeto-Burman. Culturally the Rai have been influenced by both Hinduism and Tibetan Buddhism, but these influences have only marginally affected their ancestral traditions, in which shamanic features still figure prominently.

Oral Tradition

The religious tradition of the Rai is generally referred to by a single term in the various Kiranti languages. Among the Mewahang Rai, for example, it is known as *muddum,* among the Yakha Rai as *mintum,* among the Kulunge as *ridum,* among the Chamling Rai simply as *dum;* thus there is apparently a common root (**dum*), which points to a shared conceptual base. All these terms designate the essentially oral tradition of the group, including both the spoken "texts" as well as their ritual performances. This tradition may be seen as the means by which the Rai, with the help of their ritual specialists, that is, shamans and priests, maintain a link to the ancestors: remembering their deeds in mythological narratives, speaking to them in ritual invocations, and interacting with them in ritual exchanges.

The mythology of the Rai subgroups varies in details, but in the overall structure the narratives are quite similar. Creation stories recount the origin of the universe and nature, of man and culture (Gaenszle 2000). Often it is a snake, called *nāgi* and associated with the river source, that is seen as the cause of the beginning of all things: The first being originated from a clod of mud down in the plains "where all the waters dry up" after being swept down the river. In these times of origin, procreation continued through several generations of primeval mothers, all impregnated by the wind, until one daughter was told to look for a proper husband. She eventually found a husband up in the sky, but did not like him, and only through a trick did he manage to impregnate her. In due course this daughter gave birth to the whole variety of species. The duality of river source and plains, as well as that of the sky and the earth, in short the vertical dimension, is of crucial significance in the ancestral rituals: It provides the mythic pattern for the shamanic journey. The topic of movement along the up/down axis is prominent in other myths about the migration of the ancestors: The ancestors walked up along the rivers from the place of origin in the plains and separated by following different valleys. Similarly, both the shaman and the tribal priest travel along the riverside in their chants, thus replicating the mythic journeys (Gaenszle 1999).

Rituals among the Rai are focused very much on the spoken word. Many rituals consist of lengthy invocations and recitations, accompanied by only a minimum of ritual gestures and actions. What is unique about this form of speaking is that it requires the use of a special ritual language. This language is distinct from ordinary language. Though there is a certain continuity with everyday language, in particular on the level of grammar, the ritual code has a special lexical inventory, consisting largely of binomials (nouns consisting of two terms). Forms of parallelism are pervasive in all texts. Thus ritual speech has highly poetic qualities. It is seen as an ancient language inherited from the ancestors, and hence as the proper way of communicating with them.

Ritual Specialists

Although simpler rituals addressing ancestors can also be performed by lay persons, communication with the more powerful ancestral beings or deities requires special competence. Though the system of ritual specialists differs considerably between the Rai groups, it is striking that there is always a pronounced duality of ritual office. On the one hand, there is what is generally termed the *tribal priest* (e.g., *ngo:pa* in Mewahang Rai, *nokcho* in Kulung, *dewa nokcho* in Thulung Rai,); on the other hand there is the "shaman," taken in a narrower sense (e.g., *makpa* or *mangmani* in Mewahang, *sele mop* in Kulung, *seleme* among the Thulung Rai, who may be male or female). Shamans can be easily distinguished by their professional costume and paraphernalia: feathered headdress, white gown, harness of bells, and, most importantly, the handheld drum (*ḍhyāṅro*). In fact, this is the typical dress of the pan-Nepalese shaman, who is found among almost all ethnic groups and castes (including untouchables and Brahmans) and is generally known as *jhā̃kri* in Nepali. In certain contexts Rai shamans also use the big drum called *ḍhol.* The tribal priest usually does not have a special dress, except for the turban that some of them wear. He may use a metal plate to accompany his chanting, but he rarely uses a drum.

It is tempting to see a simple contrast between the tribal priest and the shaman: daytime ritual versus nighttime séance, sacrifice versus possession, ancestral spirits versus evil spirits, auspicious versus inauspicious, and so on. In fact, however, the situation is far from clearcut. In many of the groups, both may become

possessed, both may conduct sacrificial offerings, both may go on ritual journeys, and both may deal with dangerous spirits. Therefore there are good reasons to regard both ritual specialists as shamans, but in order to avoid confusion, the above terminology has become generally accepted (Allen 1976a). In spite of these ambiguities, however, one can say that the tribal priest is generally in charge of maintaining a good relationship with the ancestral beings (which involves regular blood sacrifice), whereas the shaman is responsible for warding off harmful influences and dangerous spirits (especially those associated with bad death). Moreover, the former often has the task and capability of dealing with the territorial spirits, whereas the latter also deals with many non-Kiranti spirits and deities (such as Śiva and Devi from the Hindu pantheon, as well as others). Whereas the tribal priest never uses the Nepali language, a good deal of the shaman's ritual chanting is done in an "archaic" version of the national idiom. This indicates that the duality of ritual office has also been subject to historical influences (Allen 1976b).

Initiation

Among all the Rai groups, members of both major classes of ritual experts have to undergo a period of initiation in order to be able to perform the respective rituals. Generally this kind of initiation cannot be chosen at will. Rather it is the divinity itself that selects its adept. At first the candidate has recurrent dreams that involve encounters with the tutelary deity and is shown certain paraphernalia that are needed for performance (e.g., the drum). The neophyte also dreams of travelling along ancestral routes, and in the case of the shaman embarks on real journeys through the forests. Eventually the candidate may become possessed by the divinity, in some cases suffering fits and illness, or even lengthy periods of confusion and "madness." But with the help of initiated ritual experts, the adept learns to control this contact with the divine forces and to communicate with them in a regular manner. However, such a calling is only possible if the adept has inherited some ancestral competence: Only if there is a forebear among the paternal or maternal ancestors who was a ritual specialist can the neophyte claim similar capabilities.

Performance

Rituals performed by both tribal priests and shamans are celebrated at regular intervals, as well as in times of special need. Both kinds of specialists are called for divination and healing, but the purpose of the performances is not only medical. They aim at achieving general prosperity, fertility, and well-being through reordering relationships with the ancestors. The performance of the tribal priest is somewhat less spectacular than that of the shaman. The main part of his performance consists of the verbal journey, which may last for several hours. For example, in the *nāgi* ritual the practitioner sits in front of his grain offerings and beer containers and recites the place names of his itinerary. When the deity's abode has been reached, divination takes place, during which the deity answers questions through "giving" mild possession. In some cases animals (goat, sheep, chicken) are sacrificed before the return journey begins.

The shamanic performance of the jhā̃kri (known as *cintā*), on the other hand, takes place at night and is full of symbolic action and dramatic events. The altar of the shaman is a composition of numerous paraphernalia that may be seen as helping to create a bridge to the other world: for example, horns of wild goats and deer, human bones, snake vertebrae, porcupine spines, the beak of the giant hornbill (a bird of mythic significance), quartz crystals, stones that have "fallen from the sky," and chestnuts. It also includes items of Hindu provenience, such as tridents, *mālā*s (necklaces), and conch shells. Further there are various leaves and offerings of rice, milk, coins, and incense.

During the first part of the séance the shaman dons the shamanic garment, as a warrior dons his armament, begins to drum (assisted by lay helpers), and invokes the tutelary deities (e.g., Aitabare, Mahadev, Shikari). Gradually these deities are brought into the shaman's body, and eventually they speak through the shaman's mouth. The congregation of the household and visitors now can ask about the state of affairs by directly addressing a divinity. After this crucial divination, a ritual journey in order to search for a soul or various kinds of offerings may follow (such as the presentation of flowers and burning wicks to Sansari Mai). The climax of the session occurs

at midnight, when the evil planetary constellation is "severed" *(graha kāṭnu).* The household members sitting on the verandah are connected by a cotton thread to a banana sapling placed in the courtyard. The shaman now moves the evil influences from the house through the thread to the banana, and with a powerful stroke accompanied by fierce drumming and yelling, the shaman eventually ends the connection by breaking the thread. The banana sapling is then discarded by kinfolk related through marriage.

After this the healing ceremonies proper *(jhārphuk)* may begin. Not only the household members but also neighbors may ask for treatment, so this part usually goes on for several hours, lasting until the early morning. Various techniques of diagnosis and treatment are employed, depending on the situation. For example, the shaman may ask a question and then count the beads of a section of the mālā, and depending on whether the number is even or uneven the answer is yes or no. Or the shaman may just look through a hollow bone and "see" the cause of the problem. In order to effect a cure, the shaman may suck some small substance out of the patient's body, chase away polluting witches with the help of green twigs of the chestnut tree, or use the technique of "inversion" *(ulṭo garne),* that is, feeding liquor to his patients and turning the cup upside down afterwards. After these healing rites, shaman and helpers dismantle the altar. Before parting in the morning a small "head-raising" ceremony is held. A cock and a chicken are offered by placing them on the heads of the household couple: through this their "head-soul" *(saya)* is "raised," which means that the vitality of the household is renewed, ensuring not only physical health but also more general prosperity (Gaenszle 1996; Hardman 2000). This, in fact, is the aim of most Rai rituals: Making offerings to the ancestors, thus keeping them happy and benevolent, maintains the balance of the social as well as the natural order.

Martin Gaenszle

See also: Chepang Shamanism; Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles; Nepalese Shamans; Tibetan Shamanism

References and further reading:

Allen, Nicholas J. 1976a. "Shamanism among the Thulung Rai." Pp. 124–140 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips.

———. 1976b. "Approaches to Illness in the Nepalese Hills." Pp. 500–552 in *Social Anthropology and Medicine.* Edited by J. B. Loudon. London, New York: Academic Press.

Gaenszle, Martin. 1996. "Raising the Head-Soul: A Ritual Text of the Mewahang Rai." *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 10: 77–93.

———. 1999. "Travelling up and Travelling Down: The Vertical Dimension in Mewahang Rai Ritual Texts." Pp. 135–163 in *Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices.* Edited by Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenszle. Zurich: Ethnological Museum of the University of Zurich.

———. 2000. *Origins and Migrations: Kinship, Mythology and Ethnic Identity among the Mewahang Rai of East Nepal.* Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point and The Mountain Institute.

Hardman, Charlotte E. 2000. *Other Worlds: Notions of Self and Emotion among the Lohorung Rai.* Oxford and New York: Berg.

SOUTH ASIAN SHAMANISM

South Asian shamanism replicates a sufficient number of features of shamanism found in Central and East Asia to conclude that it is part of a general cultural area of similarly constituted shamanism. South Asian shamanism does, however, exhibit unique features, for both Hinduism and other religious systems of the region, as well as the dominant South Asian social structure, lend it a wealth of unique details. Given Geoffrey Samuel's remark regarding "the multiple misunderstandings that seem inevitably caused by any use of the term 'shamanic' in scholarly discourse, however carefully defined" (2000, 663), along with earlier studies in which nearly everything dramatic from earliest recorded history to ethnographies of the first decades of the twentieth century was regarded as a manifestation of shamanism (e.g., Ruben 1940), the best course to adopt here will be close adherence to the most outstanding and least controversial features of South Asian shamanism.

In South Asia, as elsewhere in Asia, shamanism broadly indicates manipulation of spirits,

the usual process being the intentional, ritually induced, introduction of a spirit into the psychomental system (and presumably the body) of the shaman, which the shaman then employs in a deliberate manner, generally for the benefit of others, often for curative purposes. In South Asia this process usually takes the form of oracular possession. The practice of South Asian shamanism cannot be equated with that of Hindu or other higher profile priestly activity. Priests—which is to say Hindu, Jain, Sikh, Muslim, Christian, and Zoroastrian ritual officiants—perform rituals according to fixed injunctions and patterns. Although they undergo rigorous and specified training according to certain sectarian and lineage affiliations, shamans are self-selected and comparatively peripheral to their sectarian affiliations.

Priests are generally expected to be literate, whereas shamans are often uneducated or possess little formal education. Priests are usually linked with mainstream Hindu or Muslim textual traditions and as often as not perform rituals for individuals at close quarters. On the other hand, South Asian shamans are usually knowledgeable within public, even festival, ritual contexts that are often restricted to select communities. Priests follow tradition-based injunction, while shamans, ostensibly at least, act intuitively, though of course shamanic or ecstatic activity, even possession, is learned and cultivated. Priests in South Asia are preponderantly male, whereas a significant percentage of shamans are female. Most present-day South Asian shamanistic praxis is not linked with texts of any great antiquity; indeed it is not linked with texts at all. Rather, it is largely linked with the oral traditions of communities of lower social rank, though in recent decades newly emergent educated and literate people have been participating increasingly in shamanistic activity. Indeed, it may be argued that members of the upper classes, notably Brahmans, have always participated in such activity, beneath the radar screen of official Brahmanical orthodoxy.

Shamans often develop a practice, usually within their homes, as they become known for their healing or other oracular powers. The shaman's very presence is potent, empowering, and indicative of certain cultural and ritual subsystems. The potency or empowerment abides in the perception of the shaman's extraordinary gifts and is arguably the most essential component of the shamanistic process. It is this that sets in motion the performative processes and their eventual realization. Thus, in South Asia, the medium is the message.

Shamanism has a long history in South Asia. Certain inscriptions, masks, and other items of material culture from the Indus Valley civilization (ca. 3000–1700 B.C.E.) argue for the presence of shamanism, probably as a survival from earlier, more characteristically shamanistic hunter-gatherer cultures farther north (During Caspers 1992). The literary evidence, moreover, beginning with the earliest Sanskrit texts from the second millennium B.C.E. and continuing through ancient and classical Sanskrit and vernacular literatures, argues strongly for a shamanistic presence. The earliest text in Sanskrit, the Ṛg Veda, dating to the mid-second millennium B.C.E., describes a longhaired ecstatic sage of sweet disposition, who treads the aerial path of the *gandharva*s (celestial musicians) and the *apsaras*es (celestial dancers) (10.136). This is in general resonance with descriptions of shamanic journeying elsewhere. The most prominent ritual described in the Ṛg Veda is the soma ritual, in which a plant, thus far unidentified, is pressed, strained, and consumed. This soma plant is anthropomorphized as the god Soma, who bestows strength while leading the singer to the heavenly light. Soma enters into his friend, the singer or sage (*ṛṣi* or *vipra,* words that etymologically indicate a "quiverer," or ecstatic sage), bestowing prosperity and striking down demons and rivals. It is clear that the sage becomes possessed by Soma, experiences ecstatic trance-states (Ṛg Veda 5.44, 8.48, 10.119; cf. Thompson 2003), and is able to mediate between earthly and celestial realms.

Another early Indic example of shamanic possession appears in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (3.3.1), one of the best known religious texts of ancient India. Once upon a time, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, a disciple of the celebrated teacher Yājñavalkya, sought the advice of Patañcala Kāpya. Upon entering his house, he discovered that the daughter of Patañcala Kāpya was possessed by a gandharva. Bhujyu asked the gandharva to reveal, speaking through the daughter, who he was. The gandharva replied that he was Sudhanvan of the family of Aṅgiras. Bhujyu asked him the

whereabouts of the descendants of Parikṣit. He then returned to Yājñavalkya and reported the conversation to him. Yājñavalkya accepted the possession without further question and confirmed the answer of the gandharva in the form of a riddle, "They went where the performers of the horse sacrifice go." The Upaniṣad explains that gandharvas pervade the sky and that the worlds of the gandharvas are pervaded by suns. Bhujyu's association with possession echoes another passage from the Ṛg Veda (1.116.3–5), in which Bhujyu is seemingly rescued or healed as a result of invoking a pair of Vedic healing deities called the Aśvins, after being abandoned in a deep sea or water cloud.

The same Upaniṣad further reports (3.7.1) that on another occasion Uddālaka went to the home of the same Brahman, Patañcala Kāpya, who was at that moment busy studying ritual. This time it was Patañcala's wife who was possessed by a gandharva. Through the wife, the gandharva identified himself to Uddālaka as Kabandha, the son of Atharvan. This gandharva also turned out to be quite learned, knowing both the sacrificial rituals and the inner self. In both stories, the gandharva announced his identity and communicated healing knowledge. Both possession and the gaining of healing knowledge from the possessing deity are well-attested features of shamanism.

These brief accounts from the Vedas satisfy Sergei Shirokogoroff's five characteristics of a shaman (at least among the Tungus of Siberia): (1) a shaman is a master of spirits, who has (2) mastered a group of spirits; (3) a shaman commands a recognized array of techniques and paraphernalia that have been transmitted from elders; (4) s/he possesses a theoretical justification for the shamanistic process; (5) the shaman occupies a special social position. Whether spirit or deity, these five are repeatedly borne out in studies of South Asian spirit mediumship or oracular possession (Shirokogoroff 1935, 274; cf. Maskarinec 1998, viii). This is not to argue that all possession in South Asia is shamanistic; indeed, it has been argued that much of the oracular possession in South India is not shamanistic, strictly speaking (Inglis 1985). It is simply to say that there are points of contact in phenomena that must be distinguished.

A little-known form of spirit mediumship that may be traced back perhaps two millennia and that unambiguously falls within the category of shamanism is what we may call *svasthāveśa,* based on several occurrences of this term in published Sanskrit texts and unpublished manuscripts ranging from Tamilnadu in South India to Kashmir in the extreme north, dating from the fifth century C.E. onwards. This term may be translated as "possession of one who is in a good state of (mental and physical) health." In svasthāveśa, a medium causes a spirit (usually ancestral) or deity to descend into any one of a number of reflective objects (e.g., a mirror, water, a sword blade, a shiny wall, an oiled thumb, and so on) or into the body of a young boy or girl, after which the medium or youth answers questions from a client relating to events of the past, present, or future. If a youth is employed, the shaman also serves as a mediator between the client and the youth. This form of shamanistic practice is also found in Tibet (Orofino 1994) and China (Davis 2001, 120ff.; Strickmann 2002, 194ff.), records of which read nearly word for word with the Indian texts, and are doubtless based on them, a diffusion northward and eastward through Buddhist Tantric texts and practice. The South Asian practice of svasthāveśa occurs as the central element in a fairly involved ritual (similarly in Tibet, though the ritual appears to be severely attenuated in the Chinese texts). If a child is employed, the ritual takes the following approximate form (the texts and manuscripts differ in details): A geometric representation of a deity *(yantra)* is inscribed on the ground, and a child (boy or girl) is made to sit on it. The ritualist then places powdered and scented ash from a ritual fire *(bhasma)* on the head of the youth and recites certain mantras specific to the deity invoked (Hanumān, Bhairava, Mahādeva or Śiva) at least a hundred times. Then the ritualist summons the deity, who then possesses the child. At that point the client asks questions, after which the child answers them directly or to the ritualist. The possession is then lifted with the application of ash twenty-one times, accompanied by another long mantra. Another form of this ritual attested in both Indian and Chinese texts has the child learning difficult philosophical or literary texts through this form of spirit communication.

Perhaps the most indisputable shamanistic characteristic in South Asia, arising from a widely distributed and more or less uniform de-

votional ethos, is that in oracular or any other divine possession the gods descend into humans as an act of grace. Though the shaman invites the deity, the prevailing indigenous view is that it is the deity who instigates the possession. Shamanic practice is, in short, a product of devotion (bhakti), an act of divine reciprocation. This attitude may be traced back to at least the first millennium B.C.E.

Despite the foregoing descriptions, shamanism in a strict, unembellished sense is difficult to locate in South Asia. There is no land of the dead into which local shamans accompany the deceased, and little magical shamanic flight. The negative evidence is strong, as the literature on locally constituted shamanism numbers in the hundreds of works. An example of this nonconformity with "standard" shamanism occurs in the central Indian state of Maharashtra, where possession among certain folk cultures may be understood as shamanic, at least in a broad sense, when it is mediumistic, involving exorcism or healing. Followers, often shepherds, of a well-known regional deity named Khaṇḍobā, experience the deity "coming" to them, then speaking through them. Though this occurs to relatively large numbers of devotees in certain festivals, for example when the new moon falls on a Monday, there are a few among them whose experience is qualitatively different, which is to say that their devotional commitment and intensity is deeper. Such a person is called *devṛṣī,* "divine sage." "By entering into the body of the *devṛṣī,* [the god] makes him into a 'temple' and enables him to diagnose others' diseases, adversities, and so on, in the form of *bhūta* [demonic entities], and to recommend methods for remedying them" (Sontheimer 1989, 145).

Many studies have been conducted of shamanistically influenced Buddhism in Ladakh (eastern Kashmir) and Nepal (e.g., , Mumford 1989; Reinhard 1976; Srinivas 1998). Buddhist (as well as Hindu) orthodoxy has historically envisioned itself as opposed to shamanism, which it positioned as impure, violent, disorganized, not bound by formal doctrine, and the property of people of lower social or educational rank (including women). Nevertheless, one of the strategies Buddhists of all sects have employed over the millennia in Buddhism's encounters with shamanism has been to co-opt or amalgamate those aspects of it that are least antagonistic to Buddhist doctrine. In practice this amounts to a great deal. Indeed, though the older shamanistic layer that exerts such a tremendous influence on popular religion in South Asia has continually been challenged by literate orthodoxies, most often the result has been a new configuration or balance between the two, not the eradication of one or the other. Often shamanistic practice and orthodoxy have been mediated by Tantric ritual, which is structured by a sense of inclusiveness. This may be found in the encounter between the Buddhism led by educated lamas of northwest Nepal and local Gurung shamanistic practice (Mumford 1989). In other parts of Nepal, shamanism is relatively untouched by Buddhism or philosophically oriented Hinduism. These are tribal areas in which the shaman becomes possessed in order to deal directly with the spirit world and perform divination and healing (Reinhard 1976). Such phenomena are also found among the Chepang of Nepal. This pattern of alternating orthodoxy, shamanistic practice, and amalgamation or Tantric mediation of the two, is repeated throughout the subcontinent.

A remarkable manifestation of "Hindu shamanism" (which has close Muslim cognates) may be found at the Hindu pilgrimage complex called Bālājī, in the small town of Mehndipur in the northwestern Indian state of Rajasthan, as well as at other pilgrimage centers, which double as spirit healing centers. In this practice, Hindu and Muslim religious imagery merges with a shamanic substrate (Dwyer 1998, 1999; Pakaslahti 1998).

Bālājī is the local name for Hanumān, the monkey god, whose devotion to Rāma is widely regarded in India as paradigmatic, and who has a major presence in shamanic ritual in India. At the Bālājī temple and in its immediate environs, dozens, sometimes upwards of a hundred, spirit healers set up small clinics. These healers are practically all from the lower social classes and have little formal education. These clinics are a last resort for people throughout much of north India whose physical debilities or mental dysfunction remain undiagnosed or are pronounced incurable through the more mainstream biomedical and indigenous health care delivery systems. These people, along with supporting family members, flock to Bālājī in search of a cure. Once there,

they encounter a healing system based on an extended image adopted from the British colonial legal system, which adopted the Persian-Urdu language of the Islamic legal system of the Mughals. These healers, who practice possession and exorcism rituals that are not standardized but bear the distinct imprimatur of each individual healer, situate their exorcisms in an imagined *adālat,* or Islamic court, drawing their inspiration from the concept utilized at the main temple. This envisioned court serves as a background metaphor employed for instituting their processes of possession, exorcism, and healing.

The primary deity, Hanumān as Bālājī, is the supreme magistrate. He is assisted by two subordinates, Bhairavjī (the local manifestation of the protector divinity Bhairava) and Pretrāj (King of the Spirits of the Dead), who are Bālājī's messengers *(dūt)*—as Hanumān is Rāma's messenger *(dūta).* Before visiting the office—usually a small rented shrine room—of one of the many clinicians in the town, Bālājī is first petitioned *(darkhvāst)* at the main temple. Whether pilgrim or afflicted petitioner, Bālājī is proffered sweets *(laddū),* parts of which are offered into a sacred fire *(havan),* while the remainder is returned to the client as blessed and potentiated *(prasād).* After this offering a larger petition *(arzi)* of sweets is served to Bhairavjī and Pretrāj in side annexes of the temple, where their shrines are located. By consuming the prasād, the clients are said to be infused with the power of the deities. One or two days later trance commences, usually during scheduled offerings *(ārati)* or devotional singing *(kīrtan),* which may occur either in the main temple or in the "office" of the exorcist. This kīrtan consists of deafeningly amplified recordings of Hindu devotional singing to the melodies of Hindi film songs. This engages the largely Hindu, but often multicultural, clientele of afflicted individuals and their families, who chant along with the music, "Jai Mā, Jai Mā" and so on, and clap rhythmically—some of the standard accoutrements of shamanic trance music.

The word used for this trance is the Urdu *peśī,* literally a "hearing" or "appearance in court." In it, the classic symptoms of possession occur, initially rhythmic swaying, but eventually violent whirling of the head and upper body, hectic chaotic movements such as somersaults, writhing and sobbing, and so on. Women's hair is always unbraided and left loose during the proceedings. During the peśī, the clinician or an assistant temporarily takes the offending spirit from the client, while simultaneously becoming possessed by Bhairavjī or Pretrāj. This double possession of the invasive spirit (bhūt) along with Bhairavjī or Pretrāj is understood as a battle between bhūt and dūt, negative and positive entities and polarities of personality. It is often cast as a literal battle; the dūt may be assisted by an army of positive spirits, with its own hierarchy, called *phauj* (Urdu for "army"; or *dūt saphāī,* "sepoy"), constituted of former bhūts that have been transformed into this lower grade of protective dūt by the exorcistic and analytical procedures of clinician-ritualists.

If the clinician or the assistant has taken on the bhūt, the battle transpires within her body, which has also become possessed by the dūt. She then acts out the violence of battle in chaotic movements, with eyes turned back, hair flying, mouth foaming, and other familiar effects of ecstatic possession. If the client has retained the bhūt (and often if not), one of the regular actions of the clinician is visibly forceful beating on the back (usually the lower part of the spine) of the victim with her fists, followed by wrenching upward movements of the fists, said to drive the spirit(s) up the spine and out the top of the head. This, according to the model of the adālat, is the punishment *(sazā, daṇḍ)* meted out to the bhūt by the dūt. It forces wildly uncontrollable shaking of the head and rocking of the upper body.

Often both the clinician and the afflicted person are in possession, writhing and wrestling, both sets of eyes locked or rolled back. But the clinician, with much more experience and comfort in the adālat and a seasoned eye for the dynamics of psychosocial issues, particularly the manner in which mental distress bears on social dysfunction, has more control of the situation. Therefore he is in a much better position to control the agendas and paths of rectification and healing. This process of administering psychological justice in the peśī usually must occur many times, not just once, before the healing is fully effected, which is to say before the bhūt is completely extricated. In this way the client becomes empowered or resocialized to the point of normal return to the flow of family life.

The penultimate step in this legal proceeding is the *bayan,* a confession or statement by the spirits, who identify themselves, announce their departure, their next destination, and perhaps other significant information, such as why they have taken up residence there. The confessions of the spirits are spoken out after the battle has been suspended due to exhaustion of either the client or the clinician or her ritual assistant who has borne them. In this way the battle lines are drawn between bhūt and dūt: Counterpossession of positive entities is required to combat possession by negative ones. Usually the bhūt reveals the required information upon questioning, often harshly worded, by the clinician or healer. This part of the adālat resembles a talking cure, a local variant of psychoanalysis that deals directly with the offending spirit, in which the clinician attempts to address the problems of the entity and elevate it into the ranks of the phauj, thus freeing the afflicted individual of his madness or dysfunctional condition. The final procedure in the adālat is the giving of *parhez,* home instructions, which often include dietary advice—usually the elimination of alcohol, meat, and garlic (because spirits are attracted by these), and their replacement with more salubrious foods such as barley—and the prescription of gifts of uneaten food offerings to cows and dogs.

It is apparent from this example that many classic aspects of shamanism have entered Hindu devotional and healing praxis, a shamanistic acculturation that has appeared throughout the Indian subcontinent in various forms for millennia.

Frederick M. Smith

See also: Ancient South Indian Shamanism; Buddhism and Shamanism; Chepang Shamanism; Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions; Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles; Nepalese Shamans; Spirit Possession in Rajasthan; Tibetan Shamanism; Tantrism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Davis, Edward L. 2001. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

During Caspers, E. C. L. 1992. "Rituals and Belief Systems in the Indus Valley Civilization." Pp. 102–127 in *Ritual, State and History in South Asia: Essays in Honour of J. C. Heesterman.* Edited by A. W. van den Hoek, D. H. A. Kolff, and M. S. Oort. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992.

Dwyer, Graham. 1998. "The Phenomenology of Supernatural Malaise: Attribution, Vulnerability and Patterns of Affliction at a Hindu Pilgrimage Center in Rajasthan." *Social Analysis* 42, no. 2: 3–23.

———. 1999. "Healing and the Transformation of Self in Exorcism at a Hindu Shrine in Rajasthan." *Social Analysis* 43, no. 2: 108–137.

Inglis, Stephen. 1985. "Possession and Pottery: Serving the Divine in a South Indian Community." Pp. 89–102 in *Gods of Flesh/ Gods of Stone: The Embodiment of Divinity in India.* Edited by Joanne Punzo Waghorne and Norman Cutler. Chambersburg, PA: Anima.

Maskarinec, Gregory G. 1998. *Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts.* Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 55. Cambridge, MA: Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University.

Mumford, Stan Royal. 1989. *Himalayan Dialogue: Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Orofino, Giacomella. 1994. "Divination with Mirrors. Observations on a Simile Found in the Kālacakra Literature." Pp. 612–628 in *Tibetan Studies*, vol. 2. Edited by Per Kvaerne. Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

Pakaslahti, Antti. 1998. "Family-Centered Treatment of Mental Health Problems at the Balaji Temple in Rajasthan." Pp. 129–166 in *Changing Patterns of Family and Kinship in South Asia.* Edited by Asko Parpola and Sirpa Tenhunen. Studia Orientalia 84. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.

Reinhard, Johan. 1976. "Shamanism among the Raji of Southwest Nepal." Pp. 263–292 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips.

Riboli, Diana. 2000. *Tunsuriban: Shamanism in the Chepang of Southern and Central Nepal.* Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.

Ruben, Walter. 1940. "Schamanismus im alten Indien" [Shamanism in ancient India]. *Acta Orientalia* 18: 164–205.

Samuel, Geoffrey. 2000. "The Indus Valley Civilization and Early Tibet." Pp. 651–670 in *New Horizons in Bon Studies.* Edited by

Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovich. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.
Sontheimer, Günther-Dietz. 1989. *Pastoral Deities in Western India.* Translated from the German by Anne Feldhaus. New York: Oxford University Press.
Srinivas, Smriti. 1998. *The Mouths of People, the Voice of God: Buddhists and Muslims in a Frontier Community of Ladakh.* Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Strickmann, Michel. 2002. *Chinese Magical* Medicine. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Thompson, George. 2003. "Soma and Ecstasy in the Ṛgveda." *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 9, no. 1. Available at http://www1.shore.net/~India/ejus/issues.html (accessed June 29, 2004).

SPIRIT POSSESSION IN RAJASTHAN (INDIA)

In Rajasthan, shamanism and spiritual possession are tightly intertwined. Shamans are most typically those who have been healed from experiences with possession. Based on these experiences and now controlling and accessing the power and knowledge of the pestering spirit that once afflicted them or the divinity that formerly overwhelmed their human capabilities, shamans find themselves able to heal others. Spiritual possession, then, begins as an affliction but can be transformed into a gift that plays an important role in a shaman's healing repertoire. This entry deals with the nature of sprit possession, which can be accessed by a shaman, healer, or anybody who has such ability for trance.

In Rajasthan, men and women serve as shamans. Still, men often monopolize these roles, as many consider it shameful for women to publicly experience the ecstatic states associated with spiritual possession that so often accompany shamanism. Shamans provide a wide range of services for their clients, from predicting the future, to healing, to petitioning for spiritual aid in matters of love and money. In all these contexts, shamans serve as intermediaries between humankind and supernatural entities and energies, communicating with and often channeling gods and spirits both malign and benevolent for the benefit of humanity. Shamanism is generally associated with village Rajasthan as well as with "folk" or "popular" Hinduism, thus distinguishing shamans from Brahmin priests and India's classical textual traditions. But, as we shall see below, the lines between shamanism and priesthood are blurred, as they are throughout India.

Working as a healer can bring honor and status to individuals and indeed can signal gratitude to the spirit or deity that allowed one to survive a difficult affliction. Serving as a shaman can also bring in new income, though most shamans retain their former employment.

Rajasthanis speak of spiritual possessions as *bhav a gaya,* literally meaning "a feeling has come." This phrase suggests that one feels an extraordinary emotion in one's body, but more specifically can imply, depending on the case and context, that one is simply overcome with emotion, that one is so overwhelmed by emotions as to seem crazy, that a person is pretending to be a particular spirit or god, that one evokes in an audience a supernatural being's feeling *(bhav)* or flavor *(rasa),* much as would a temple painting or a sacred song, that an individual emotionally identifies with a particular spiritual being and indeed thinks she is that being even though she is not, or, finally, that a person's demeanor and emotional state are so reminiscent of a particular spirit or divinity that she is probably being controlled by that entity.

In "true" possessions, the entities can be good and beneficial, as is usually the case with Hindu gods (*devis* and *devatas*), only a few of which in fact alight *(utarna)* on human mounts (*ghoralas,* related to the Hindi term for horse). Bhairuji, a lusty bachelor god of the Underworld, is said to grab human beings more than any other Rajasthani divinity (this god is a local equivalent of the pan-Indian Bhairava, "the Destroyer," also referred to as Bhutesvara, "Lord of Ghosts," both "fierce" or "terrible" forms of Siva spoken of in ancient Sanskrit scriptures) (Gold 1988a, 1988b; Harlan 1992, 66; Kothari 1982; Snodgrass 2002a, 39–42; Unnithan-Kumar 1997). Hanuman the monkey god, a popular Hindu

deity referred to as Balaji in Rajasthan, is also said to take over human bodies (Dwyer 1998, 1999; Seeberg 1995), as do various incarnations of the Mother Goddess collectively referred to as Mataji (Kothari 1982; Snodgrass 2002b; Unnithan-Kumar 1997), and other divinities such as Gailaji, a local god of madness (Gold 1988a, 177), Tejaji, a healing deity of snake bites (Gold 1988b), and Bhakar, a "tribal" god of the mountain (Unnithan-Kumar 1997, 217). Sagasji Baojis, the deceased spirits of murdered kings, also seize human beings (Snodgrass 2002a, 35–39), as do Muslim saints referred to as *pir babas* (Snodgrass 2002a, 42–45). *Kuldevis* (lineage goddesses), however, do not possess humans, instead communicating through visions and dreams (Harlan 1992, 66–68; for an exception see Snodgrass 2002b), nor do *satis* (women who immolate themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres) (Harlan 1992) or various "big" Sanskritic gods such as Brahma who, the author was told, possess such power *(shakti)* as to risk exploding earthly bodies.

Despite Rajasthan's many benevolent spiritual beings, possessing entities are more than often evil and malevolent. These include capricious ghosts trapped between the human world *(manushya-loka)* and the world of the ancestors *(pitri-loka),* ghosts that are referred to by Hindus as *bhut-prets* or *malris* and by Muslims as *jinds* (from the Arabic *djinn;* Muslims speak of possessing entities as a *hajris,* "presences"). Some spirits are said to linger as ghosts because of their immoral defiance of customs that keeps them bound to their earthly existences and enmeshed in the lives of their friends and family. Others are believed to have passed away before the time allotted to them by Yama the Hindu god of death and are referred to as *akal mots* (untimely deaths) reluctant to leave this world. The latter include murder victims, suicides (for example, young women who throw themselves in wells because of premarital pregnancies), accident victims (such as, the author was informed, a foreign tourist who drowned in one of Rajasthan's palace hotels), unmarried male children (who have no descendants to remember them), and stillborn babies. Other malicious spirits said to seize humans are dissatisfied ancestors *(purvajs, pitr-pitranis),* demons *(raksas),* witches (referred to as *dakan* if they are still living, *meli* if they are dead), deceased widows (considered sexually voracious or "hungry" entities who lust after the bodies of newlyweds), and still living men who send their own souls to torment and kill their enemies (Snodgrass 2002b, 45–49).

The distinctions between benevolent and malevolent spirits are not always clear, as even mischievous spirits can be used for good. Mediums who control their spirits—using spiritual energies to heal, locate jobs, fix marriages, predict the future (as oracles), find lost items, chastise the sinful, and reward the deserving—are referred to as *bhopas, ojhas,* and *bhagats,* which could be translated as "shamans," and who are akin to, in Komal Kothari's words, "human, or living shrines" (1982, 25). Controlling spiritual beings and being able to summon them at will—on auspicious days and at regular intervals—entails learning the songs, drumbeats, chants, smells, or images that please each entity. A shaman, when linked to a particular temple through the observance of that shrine-deity's *niyam* (regimen), can be referred to as a *cauki,* literally a "square stool"—in the sense of a judicial seat where legal court hearings *(peshi)* are held and justice is dispensed by divine powers (Gold 1988b, 38; Kothari 1982, 31; Seeberg 1995).

Spiritual beings, good and bad, possess humans for a variety of reasons. Hindu gods, it is said, want fame and feel that appearances in the world—the performance of miracles and communication of important messages—might boost their popularity rating. Ghosts, too, are said to want things. They "hunger" and feel that they can satisfy their desires—to play *(khelna),* eat sweet and sour things, devour meat and alcohol, smoke pipes, or engage in sexual activities—in human form. Because of their unclean desires, ghosts are drawn to dirty places such as toilets, cremation grounds, and burial sites, and toward beautiful things like perfumes and brightly colored clothing. This taste for dirt and beauty also draws spirits near women, as females are perceived to be ritually unclean *(ashudh)*—during menses for three or four days and after birth for twelve days (Dwyer 1998)—yet nonetheless alluring. Women are similarly perceived to have stronger fleshly appetites than men (for rich foods, money, and sex) and to be more vulnerable and fearful than men, thus further increasing their vulnerability to spiritual attack (Dwyer 1998).

Gods, ghosts, and ancestral spirits are also easily offended—from ritual neglect or simple human carelessness—which can draw them into the world in order to express their dissatisfaction and gain redress. The recently deceased, for example, sometimes feel that their families have not given the priests enough gifts, thus jeopardizing these spirits' safe passage to the realm of Yama (Seeberg 1995, 51). In other cases, sorcerers or conjurers, referred to as *jadugars* or *tantriks,* are contracted to place "dirty" *(gandi)* spirits in the bodies of their patrons' enemies. It is hoped that these summoned spirits, some who come voluntarily and others who are little more than slaves, will seize and consume their victims' souls (Freed and Freed 1990, 404). Spiritual hit men accomplish ghostly transfers in numerous ways, for example, by giving victims ensorcelled food disguised as a sacred offering termed *prasad,* that renders their marks more susceptible to supernatural attack (Seeberg 1995, 52). In addition to sorcery *(jadu-tona)* and poisoned gifts of food, witchcraft can also weaken a person enough to precipitate a spiritual attack. Shamans may even cause the possession of their former patients, if, say, they become angered because their patients turn to other healers. Finally, ghosts are closely associated with liminal places (crossroads, burial grounds) and times (dusk and dawn, noon and midnight). In traveling over these places or at these times, one may inadvertently bring pestering ghosts into one's body, although a host of auspiciousness (*shubh* and *ashubh*) beliefs concerning, for example, when to leave one's house and when not to, minimize such dangers (for ghosts' links to place, as opposed to sorcery's association with familial conflict, see Dwyer 1998).

Possessions by divinities, even angry ones, are boons. Having malicious spirits alight in one's person, however, is a curse, and Rajasthanis do everything possible to get rid of them. Spirits disrupt one's life—fouling up weddings, business ventures, and love lives—and generate a multitude of debilitating symptoms. Possessions begin with the afflicted swaying rhythmically, referred to as *jhumna,* literally, "to move as if one were intoxicated, as a drunkard" (as quoted in Dwyer 1999, 113). Some possessions never progress further than this, with mediums demonstrating a calm demeanor and no visible trance. In other cases, however, gentle swaying quickly turns violent, with victims entering altered states of consciousness.

Such states may involve voices other than the victims' own speaking through them; trembling and convulsions; moaning (spirits are said to howl in pain from the punishment, *dand,* they receive from exorcising shamans or justice-bringing gods); fevers; tearing at one's hair and body, interpreted as ghosts trying to kill their human hosts; rapid breathing; wailing for mercy, since when brought to hallowed ground, spirits are forced to appear and account for their sins, which can bring cries for leniency; cursing, threats, uncontrolled shouting, and other expressions of anger *(gussa)* directed at divine images *(murtis),* as spirits become enraged when forced to appear before divine judges (Dwyer 1999, 119). These states may also include gurgling, choking, and difficulty in breathing, which is "interpreted as a death rattle because a ghost is trying to take the victim's soul through its throat and mouth" (Freed and Freed 1990, 405); rolling on the ground in the muck (signifying degradation); complaints of numbness and coldness followed by uncontrolled shivering (perhaps showing mounts' nearness to death); feelings of being bound up (*bandha,* signaling the imprisonment of human souls by destructive spirits); and moans and movements reminiscent of sexual orgasm, in possessions by Bhairuji, for example, which are interpreted as sexual penetration, and thus especially undignified for men and high-caste women (Gold 1988, 257–258; Harlan 1992, 66), followed in most cases by weakness, lethargy, and amnesia, with the possessed claiming to remember nothing about their experiences.

Rajasthanis, spiritually tactical and medically polymorphous, practice a variety of measures to rid themselves of pestering spirits. Some try antibiotics and other allopathic remedies drawn from Western cosmopolitan biomedicine, while others turn to local systems of healing such as Ayurveda (a Hindu healing tradition described in ancient Sanskrit scriptures) or Unani prophetic medicine brought to India by Muslims, which has been described as a "combination of Greek humoral theory (four humors—blood, black bile, yellow bile and phlegm) and animistic beliefs introduced by the Prophet Muhammad" (Freed and Freed 1990, 404). These, in fact, represent first choices. Neverthe-

less, most Rajasthanis eventually turn to shamans.

Shamans, or "healed healers"—these persons were typically also once assailed by spirits—first engage ghosts in conversation, hoping to find out who the spirit is and what it wants. Having pinpointed ghostly identities and desires (though this is difficult, as ghosts are notorious liars and tricksters), shamans proffer deals to the spirits, offering gifts of sweets, coconuts, tamarind fruit, cloth, or money, thus hoping to entice or exorcise *(bhut-pret utarna)* spirits from the bodies of their hosts. These deals involve considerable pleading, cajoling, and complaining on the part of both healers and ghosts. Spirits are sometimes transferred to another person or thing—even, temporarily or permanently, into the shaman's own body. Alternately, shamans make offerings to sources of divine power, hoping that such powers will chase the spirit from their victims. Such fonts of spiritual vitality, be they gods, saints (in the Muslim tradition termed *pir babas*), or the shaman's own spiritual servants, are found near impromptu shrines erected in or near sacred spots (termed *sthans*), temples *(mandirs),* mosques *(masjids),* or saints' tombs *(pirs).*

If these steps do not work, spiritual specialists make ghosts as uncomfortable as possible, hoping to convince them to leave human hosts. Techniques include abusing and insulting ghosts, smoking spirits out with unpleasant fumes such as burning cow dung (Freed and Freed 1964, 168), beating or electrically shocking the bodies of the possessed (some locals say only villagers and saints, but not shamans, employ electrical shocks), transferring mounts and thus their ghostly parasites to holy ground, reciting sacred verses termed mantras that summon superior supernatural forces in order to discipline recalcitrant spirits (the term *mantra* is a condensation of *mananat trananat* meaning "thoughts that protect"; Seeberg 1995, 45), providing the possessed with consecrated amulets that offer protection from ghosts, and using bundles of peacock feathers or branches from the *neem* tree to "sweep" *(jhara, jharphuk)* disease-causing spirits out of the body (Lambert 1997, 259).

High-caste Rajasthanis link most forms of spiritual possession with the lower castes, the poor, "tribals," and women, the primary exception being possession by ancestors *(purvajs)*, a malady that commonly afflicts high-caste men (Harlan 1992, 66–67, n. 39; Snodgrass 2002a; for shamanism among "tribal" communities, see Unnithan-Kumar 1997, 229–234). Similarly, Rajasthanis, and especially urban educated men, associate beliefs in spirits with village contexts as well as with illiteracy and lack of education, referring to such traditions as mere foolish "superstitions" *(andvisvas)* (Dwyer 1998, 10). There has been little systematic study of the distribution of spiritual possession in Rajasthan across social caste, class, or gender, or according to whether victims dwell in rural or urban settings, making it difficult to verify locals' claims.

Graham Dwyer's study (1998) of 734 patients with "supernatural" maladies, along with their accompanying friends and family in the Balaji temple in Mehndipur village near Jaipur City, a popular exorcism site, is an exception (on this temple, which similarly features Bhairuji and Pretraj, "Lord of Ghost Souls," see also Kakar 1982 and Seeberg 1995). Among Dwyer's sample of the spiritually sick, 75 percent originated from towns and cities in northern India, 49 percent were men (though only 26 percent of men as opposed to 35 percent of women attributed their illnesses to spiritual possessions as opposed to other explanations like sorcery, demonstrating that men seem less susceptible to possession), and most were largely middle class and fairly well educated (10–12). This may reflect the fact that rural persons visit their own village shamans, not needing to venture to this popular temple on the outskirts of Rajasthan's capital, or perhaps that this shrine is particularly attractive to high-caste affluent persons. Nevertheless, these numbers do demonstrate that possession is not limited to villages and small towns, women, or low-caste uneducated persons.

Rajasthani spirit possession is associated with "folk" or "popular" Hinduism, given its link to illiteracy and oral traditions, to local incarnations of pan-Hindu deities, and to the countryside, low castes, and small dispersed shrines, and thus its opposition to "great" or "classical" Hinduism's ancient textual traditions, Sanskritic gods, urban centers of learning, established priesthoods and dominant classes, and wealthy temples (on the distinction between Hinduism's "great" and "little" traditions, see Marriott 1955). Moreover, the ecstatic, free-

wheeling and even bawdy behavior of spirits and shamans is opposed to the emphasis placed within orthodox Brahmanical Hinduism on composure, philosophical sophistication, sexual restraint, and bodily purity. High-caste persons may assert the religious centrality of established priesthoods and Sanskritic traditions, pushing folk beliefs in spirits to the superstitious social margins. Conversely, low-caste or rural persons might point to the way popular spirit beliefs infuse Hinduism with energy—folk traditions, then, give Hinduism its lively vitality, with priestly classes existing as mere money-hungry parasites.

In fact, neither of these positions is exactly correct. On the one hand, in orthodox Hinduism (*Sanatan* [eternal] *Dharma*), one finds the idea that the soul can become a ghost, usually just before passing into its next birth or merging in *moksha* (salvation) (or *mukti* [spiritual liberation]) with the Absolute; also, ancient Sanskrit texts, notably the Atharva Veda (the last of the four Vedas, the most sacred scriptures), the Mahābhārata (one of the two great Hindu epics), and the Puranas (tales reframing the moral lessons of the ancient Vedas), describe ghost illness, spirit possession, and the Brahman's power of exorcism (Freed and Freed 1990, 404); further, even Brahmans from high-caste communities, referred to as *pandits,* wield Sanskritic mantras to exorcise and slay spirits.

On the other hand, spirit possession's emphasis on embodied or revealed divinity, and thus on the immediacy of godhood, parallels and intersects with orthodox Hindu beliefs such as the belief in the possibility of *darsan,* "divine viewing" (possession provides a living glimpse of god); the belief in avatars, or divine incarnations (Rajasthani villagers say that possessions are less potent than full-blown divine incarnations, which were more common before the current decadent Kali Age; Gold 1988b, 41); the belief in shakti, or creative energy or essence (spirits are considered one form of such energy); the belief in making *puja,* "sacred offerings" to divine beings (gifts to possessed mounts allow exchange with the supernatural world); the belief in karma, the force generated by one's actions that shapes one's next life (sinful actions are said to bind souls to earth as ghosts); and bhakti, or devotional Hinduism (spirit possession reflects the direct experience of divinity and emotional intensity common to Hindu devotional traditions; Dwyer 1999, 132, n. 7; Seeberg 1995). Despite differences of emphasis—folk Hinduism's emphasis on the Mother Goddess, ghosts, practical problem-solving, and spirit possession, and orthodox Hinduism's emphasis on the next life, moksha, philosophy, purity and pollution, and Brahmanical morality—the two strands of Hinduism are intimately intertwined in Rajasthan (Lambert 1997).

Despite this interconnection, it would be possible to find support in Rajasthan for Ioan M. Lewis's "deprivation hypothesis"—the idea that possession allows women and other dominated classes to express dissatisfactions, thus providing not only emotional catharsis and social support but covert channels of protest that these persons would not otherwise have (1978)—for example, in the case of a low-caste Bhat woman whose possessing goddess rants at her husband's stinginess and antisocial nature, and in the fact that Rajasthani women suffer more from affliction possessions, while men are more likely to gain control of dangerous spirits and become shamans (Dwyer 1998, 12; Snodgrass 2002b). Still, the possessed offer statements *(bayan)* confessing their crimes, which seem like capitulations to dominant morals, ideologies, and hierarchies rather than contestations of them (Dwyer 1999; Seeberg 1995; Snodgrass 2002a, 2002b). Moreover, ethnographers of Rajasthan have asked whether seeming possession protests are actually experienced as such, or in fact more likely demonstrate, based on the stutters and gasps of the possessed, a failure to protest or even to speak at all (Snodgrass 2002b; see also discussion in Spirit Possession entry).

Dwyer, following Levi-Strauss (1979), saw Rajasthani possession and exorcism as therapy akin to psychoanalysis in the West, allowing ailing persons to de-identify with pathological states and negative emotions, thus reconstructing themselves in more positive images, and rediscovering what it means to give and receive emotional love and support (Dwyer 1999, 123). Dwyer, however, was less willing to enter into an explicit Western psychological language—where possession is conceptualized as, alternately, hysteria traceable to sexual disturbances and conflicts within the family (Freed and Freed 1964; Kakar 1982), dissociative and

somatoform conversion disorders (the latter term used if biological factors are involved) linked to the inability to transition to adulthood (Freed and Freed 1990, 405), or, more specifically, as a form of dissociation termed multiple personality disorder brought about by early childhood abuse (Castillo 1994) or by unresolved Oedipal conflicts (Obeyesekere 1981)—or even to speculate on the internal psychic states of the possessed. Instead, in an approach termed phenomenological, Dwyer explored the local conceptions of self and emotion that ground these spiritual experiences (1998). Helen Lambert, likewise, examined how local Rajasthani ideas concerning, for example, local medical systems, the body, and auspiciousness frame perceptions of illnesses such as spirit possession (1997).

Noting that possession is eminently theatrical, evoking humor and even applause, ethnographers have also used this form of sacred "play" *(khelna)* to explore the link between art and religion, drama and ritual, aesthetic pleasure and religious commitment. Ann Gold, for example, examined Rajasthani representations of true *(saco)* as opposed to false *(jhutyo)* possessions, the deep trancers as opposed to the clever con artists, thus exploring what might be meant by "belief" in spiritual beings, as well as the appropriateness of Western performance languages for analyzing local possessions (1988b). Likewise, the author, in examining the way untouchable bards referred to as *Bhats* conceptualize possessions as performances, examined how aesthetic imitation of threatening others—suicides, stillborn infants, widows—in allowing people to imagine their way out of unsatisfying identities, leads to healing (Snodgrass 2002a).

Other students of Rajasthani religion have used beliefs in spirits to tease out underlying cultural ideas regarding exchange and the economy, noting that, for example, spirit mediums quote the coming year's grain prices and are generally enmeshed in economic life (Gold 1988b, 40), that exchanges of money and evil spirits share an underlying logic of gifting and social relations (Seeberg 1995), that possessions, like sorcery accusations, are often tied to disputes over shared property such as land, homes, businesses, or grazing rights, bringing to the fore either intra- and interfamilial or caste tensions (Dwyer 1998; Snodgrass 2002a, 2002b), and that spirit possession provides an imaginative commentary, not at all unified and straightforward, on the modern capitalist economy (Snodgrass 2002b).

Possession, then, has been used as a mirror of Rajasthani society, as an institution in which key assumptions about the world are alternately celebrated and challenged, be these related to illness and health, self, emotion, and the body, gender dynamics within the family, social hierarchies of class and caste, local interpretations of the global economy, or other yet-to-be-explored dimensions of experience. For Rajasthanis, spiritual possessions hardly appear startling, much less supernatural. Nevertheless, the institution brings to the surface shocking emotions and extraordinary ways of being. And it is this tension between the expected and the unexpected, the quotidian and the remarkable, that allows spirit possession to so effectively reflect Rajasthani culture, displaying taken-for-granted assumptions about the world while adding unexpected intensity and mystery to Rajasthani self-perceptions.

Jeffrey G. Snodgrass

See also: Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Hinduism and Ecstatic Indian Religions; South Asian Shamanism; Spirit Possession

References and further reading:

Carstairs, G. Morris. 1983. *The Death of a Witch.* London: Hutchinson and Company.

Castillo, R. J. 1994. "Spirit Possession in South-Asia, Dissociation or Hysteria. 1. Theoretical Background." *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 18, no. 1: 1–21.

Dwyer, Graham. 1998. "The Phenomenology of Supernatural Malaise: Attribution, Vulnerability, and the Patterns of Affliction at a Hindu Pilgrimage Centre in Rajasthan." *Social Analysis* 42, no. 2: 3–23.

———. 1999. "Healing and the Transformation of Self in Exorcism at a Hindu Shrine in Rajasthan." *Social Analysis* 43, no. 2: 108–137.

Freed, Ruth S., and Stanley A. Freed. 1964. "Spirit Possession as Illness in a North Indian Village." *Ethnology* 3: 152–171.

———. 1990. "Ghost Illness of Children in North India." *Medical Anthropology* 12: 401–417.

Gold, Ann. 1988a. *Fruitful Journeys: The Ways of Rajasthani Pilgrims.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1988b. “Spirit Possession Perceived and Performed in Rural Rajasthan.” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 22, no. 1: 35–63.

Harlan, Lindsey. 1992. *Religion and Rajput Women: The Ethic of Protection in Contemporary Narratives.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kakar, Sudhir. 1982. *Shamans, Mystics, and Doctors.* London: Unwin.

Kothari, Komal. 1982. “The Shrine: An Expression of Social Needs.” Pp. 5–32 in *Gods of the Byways.* Edited by Julia Elliot and David Elliot. Oxford: Museum of Modern Art.

Lambert, Helen. 1997. “Illness, Inauspiciousness, and Modes of Healing in Rajasthan.” *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 31: 253–271.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. 1979 [1963]. “The Effectiveness of Symbols.” Pp. 186–205 in *Structural Anthropology.* By C. Levi-Strauss, trans. C. Jacobson and B. G. Schoeph. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lewis, Ioan M. 2003. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 3d ed. London: Routledge.

Marriott, M. 1955. “Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization.” Pp. 175–227 in *Village India.* Edited by M. Marriott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Obeyesekere Gannanath. 1981. *Medusa’s Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Seeberg, Jens. 1995. “Spirits, Words, Goods, and Money: Substance and Exchange at the Balaji Temple.” *Folk* 36: 39–59.

Snodgrass, Jeffrey G. 2002a. “Imitation Is Far More than the Sincerest of Flattery: The Mimetic Power of Spirit Possession in Rajasthan, India.” *Cultural Anthropology* 17, no. 1: 32–64.

———. 2002b. “A Tale of Goddesses, Money, and Other Terribly Wonderful Things: Spirit Possession, Commodity Fetishism, and the Narrative of Capitalism in Rajasthan, India.” *American Ethnologist* 29, no. 3: 602–636.

Unnithan-Kumar, Maya. 1997. *Identity, Gender and Poverty: New Perspectives on Caste and Tribe in Rajasthan.* Providence, RI: Berghahn Books.

SRI LANKA

See Priestesses (Mediums) of Sri Lanka

TIBETAN SHAMANISM

Tibetan religion is, with some variations, practiced among peoples not only in Tibet, but also in parts of Nepal, Ladakh, and Sikkim. The religion is a particular form of Buddhism, in which a number of shamanistic elements and practices are to be found. Tibetan *lha-pas* and *dpa’-bos,* “spirit mediums,” who, when ritually possessed, will cure illness and tell the future, are especially relevant in this regard. The *‘das-logs,* the “travelers to the realm beyond death,” also clearly have shamanistic characteristics, but much less research has been done on them. Other specialists that have been seen by some authors as having shamanistic features, such as the *sgrung-pas,* the bards singing the epic of Gesar, or the *gter-stons,* the visionary treasure finders, will not be dealt with here.

Background

Tibetans, an ethnically relatively homogenous people, and populations closely related to the Tibetans, live today in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China, as well as in other provinces of China, in Bhutan, in parts of India (Ladakh and Sikkim), and in parts of northern Nepal. Exiled Tibetans live in various countries, with substantial groups in India and Nepal.

Tibet traditionally was, and to some extent still is, an isolated country. Agriculture and animal husbandry form the basis of its economy, which is rather underdeveloped due to, among other things, the climate and the high altitude. The majority of the population belonged to the peasantry, but there was also a class of hereditary nobility, and the monastic institutions were powerful bodies in Central Tibet. Traditional Tibet ceased to exist in the mid-twentieth century with China’s incorporation of the country. The practice of religion has since been severely restricted. Thus, much of what is said here concerns traditional Tibet, or practices among exiled Tibetans outside of Tibet proper.

Ever since it arrived in Tibet in the seventh century, Buddhism has been the dominating religious force. Within Tibetan Buddhism many schools and monastic traditions have developed, and a vast religious literature exists. It is safe to say that Buddhism has entered every aspect of Tibetan religious life, its world of thought permeating every sector and its concepts and terminology articulating every religious experience. As an expanding and missionizing religion, Buddhism has often tended to be comparatively tolerant in matters of lay practice, which has led to a readiness to integrate local rituals and beliefs. Thus, shamanic elements have survived, after having been incorporated and often transformed. This process, difficult to follow historically in Tibet, has presumably been facilitated by shamanic features within the Buddhist tradition itself.

Spirit Mediums

The most obvious examples of shamanic features in Tibetan religion are the spirit mediums and the ritual possession they practice. Ritual possession may be found on different levels in Tibetan society, from the local curers in the villages to high-ranking monastic oracles, of whom the State Oracle of gNas-chung is the best known. In this article, lay mediums of the *lha-pa* and *dpa'-bo* will be described, as it is their practices and beliefs that are best known in the West. Although a few studies, films, and recordings have been made of the monastic oracles, much remains to be done in the field before a clear picture of their world will emerge. The main sources for the historical background discussed below are Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975 and Samuel 1993. For contemporary practice, the sources are Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975, Pommaret 1989 and the author's own work (Berglie 1976, 1983, and 1999).

There are male as well as female spirit mediums. It is possible that there are more males than females active today, but there seems to be no great difference in their status and activities. Further research is nevertheless needed with respect to the gender aspect.

Mythology and Pantheon

It is difficult to trace these practices back in Tibetan history. There are, however, occasional mentions of possession in early textual sources, and there is evidence of the existence of institutionalized mediumship from at least the sixteenth century onwards. History notwithstanding, the dpa'-bos have a foundation myth, according to which it was Padmasambhava (founder of the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet, placed by legend in the eighth century) who invited the first spirit mediums, whom their successors today still can name, to come to Tibet from four neighboring regions so that they could cure the illnesses afflicting the Tibetans at that time. Everything the spirit mediums do today is modeled on the actions of these four dpa'-bos. In the history of Tibet, Padmasambhava is clearly a figure often referred to in attempts to construct, or reconstruct, a religious heritage.

The pantheon of the spirit mediums is divided into three classes: the *lha* with 80 members, the *btsan* with 360 members, and the *klu* with several thousand members. The lhas are mild and well-disposed beings, clad in white and arriving at the séance from their home in the western snow-covered mountains riding on their white birds. The lha class is subdivided into smaller groups according to function and specialty, groups such as the astrologers, the fortune-tellers, the curers, and the soul lifters. The lhas are often called the "Indian gods" and are identified with the famous Tantric *siddhas* (those who have acquired miraculous powers through intense meditation and discipline) of the Indo-Tibetan traditions. Before they became Indian siddhas and Tibetan gods, they were the heroes of Gling, the epic warriors of King Gesar. They possess the spirit mediums very rarely. The btsans are wild and aggressive beings connected with mountains. They are red in color and arrive from their mountains riding on horses. The members of this class are grouped according to which mountain or mountain range they belong to. One group belongs to the Thang-lha mountains, and another important one is connected to Mount Targo in western Tibet. During their séances, the spirit mediums are most often possessed by members of the btsan class. The klu gods are connected with different lakes in Tibet. Often the mountain gods and the lake goddess are thought to be united in a divine polyandrous marriage. In addition to this hierarchical ordering of the pantheon, the gods are also distributed geo-

graphically from the west to the east. Thus the lhas belong to the high snow mountains in western Tibet and India, the btsans to the central provinces of dBus and gTsang, and the klus to Amdo and Khams in the east.

The pantheon of the spirit mediums is, however, not limited to anthropomorphic beings, but also includes a number of supernatural animals belonging to the gods. These wolves, dogs, wild yaks, and birds carry out important functions during curing séances, as it is they who actually remove the illness from the sick person's body.

According to the spirit mediums, *rtsa,* "channels," are to be found in the human body connecting different parts of the body in a complicated, esoteric, and systematic way. The three most important of these channels have their source in the heart and their opening at the crown of the head, and in the fourth finger of each hand, respectively. The gods enter the human body along these channels, after the spirit medium has sent his or her own consciousness, *rnam-shes,* out of the body through the opening at the top of the head. The rnam-shes then travels a short way up to the altar, where it will be protected by a guardian deity. The interval when the body is "empty" is considered potentially dangerous, as demons always threaten to enter the spirit medium. To prevent this, the spirit medium has to invite guarding deities and place them at the openings of the rtsa. They have the responsibility of seeing that nothing happens to the dpa'-bo then and during the rest of the séance. Further deities are placed at other parts of the body in the same function.

Vocation and Heredity

The hereditary transmission of the spirit mediumship seems to be very important, and it is obvious that a long line of spirit mediums in the family is considered a guarantee of the trustworthiness of a performing dpa'-bo.

Having the heritage of a spirit medium, however, is not enough. If a person is to become one, this vocation has to be confirmed by a call from the gods. The phenomenon of this divine election seems to be rather universal. The call usually comes when the boy is thirteen years old and consists of visionary encounters with the gods. The spirit medium-to-be sees strange but beautiful beings mounted on horses and feels an irresistible urge to follow them into the wilderness. This can go on for several years and be rather disturbing for the candidate and his family, as he often is irritated and angry, walks in his sleep, loses his appetite, and the like. Finally, a traditional authority such as a lama or an older spirit medium is consulted, and if he recognizes the supernatural beings as gods, and not demons, the boy may start his training as a dpa'-bo. The spirit medium will have an especially close relationship in the future to the gods he has met in this way in his youth. This is similar to classic shamanism in Siberia in its aspects of inheritance, vocation from the gods, visionary encounters, and attachment to the spirits encountered during this period.

Tests and Training

Tests of one kind or another are considered necessary by most spirit mediums. The tests all aim at safely identifying the supernatural beings met with in the visions. The identification might be carried out by someone who has a sufficient knowledge of pantheon and of the supernatural world of the spirit mediums. It is a rather complicated process, in which tests are followed by teaching. Thus it starts with describing and analyzing the visions and continues with the older spirit medium establishing contact with a wider range of gods. The teaching medium invites the gods with the candidate present and then asks the candidate to describe what he or she sees. Such séances may be held at irregular intervals for many years and indicate the kind of knowledge a spirit medium necessarily must have: The medium must know the names and appearances of a large number of gods. The possession of this knowledge is shown in the mastering of the invocation songs. If they are performed correctly, the gods are obliged to come to the séance where the spirit medium can identify and describe them.

A special relationship is established between the teacher and the candidate which is supposed to last for life. The older spirit medium is expected to help the younger in every aspect of medium activities, and even to "give" the latter gods for use at séances. During a sequence of séances, the teacher is able to check the ability of the student to clearly see the gods. This abil-

ity is thought to depend, on one hand, on the student's knowledge of the pantheon, and, on the other, on the "cleanness" of the channels in the student's body. Thus, a fortunate combination of intellect, memory, and morality is required.

To be able to recognize the members of the pantheon is, however, not enough to become a successful spirit medium. The most important task of a dpa'-bo is the curing of illness by sucking the object or substance causing the illness out of the patient's body. As this is carried out by one of the supernatural animals, the spirit medium must have a good knowledge of these animals, as well as of the technique of sucking out. This can only be learned from another spirit medium.

In traditional Tibet, a young dpa'-bo had to go on a pilgrimage to Mount Targo in the western part of the country. This mountain is the seat of a very important group of btsan gods, and there is also a cave in which Padmasambhava used to practice meditation. In this particular cave a spirit medium has to conduct a séance, in order to find out if he or she is good, mediocre, or bad. In this cave, three stones are said to be found: one for the spirit medium to sit on, one for incense, and one for the altar. According to one version of the initiation procedure, an incompetent dpa'-bo will die when invoking the gods here, whereas a good one not only can give an excellent performance, but also is sure to find some treasure, *gter,* when leaving the cave. According to another version, at Mount Targo the spirit medium has to climb a ladder in the cave; a good dpa'-bo flies up the ladder riding on a special bird, the mount of the lha gods. A bad dpa'-bo, on the contrary, will fail completely. When he or she tries to climb, the headdress and drum will become heavy as rocks and immobilize him or her on the ladder, in which position the dba'-po will die. In this version we find an interesting combination of the motifs of the legendary founding figure, Padmasambhava, the ritual climbing of a ladder, and the qualitative separation of the spirit mediums.

When a young spirit medium has had initial visionary experiences, has undergone the necessary tests, and has been taught by a teacher, the medium is supposed to seek the blessing of a lama, after which he or she can begin to help people on his own. By then the medium is also supposed to have command over meetings with the gods and many of his or her afflictions will cease.

If, for some reason, a dpa'-bo does not want to continue as a spirit medium, he or she has to perform the following ritual. Five small parcels made of leaves and containing tinder are put at five places on the body: the top of the head, the right and the left shoulder, the back, and the chest. Then an assistant has to set fire to these parcels and thus burn the body, making it disagreeable to the guardian gods who would otherwise stay there during the possession.

Ritual Equipment

All the spirit mediums use some kind of equipment in their séances. These ritual instruments may be obtained in various ways, for example, the spirit medium finds them as treasures, gter, or as a gift from his teacher, or inherits them from older dpa'-bos in his family line. The most important part of the equipment is the metal mirror placed on the altar, which a spirit medium arranges at the beginning of every séance. Without at least one mirror no séance can be held, because then the gods do not have anywhere to descend and to reside. Ideally, a spirit medium ought to have three mirrors, one for each of the three classes of gods. In the mirror the spirit medium can see the gods arrive on their mounts in good order and can see them dismount and place themselves in order of rank with their head god in the middle. Sometimes a knife can substitute for a mirror.

On the altar the spirit medium also places a few *gtor-mas,* cone-shaped sacrificial cakes, small paintings of high-ranking guardians, such as the Karmapa, the Dalai Lama, and mythic protectors of the religion.

Spirit mediums use musical instruments such as a drum, either a large one hit by a curved drumstick, or a smaller drum, shaped like an hourglass. Dpa'-bos also use a flat bell, a *gshang.* The sound of the drum is thought to reach the gods and make them come more willingly. Other instruments are occasionally used, such as a horn trumpet blown three times to greet the three classes of gods arriving.

The spirit medium ties a piece of red cloth around his or her head after the gods have arrived at the altar, prior to donning the headdress. The putting on of the headdress is an im-

A Tibetan shaman drives away evil spirits with a traditional drum and a female thigh bone, ca. 1980–1990, Manag, Nepal. (Earl & Nazima Kowall/Corbis)

portant moment during the séance, as it marks a change of status: The god has entered the body of the dpa'-bo, and from now on until the end it is the god who speaks and acts. The headdress is a five-lobed crown, a *rigs-lnga,* which is fastened to the head with strings. On the lobes paintings of the five cosmic Buddhas are to be found, namely, Vairocana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, and Amoghasiddhi. In front of the outermost lobe at each side two "wings" are attached to the strings. The wings are fan-shaped and painted in the colors of the rainbow. In front of the wings, big bundles of multicolored ribbons hang down on each side. Such crowns, but without the wings and the bundles of ribbons, are also used by the monks in the highly esoteric Tantric rituals.

Among other ritual items a small figurine in the semblance of a human being may be used sometimes. It is made of leather with black stones as eyes and with bird-claws attached to its hands and feet. It is used at curing séances, when the patient is hit over the head with it as part of the exorcism. All the equipment is put away and kept near the ordinary house altar, when not used.

Functions

During the séance it is not the spirit medium who speaks and acts, but the god or goddess by which he is possessed. This is often said to be the sole source of the dpa'-bo's authority, and the only reason why people come to him for help. In theory, he has no responsibility for what happens during the possession, and he claims that he does not remember anything at all afterwards. In practice, however, he is responsible for the correctness of his invocations to the gods, and he is also supposed to see to it that no demons sneak into his mirrors or into his body. Thus it can be argued that an absolutely distinct line cannot be drawn in this respect between the nonpossessed and the possessed spirit medium.

The myth related above explaining the cause for the invitation to Tibet of the first four dpa'-bos also stresses their main activity, then and now—the curing of illness. This can be effected in many ways, but the method most often used is to suck out the illness or illness-causing substance or object from the body. When such a sucking out is carried out, the spirit mediums let themselves be possessed by a zoomorphic being, usually a wolf, a wild dog, or a bird. The medium then holds his or her drum, or some other item from the ritual equipment, against that part of the patient's body where the illness is thought to be located, sucks from the opposite part of the drum, and spits out the result in a small bowl of water. The patient, and everyone else present, can thus see for themselves if the cure really has been effected. The healing process is supervised and controlled by a group of gods belonging to the lha class called the three Indian doctors, while other gods guard the patient's body during the curing. Sometimes the spirit medium also hands out some herbal medicine in connection with the healing.

Spirit mediums can predict the future, and to do so they usually use a kind of drum divination called *rtsis.* This divination can be done in various ways. The spirit medium may put a drum in front of himself or herself and place a few grains of rice on the drum skin. Certain gods, who are present to check the procedure, are then asked to move the grains to show the answer to the question posed. If the rice moves toward the altar, or if it rotates clockwise, it is considered a positive answer; if, however, it moves in the opposite direction, the situation is serious. In another method of divination, the spirit medium drops the rice from his left hand onto the drum skin and reads the future from the pattern formed by the grains.

Exorcism forms a part of every curing séance, as it is opened with the dpa'-bo establishing an auspicious space for the coming events, a prerequisite being that no demons are around.

An interesting, but unfortunately only fragmentarily known, practice is that of the "calling back of the soul," *bla-'khug.* According to the spirit mediums, a person may lose his or her *bla,* "soul," for many reasons. Demons, for instance, may steal it and carry it away. They do not, however, keep it for very long but throw it away. The aim of the bla-'khug ritual is then to locate the lost bla and bring it back to its owner. The possessed dpa'-bo takes three objects, one turquoise, one coral, and one small shell, and puts them in a small ball of pap, *spags.* The ball is then thrown away with a sling. A bowl is filled with water mixed with milk, and a scarf, *kha btags,* is stretched over the bowl as a cover. The patient then has to put his or her hands into the bowl in order to find the thrown-away

objects. If the patient can find all of them, his or her bla will return, but if the patient can find only one or two of them, the spirit medium then is possessed by an extremely wrathful deity, who helps locate the missing object or objects. Here, the three objects are obviously thought to be identical with the bla. In this ritual members of the lha class are thought to be active, and even to possess the spirit medium, who then will speak in "Indian."

Finally, minor ritual practices, such as stopping escaping thieves at a distance by paralyzing them, or a thread-cutting ritual intended to cure human beings and animals suffering from difficulties in breathing, are also known.

The Séance

Spirit mediums usually perform in the evening and in the house of the people seeking help. All séances start with the arrangement of the altar. The invocations, mainly consisting of mentioning the names of many gods, are sung, during which the gods arrive and arrange themselves properly in the mirrors. This usually takes a little more than twenty minutes, after which there is a short break, during which the headdress is put on. The drumming and the singing become faster and faster, and the body of the dpa'-bo begins to rock to and fro. Suddenly the dpa'-bo leaps onto the floor and begins to dance. The god has entered his or her body, and the putting on of the headdress signals a change in ritual status. Just before the god enters, the spirit medium has to send away his or her own consciousness, the rnam-shes. It is thought that, for most mediums, their consciousness is protected by a special guardian deity during the possession. Other guardian deities also arrive to protect the spirit medium and the proceedings against the demons and their machinations.

When the god has entered and the excited spirit medium has calmed down, the god usually introduces himself in rather haughty and even insolent words and asks what he is supposed to do this time. The intermediary appointed for the evening then sets about the task without delay. Clients are not allowed to speak directly to the god who is possessing the dpa'-bo, and an intermediary, traditionally male, is therefore required.

Then follows the main part of the séance: the solving of the problem. When the help has been given, the god is duly thanked, and all the gods start to leave. Now begins the final part of the séance. This is the so-called *rigs-lnga* game, which may last for a few minutes or up to more than an hour. During this part the dpa'-bo swings and shakes his or her body violently. The singing has a more general content and is usually full of good advice, sometimes of an almost proverbial nature. All the séances finally end with the spirit medium leaning back in a sitting position, his or her head falling forward as the headdress slides off. As a rule it then takes only a few minutes for the dpa'-bo to recover and to start to collect and put away the equipment.

Spirit mediums find it hard to describe what they feel at the onset of the trance. Many of them have visions of light and color, and some also experience changes in the size of ritual objects, which seem to grow bigger and bigger. At the same time the people sitting around the dpa'-bo become smaller and smaller, while their eyes shine brightly and their voices become thinner and thinner. When the god enters, the body may feel big and as if filled with gas; then everything becomes black.

Under no circumstance may the dpa'-bo use any kind of drug or alcohol before and during the séance. It is considered wise and auspicious to abstain from alcohol and meat for some time before performing.

More people are usually present in the room than really belong to the house or the immediate neighborhood. The onlookers may drop in during the invocations and leave after the dpa'-bo has accomplished the task. There is always a relaxed atmosphere in the room, but if it is too relaxed and noisy, it provokes angry remarks from the deity.

The spirit mediums work in a society dominated by Buddhism, and the Buddhist monks are the religious specialists with the highest authority. The spirit mediums act with the blessing of the lamas, but there does not seem to be much cooperation. They seem to act in different sectors of the religious field.

The Travelers to the Other Worlds: The 'Das-Log

The travelers to the land of the dead clearly belong to the shamanic complex in the Tibetan religion, although much research on these phe-

nomena is still required, both with regard to its appearance in Tibetan texts and its living presence today. These soul travels are described in hagiographic texts (Epstein 1982; Pommaret 1989, 1996), as well as in the anthropological literature (Berglie 1999; Pommaret 1989).

The literary biographies of the soul-travelers, of whom the majority seem to be women, seem to be rather rigidly structured. In most cases, a conflict of a religious nature constitutes the starting point in the career of the ʻdas-log. Wishing to be a nun but forced to remain in a secular state, she suffers. She has visions of her future life, hears strange sounds, and feels soaked in a rain of blood and phlegm. She finally dies and sees her relatives gathered around her bed and realizes that she has, in fact, died. Then she travels in unknown and terrifying lands where she is approached by dead people, eager to tell their sad stories. In the different hells she then visits, she sees the pains and torments of the sinners. When it is time for the ʻdas-log to be put in front of the tribunal before which all the newly dead must appear, her case is investigated thoroughly. Since it is discovered that a mistake has been made, she is sent back to the living. Having returned to this world, she becomes a ʻdas-log and spends the rest of her life telling about her great experience and giving advice on how to avoid having to spend time in the hells.

Women seem to be in the majority also in the anthropological material. The overall structure of the career of the ʻdas-log is similar, the most obvious difference being the ability of the contemporary ones to die again and again. They may even travel to the nether regions several times a month, on fixed days in the Buddhist calendar, or whenever someone asks them to. Such a journey may last for a few hours, or even longer, and after having returned the ʻdas-log is able to deliver very precise messages as to what has to be done in this world to improve conditions for unfortunate relatives and friends in the Otherworld (Pommaret 1989).

Stories have been recorded of ʻdas-logs traveling in the heavens and in the hells for as long as seven days. And according to one informant, the ʻdas-log is herself able to save people from hell and bring them to a better world. After their return it is said that they weep for days, having seen so much suffering (Berglie 1999).

In the ʻdas-log, Buddhism and shamanism seem to have merged in a way that further studies may elucidate.

Per-Arne Berglie

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Funeral Rites in Eurasian Shamanism; Kalmyk Shamanic Healing Practices; Ladakhi Shamans and Oracles; Nepalese Shamans; Tantrism and Shamanism; Yellow Shamans

References and further reading:

Berglie, Per-Arne. 1976. "Preliminary Remarks on Some Tibetan Spirit-Mediums in Nepal." *Kailash* 4: 85–108.

———. 1978. "On the Question of Tibetan Shamanism." Pp. 39–51 in *Tibetan Studies.* Edited by Martin Brauen and Per Kværne. Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich.

———. 1980 "Mount Targo and Lake Dangra: A Contribution to the Religious Geography of Tibet." Pp. 39–44 in *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson.* Edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips.

———. 1983. *Gudarnas stiger ned. Rituell besatthet hos sherpas och tibetaner* (English summary: *The Gods Descend: Ritual Possession among Sherpas and Tibetans*). Stockholm: Religionshistoriska institutionen, Stockholms universitet.

———. 1999. "They Only Weep. . . . Stories about Tibetan Travellers to the Other Worlds." Pp. 87–96 in *Return to the Silk Routes. Current Scandinavian Research on Central Asia.* Edited by Mirja Juntunen and Birgit Schlyter. London and New York: Kegan Paul International.

Delog Dawa Drolma. 1995. *Delog: Journey to the Realms Beyond Death.* Translated by Richard Barron. Junction City, CA: Padma Publishing.

Epstein, Lawrence. 1982. "On the History and Psychology of the *ʻDas-Log." Tibet Journal* 7: 20–85.

Gibson, Todd. 1997. "Notes on the History of the Shamanic in Tibet and Inner Asia." *Numen* 44: 39–59.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de. 1975. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities.* 2d ed. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.

Pommaret, Françoise. 1989. *Les revenants de l'au-delà dans le monde tibétain: Sources littéraires et tradition vivante* [The ghosts from beyond in the Tibetan world: Literary sources and living tradition]. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

———. 1996. "Returning from Hell." Pp. 796–818 in *Religions of Tibet in Practice.* Edited by Donald S. Lopez. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rock, Joseph R. 1950. "Contributions to the Shamanism of the Tibetan-Chinese Borderland." *Anthropos* 54: 796–818.

Samuel, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans. Buddhism in Tibetan Societies.* Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Volf, Pavel. 1994. *Seger åt gudarna. Rituell besatthet hos ladakhier* (English summary: *Victory to the Gods. Ritual Possession among Ladakhis*). Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International.

Overview

SOUTHEAST ASIA

The complexity of shamanism is Southeast Asia is in part a reflection of the geographical, linguistic, and ethnological complexity of the region. Southeast Asia consists of both a mainland area (which includes, most importantly, the modern countries of western, or peninsular, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, and Burma, plus contiguous areas of southern China and eastern India) and an insular one (including, most importantly, east Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia, excluding Irian Jaya, or western New Guinea). Except for remnant groups in a few areas, the indigenous peoples of the entire region share many physical features that link them to the inhabitants of the more northerly areas of East Asia. Most of the languages of mainland Southeast Asia belong to several large families or groupings, including Tibeto-Burmese, Mon-Khmer, Tai-Kadai, and Vietnamese-Muong. The languages of insular Southeast Asia (along with some of those of the mainland) all belong to the great Austronesian family, which, though spread throughout most of the Pacific Islands, is also of Asian origin. The indigenous peoples of Southeast Asia include very small and localized populations of nomadic hunter-gatherers or foragers, much larger and more widely spread groups of slash-and-burn horticulturalists, and vastly larger numbers of agriculturalists who practiced wet rice cultivation.

Shamanism in Southeast Asia also needs to be seen against a backdrop of religious development that includes a long and complicated history of involvement with other major zones of Asian civilization, especially (except in sinicized Vietnam) India, and of later Western colonial rule. Indic religious influences date to the beginning of the common era and were in full flower among lowland, rice-cultivating populations of the western Indonesian archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, and most of the mainland by 1,000 C.E. Beginning in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Islam began to spread, also mainly from India, along the routes of the spice trade, and it became dominant in the coastal areas of Sulawesi, Borneo, Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, the southern Philippines, and the northern littoral (and eventually all) of Java. At about the same time, Theravada Buddhism began to replace earlier forms of Hinduism and Buddhism throughout most of the lowland areas of the mainland. In all instances, however, elements of earlier indigenous and Indic beliefs and practices persisted, both among village cultivators and in the ruling court centers. Further, the later diffusion of Buddhism and Islam involved folk traditions of magic, animism, spirit possession, and the like, as well as scriptural or "orthodox" traditions. Finally, in the case of the numerous more autonomous tribal peoples of the upland and interior areas, the impact of outside influences was much more limited, and their classic religious traditions, including shamanism, much less affected.

It has been the introduction and spread of Christianity, along with other Westernizing and modernizing influences, by colonial and postcolonial regimes that have done the most to transform the religious traditions of the tribal peoples of Southeast Asia. Brought first by the Portuguese and then the Spanish, Roman Catholicism arrived almost as early as Islam. However, outside of the Philippines and a few other local areas, the wider spread of Christianity was linked to the expansion of Dutch, British, and French colonial control and began mainly in the latter part of the nine-

teenth century or in the early part of the twentieth. Such processes, which have made few inroads among Muslim or Buddhist populations, are ongoing, diverse, and far from complete.

Introduction to the Entries

The eleven entries that follow this overview include two general and comparative articles plus nine more specifically focused ones. "Southeast Asian Shamanism " provides a general introduction to Southeast Asia as a region, and to its types of societies, religious traditions, varieties of shamanism, and patterns of change. It makes a distinction between narrowly and broadly conceived forms of shamanism, one that is reflected in the more specifically focused entries. In addition to this introduction, "Indonesian Shamanism" also offers an overview of shamanism and related religious traditions in Indonesia, the largest and most ethnically diverse country in Southeast Asia. This entry takes a broad approach to shamanism and relates some of its general features to the different areas and religious traditions of the vast and varied Indonesian Archipelago.

The more specific entries are those that concern particular ethnic groups, including the Thai, Burmese, Malays, Javanese, Hmong, Taman, Murut, and Semai. These groups are of two types. The Thai, Burmese, Malays, and Javanese are large "national" (or transnational) ethnic communities that have long-established civilizations, literate cultures, state-level or centralized political traditions (courts, capitals, and kings), and adhere to either Buddhism (in the case of the Thai and Burmese) or Islam (in the case of the Malays and Javanese). Observers have sometimes used the term *shamanism* to describe the practices of trance and spirit mediumship and the notions of the soul and other spirit beliefs that have flourished, especially at the popular or village level of these societies, though more recently in increasing tension with religious orthodoxy. Such beliefs and practices fit better with a broad concept of shamanism than with a narrow one of the classical type first delineated regarding Siberia and central Asia.

Among these articles, the entry "Malay Shamans and Healers" follows a longstanding precedent in applying the term *shamanism* to Malay spirit medium and healing practices. In contrast the entry "Thai Spirit World and Spirit Mediums" uses the term *shaman* for the spirit medium, but not for the spirit priest, and brings out some shamanistic elements in those practices, at the same time noting the extent to which popular Thai animistic beliefs and practices actually derive from Buddhism. Among the Burmese the shamanistic overtones of popular animism, possession, and exorcism appear to be somewhat stronger, but the entry "Burmese Spirit Lords and Their Mediums" embodies a similar view and uses the term *shaman* simply as a different way of referring to a spirit medium. The entry "Javanese Shamanism" takes much the same approach, but notes more explicitly that neither the classical shaman nor a shamanistic worldview really exists in Java, though shamanistic practices persist. More specifically, the entry "Shadow Puppetry and Shamanism" briefly explores possible links between shamanism and the most important and popular form of traditional theater in Java, but finds few. The most notable connection is perhaps that the *dalang,* the puppet master, is believed to be "called," a common attribute of the true shaman as well.

The societies noted in the remaining entries, the Hmong, Semai, Taman, and Murut (along with similar groups mentioned in the two broader surveys, including the Iban and Ngaju of Borneo and the Wana of Sulawesi, to which many others could be readily added), are very different from the Burmese, Thais, Malays, and Javanese. The Hmong and the others of this second group are basically small-scale or tribal societies of the interior or upland areas of Southeast Asia. They have not been, at least until recently, adherents of any of the world religions, and although many of them have now converted, it has often been to Christianity rather than to Buddhism or Islam, thus contributing to their continued ethnic and religious separateness.

It is to the healing and religious practices and cosmologies of these societies that the label of shamanism has been most commonly applied by observers, and with the clearest comparative justification. Even so, it would be incorrect to suggest that all of the entries about these societies describe the same common form of true shamanism. Of these articles, "Taman Shamanism"—the Taman being a numerically small interior Bornean people of the upper Kapuas River in West Kalimantan, Indonesia—describes one of the most impressive examples of classic shamanism. Taman

shamans are always called to assume their position by willful spirits whose demands cannot be refused; once they are initiated, their souls can undertake journeys to other realms, and they cure by retrieving the souls of the afflicted and reinserting them back into their bodies.

As the entry "Hmong Shamanism" explicitly notes, the practices of the Hmong are also an instance of classic shamanism. Nonetheless, Hmong shamans are hardly carbon copies of Taman ones, one difference being that whereas the former are usually men, the latter are nearly always women. In contrast to the Hmong and Taman traditions, those of the Semai of the interior of the Malay Peninsula and the Murut of Sabah (far northern Borneo) fit the mold of classic shamanism less well. As described in "Semai Shamanism," the Semai have several types of practitioners of supernatural healing, of which *hala'* are the most shamanic. But although hala' do cure by rescuing and retrieving the absent souls of the afflicted, only some become hala' as a result of calls (that come in dreams) by spirits, others doing so only through apprenticeship and study. The Murut appear to be even more of a mixed case, one that combines elements of spirit mediumship with those of shamanism. The entry "Murut Shamanism" notes that though shamans acquire spirit guides, they do not become practitioners as an effort to gain relief from bouts of mental or physical illness attributed to the attention of spirits. Given the localized nature of such societies and the oral basis of their traditions, such diversity is hardly surprising, and it could be easily further documented by reference to many other instances.

Robert L. Winzeler

BURMESE SPIRIT LORDS AND THEIR MEDIUMS

The cult of *nats,* "spirit lords," is specific to Burmese cultural history. Negotiation with these "spirit lords" is undertaken by mediums, who in a shamanlike role go into a state of trance and thus become a conduit between the spirit and the client. Many aspects of shamanism can be perceived in these practices, including the location of the nats, who may reside in special features of the landscape or protect territories and kinship lineages. The cult of nats is encompassed conceptually by Theravada Buddhism and addresses specific practical and personal needs within that broader religious framework. Though the term *nat* is always translated "spirit lord," in fact nats may be female as well as male. The authority of nats derives from their association with past kings, one's kin group or ancestors, one's village or home region, or one's own personal affinity to them. Negotiating with spirit lords is a way of dealing with mundane social and personal concerns that require the practical authority derived from worldly power. The mythic origins of nats predate the reign of Anwartha (1044–1077 C.E.), the king who established the first Burmese empire in Pagan. He initiated religious reforms to strengthen Theravada Buddhism, but failed in his effort to purge the land of the veneration of nats. Several powerful spirit lords originated during his reign, and later kings confirmed annually the appointments of nats along with those for court nobility. Contemporary social forms of worshiping nats evoke a traditional past, its imagined authority and royal splendor. Burmese turn to these traditional sources of authority to gain control over uncertainty in everyday life and misfortune in times of personal crisis. Rosalind Morris (2000) has made similar observations in her work on spirits in northern Thailand.

The cult of nats offers psychological, cultural, and social venues for confronting risk and misfortune and allows for the integration of a variety of emotions into a broader social landscape. Normative Burmese Buddhist practice values generosity, restraint, equanimity, social harmony, detachment, mental discipline, and the good karma that results from such behaviors. The veneration of nats gives social reality to a host of emotions Buddhist practice discourages explicitly: hatred, greed, and desire; attachments, licentiousness, and jealousies; unhappiness over misfortune, illness, and the loss of social power more generally.

The nature of the annual ritual veneration paid to nats, especially the songs glorifying their lives, lore, and personal attributes of power, suggests that the Burmese cult of nats has been shaped by Hindu and Buddhist traditions as much as by local or animist practices. Similarities with Hinduism are evident in the deities involved, the notion of divine kingship, and the bhakti (devotion) seen in ritual veneration. Some nats are identified as Hindu gods, such as Indra, King of Gods, and Ganesh, the Remover of Obstacles, but they never appear involved when mediums experience possession. Other nats are of Muslim or Chinese origins, but most of them are of Shan, Mon, and Burmese descent. In principle, nats are an open-ended category of spirit beings, and new ones may reveal themselves at any time.

The Royal Cult of the Thirty-Seven Nats and Authority of Spirit Lords

The Thirty-Seven Royal Nats constitute a class of powerful protective spirits (see iconographic illustrations in Temple 1906 and Rodrigue 1992). The number of positions within the Royal Cult parallels the thirty-two realms in Theravada Buddhist cosmology, along with four Quarter Guardians and a center, usually represented by Mount Meru (Shorto 1967). The identities of the thirty-seven nats fluctuate, as Burmese often include different spirit lords among them. Many agree, however, on subsets among the thirty-seven. The Duttabaung Cycle includes seven nats linked to the Pyu period,

such as Thagya Min (Indra) and Mahagiri Min. They are thought to predate the formative period of Burmese political identity during the Pagan period. The nine lords of the Anawratha Cycle include the two Taungbyon Brothers, sons of Popa Maedaw (described below) and a minister at Anawratha's court. Others in the list of Thirty-Seven Royal Nats have less fixed dates of origin.

Local chronicles identify nats closely with Burmese history, social identity, and regional myths. The Glass Palace Chronicles, a nineteenth-century compilation of earlier histories, mention Popa Maedaw, the ferocious and fickle mother of the Taungbyon Brothers, who is an ogre nat who resides atop a volcanic mountain by the same name (Pe Maung Tin and Luce 1976). Other chronicles claim that King Mindon (r. 1857–1878), buried four men alive in order to turn them into guardian spirits at the four gates of his newly constructed palace in Mandalay. Countless local nats are said to reside in objects, such as cars and machinery, or reign over villages and features in the landscape, such as mountains or lakes. Still other nats protect specific territories and kin lineages (Nash 1966). All tend to be known for their mythic deeds, specific powers, personal attributes, and capriciousness. Even the most casual veneration of nats takes account of these personal quirks in negotiating exchanges and relations with spirit lords. Although Burmese recognize the power of nats in solving everyday problems, they also are aware of limitations on their powers. Nats are not omnipotent, universal deities. Instead, their personal traits, experiences, and connections to kings give them well-defined powers and attributes. Most nats are said to have met with an untimely, violent death, which according to Buddhist belief creates continued attachment to the people and contexts of one's previous life and a ghostlike existence that cannot be reborn (Spiro 1978).

Stuck in the cycle of rebirth, spirit lords nevertheless wield power and authority over specific regions. Prominent spirit lords continue to be worshiped at "palaces." Devotees travel there on pilgrimage to negotiate favors, gain promises of protection, and make good on obligations, repaying them during ritual audiences by a spirit lord. These regional palaces are the sites of annual festivals. Some Burmese claim to have an inherited obligation passed to them from their parents' generation through either or both of their kin lineages. Many deem it a part of this obligation to make annual pilgrimages to their nat's palace, attend the royal audience, and offer their tribute lest misfortune befall them and their kin. Others claim to come to these festivals mainly for popular entertainment, music, and fairs.

Thousands travel to Taungbyon, a small village near Mandalay, to participate in popular celebrations over three days. This nat festival is dedicated to the two Taungbyon Brothers, the sons of Popa Maedaw and a minister at the Anawratha's court. Their father became a nat when he was put to death by the king. The sons fell victim to palace intrigues and later also died at the hands of this king. Ritual activities at the annual palace festival proceed at multiple levels simultaneously. The gilded wooden statues of the nats are carried in procession through the palace grounds and down to the river in royal splendor. Meanwhile, at the palace, high-ranking spirit mediums make private offerings for them and organize large public rituals in which the brothers are ritually bathed and their status is reconfirmed.

Evenings are devoted to public audiences, where throngs of devotees crowd into the audience pavilion and offer Eugenia leaves, coconuts, bananas, shawls, and expensive fragrances to invoke the protection of the brothers. In return, they hope to receive tokens of blessing from them. These are times of intense public drama heightened by the hypnotic effects of the rhythmic, high-pitched music of a traditional Burmese orchestra. The air is heavy and drenched with the sweet smell of jasmine flowers and perfumes. Oxygen is thin, and the temperature rises as the sea of devotees inundates the small audience hall. Individuals are submerged in the shoving of crowds moving toward the images of the nats seated on thrones in the inner confines of the audience hall.

This emotionally charged, delirious atmosphere can create in some a cognitive and emotional dissociation from the ordinary social contexts of life. Spontaneous possessions occur when the spirit lords deign to show their affection to individual devotees. For many pilgrims, however, these rituals are not only contexts in which personal ailments and anxieties may be

resolved. A general lack of social restraint is permitted, if not expected, and many enjoy dancing, amusement, theatrics, drinking, and licentious sexual joking.

The most senior spirit mediums there carry the titles of queens and ministers of the Taungbyon Brothers. They are clad in traditional royal dress and begin to perform highly scripted and stylized dance performances. Public dances are the prerogatives of established mediums, who display in the dances their intimate knowledge of the spirits. The choreography narrates their mythic lives, trickery, and powerful feats, and displays their emblems of power and personal qualities. The personality of each nat becomes apparent through characteristic costumes, emblems, behaviors, songs, and their favorite food offerings, which are given to them during the performances. For instance, Kou Kyi Chaw enjoys drinking and gambling, the capricious little Ma Nge-le likes boiled eggs, and Popa Mae Daw devours fruit and flowers. The performances also incorporate ostentatious offerings, as mediums often accept large sums of money from clients in the audience. Similar rituals of veneration and solicitation are performed at housewarmings, in neighborhoods, or by professional associations. Some of them are especially dedicated to offerings made to the nine lords (Brac de La Perrière 1989).

Mediums and Clients

The shamanistic practices of Burmese spirit mediums are based on marriage to a spirit lord; they may include elements of alchemy, sorcery, healing, and divination. Mediums are known as *natkadaw;* literally, spouses who dance for spirit lords. Through trancelike possession, they become conduits for the spirit's communications with a client, offer private counsel, and guide those who are spontaneously possessed through the experience of altered states of consciousness.

Social marginality, unusual physical features, and the desire to transform difference into social validation and a steady source of income may be among the motivations for becoming a spirit medium. Recurrent spontaneous possession may signal that the spirit lord is courting a new spouse, and incurable illness may befall the bride until the spirit is placated. Many admit to initial embarrassment and apprehension, if not resistance, at being the object of love and desire for a spirit lord. The spirit lord is thought to become infatuated with the butterfly-like "souls" of a human being. During this at times traumatic trial period, the new recruit may simultaneously express resistance and receive instruction during an apprenticeship under a senior medium. Once conflicting desires and obligations to one's family, including perhaps marriage to a human spouse, are resolved, a mock wedding may be performed to indicate the rights and new status of the medium.

Sexual allusions and joking are commonplace in the cultural contexts of nats, in stark contrast to the usual restraint of Buddhist society. Although, in traditional Burmese society, men usually outrank women in social standing, this general social ranking of gender roles can be inverted in the marriage to a spirit lord. Regardless of the medium's gender, the status of the human spouse is always inferior to that of the spirit lord. Thus a female nat like Popa Mae Daw may be spoken of as choosing a male as a "bride." While most mediums are female, many are male. Some mediate for more than one spirit lord, and they may think of themselves as living in polygamous marriages. Others stress an asexual relationship to the nat. Still others are openly homosexual or dress as transvestites.

Clients who seek consultations with spirit mediums are motivated by personal or practical concerns, such as stress, anxieties, illness, or a family crisis that may be out of control. Others seek advice to ensure success in business or protection against potential risks or misfortunes. Soliciting the spirit's goodwill, clients may promise lavish offerings once their ventures are successfully completed. The tone in negotiating with nats ranges from fearful supplication to skillful currying of favors, boisterous barter, and boastful promises. Many cultivate personal relationships with the medium and the spirit lord. This familiarity gives social reality to a range of emotions that Buddhist practice explicitly seeks to ameliorate. Rumors of intrigue or misuse of power can, however, fuel allegations of sorcery, which constitutes an inversion of power structures in the practice of the Buddhist Lower Path. Natkadaws generally emphasize that their practice helps clients negotiate this-worldly concerns, and is encompassed by Buddhist ethics and cosmology.

Relations with nats entail an elaborate system of exchange. Spirit wives also frequently compete with each other for prestige, status, and recognition. As mediators, they receive money and other offerings intended for the spirit lord. The flow of offerings and other ritual expenditures constitutes a social exchange between nats, their mediums, clients, and a host of others, and may include the hire of beauticians and orchestras, or the upkeep of palaces. Living up to the demands of the spirit lords as well as to those of peers and clients can lead to significant expenditures for a natkadaw. Some nats have extravagant tastes for liquor, gambling, or lavish luxuries. In addition, a medium's conduct and reputation are important factors in the exchange between spirit lord and client and constitute symbolic capital in a profession that relies on divination, rumors, and trance to produce a steady income, if not considerable wealth and influence among an elite set of clients.

The shamanistic experience of mediums gives socially sanctioned expression to emotions and various mental states of dissociation. It can also create an experience of community often called *communitas*, to spontaneous trance, predictable seizures, and perhaps even the manifestation of multiple personalities. The exchange with spirit lords creates social identity empowered by imagined and traditional authority and ritual forms, including pilgrimage, royal audiences, and annual tribute. Communicating with spirit lords is a socially constitutive experience that may integrate experiences of misfortune or social marginality and helps construct personal identity, social memory, and cultural continuity.

Juliane Schober

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Spirit Possession

References and further reading:

Brac de La Perrière, Bénédicte. 1989. *Les rituels de possession en Birmanie: du culte d'Etat aux cérémonies privées.* Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.

Morris, Rosalind C. 2000. In the Place of Origins: Modernity and Its Mediums in Northern Thailand. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Nash, June. 1966. "Living with Nats." Anthropological Studies in Theravada Buddhism. Cultural Report Series, no.1. Yale University Southeast Asia Series, New Haven.

Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, translators and compilers. 1976. *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma.* New York: AMS Press.

Rodrigue, Yves. 1992. *Nat-Pwe: Burma's Supernatural Subculture.* Translated by Roser Flotats. Gartmore, Scotland: Kiscadale.

Shorto, H. L. 1967. "The Dewatan Sutapan, a Mon Prototype of the 37 Nats." Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 30: 127–141.

Spiro, Melford E. 1978. *Burmese Supernaturalism: A Study in the Explanation and Reduction of Suffering.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Temple, Richard Carnac. 1906. *The Thirty-Seven Nats, a Phase of Spirit-Worship Prevailing in Burma.* London: W. Griggs.

HMONG SHAMANISM (THAILAND, LAOS)

Hmong shamanism, generally considered a "classic" form of Shamanism, very close to the Siberian forms to which it is probably related, provides a rich field of study, especially because it is still practiced among those of the Hmong who have settled in the United States.

Background

The Hmong are a large ethnolinguistic group originating in China, where the vast majority of approximately six million Hmong still reside. In China, the Hmong, known to the Chinese as the Miao, are among the fifty-six governmentally recognized *minzu,* "nationalities." This designation disguises a great deal of ethnolinguistic complexity, since there are thirty to forty distinct, mutually unintelligible Hmong languages in China (belonging to the Meo-Yao branch of the Austro-Thai linguistic family), and Hmong communities are widely scattered in the west and south, particularly in Guizhou, Sichuan, and Yunnan Provinces. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Hmong groups have been migrating southward into Laos and Thailand, with smaller incursions into Vietnam and Myanmar, and since the Vietnam War,

Hmong from Laos and Vietnam have migrated even farther from their original source, to the United States, France, Australia, and other countries, even including Iceland. Because of the size and diversity of the Hmong (or Miao) in China, and the difficulty of access to Chinese groups from 1949 until recently, they are less well known to scholars than the Southeast Asian groups.

There are two main subgroups among the 140,000 Hmong in Thailand and 210,000 in Laos: the Hmong Njua (known as Blue Hmong in Southeast Asia but Green Hmong in the United States) and the Hmong Daw (White Hmong). The usual explanation for these terms of distinction refers to the dress of Hmong women, but there are also some linguistic distinctions, though the two dialects are mutually intelligible.

The Hmong have lived on the periphery of Chinese civilization for many thousands of years in relations of subordination and conflict. Early Chinese sources suggest their presence in the Yangzi River valley in 2000 B.C.E., with subsequent evidence of southward migration over centuries into present locations. The constant expansion of the Han and the growing power of the Han state kept the Hmong on the southern periphery from developing a competing state, and escape from Han dominance was always toward the south. As a result, the Hmong now inhabit the hilly areas in Southeast Asia, with an economy based on shifting rice cultivation; at preferred altitudes of 1,000 to 3,000 feet, they can supplement rice with opium as a preferred cash crop. They interact in Southeast Asia with the dominant lowland Thai and Lao, along with other hill tribe groups, mainly the Karen, Mien, Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

Hmong Shamanism as "Classic Siberian Type"

Hmong shamanism is often said to be of the "classic Siberian type." All seven of the characteristics described by Robert Winzeler in his entry, "Southeast Asian Shamanism," in this encyclopedia, are true of Hmong shamanic practice and belief. Mircea Eliade's characterization of Siberian, or Inner Asian, shamanism included typical patterns of belief about the cosmos, the human soul, the calling and training of the shaman, the experiential state of the shaman while in contact with the spirits, and the techniques employed during shamanic events (Eliade 1964). Given the Hmong's probable origin in central or even northern China, partially evidenced by legends of having lived in a cold and snowy land, it seems likely that they once shared in the northern cultural area in which this kind of shamanism flourished.

The Cosmos

Spirits, domestic and wild, inhabit the hills, valleys, villages, and households of the Hmong world. Some are more powerful than others; some are dangerous, others are friendly or can be tamed. Humans cannot see them, but dogs always know when they are around. Most are unnamed, but there are three powerful spirits who live in the sky and have bureaucratic responsibilities similar to those assigned to the important deities of the Chinese Daoist cosmology. Yorso, said by some to be the chief of these deities, is heard to speak in thunder, to strike in lightning, and judge Hmong souls (Chindarsi 1976). Others say it is Yonglao, who is invited to celebrate the Hmong New Year festival, but generally sends one of his sons or daughters, who is the head of the deities. Yawang has the magisterial duties of interviewing the recently dead and determining whether reincarnation is possible immediately or must be delayed by a period of punishment; he grants licenses for rebirth in the human world for specified periods of time. On expiration, the license holder must die unless granted a renewal by Yawang.

Other named spirits hold up the cardinal directions: upland, lowland, sunrise, and sunset. Spirits with extraordinary powers also reside in unexpected places, such as those with elongated heads and red mouths that inhabit the ancient trees in Buddhist temples, where the karmic powers of the temple intensify the spirit's power. Most dangerous of all the "wild" spirits are those in the large termite mounds that are common in the hills of Southeast Asia; such mounds, it is thought, are built by insects over a decaying body, so a burial has been disturbed, and the spirit that has moved into the termite mound is hostile and looking for trouble. Moreover, snakes move into the twisting tunnels of termite mounds, and they often carry

evil spirits with them wherever they go. These spirits in termite mounds are so powerful that they usually cannot be evicted; they simply have to be appeased with sacrifice of pigs and burned paper money.

But the spirits that are most intimately connected with Hmong social life and shamanic practice are an assortment of spirits associated with the household, the village, and nearby mountains, forests, and streams. These spirits are hierarchized to a certain extent; the spirit of a mountain has power over those of forests and streams on its flanks, and for this reason will be invited to take up residence as the village protective spirit in a shrine called *tier ti tier seng* located in the shelter of a great tree in a grove high up the mountain. Similarly, there are various household spirits associated with the middle post, the door, and the two stoves, spirits that are served by the headman of the household. They protect both human and animal inhabitants of the household from attack by spirits of illness and the dead, keep souls from wandering away at night or during sickness, and prevent those who are not members of the clan from engaging in sexual activities in the household. The village shamans also contact and domesticate potentially dangerous spirits to serve as spirit guardians of the village.

The Soul

The Hmong soul, rather than a single fixed entity associated with a unique personality, is a loosely organized composite of seven entities associated with the six sense organs—two eyes, two ears, nose, and mouth—plus the heart. As the senses can function separately and break down separately, so can the various souls slip away during sleep or get lost during a serious illness or scatter like flies if frightened. Missing souls are generally imagined as wandering lost in the forest, and it is the task of the shaman to find them and lead them home, although it is also possible for the head of household to take steps to bring back the soul of a weak or sick family member. Nusit Chindarsi (1976) described a method, practiced by heads of households in Meto village, in which a bridge was constructed across a stream or track; the souls of the sick were lured from the forest to cross back into the security of the village. The spirits were then fed sacrificed chicken and given paper money, and the flighty soul was tied securely to the body with strings at the wrists, neck, and ankles. More generally, however, when a person falls ill, a family will call a shaman rather than treat the illness themselves.

The Shaman's Calling

The shaman is known as *txiv neeb,* the "father of the spirit," in reference to one or more familiar spirits, or "doctor spirits," under his control. It is essential for a village to have at least one resident shaman, although there are usually any number of them, since at least 25 percent of the men in a village have some shamanic powers. There are also women shamans, some with quite powerful reputations, but most are men (and so the male pronoun will be used in this entry). A shaman who has gained a reputation as being exceptionally effective at controlling particularly powerful spirits may be called to distant villages and paid relatively high fees in cash and kind, such as meat, live animals, firewood, or other practical gifts. It is ideal for the village headman to also be a shaman, but this is not always the case, since it is even more useful for a headman to have good political skills and linguistic abilities for dealing with government officials.

A shaman's career begins in sickness. If he suffers from an illness that is hard to cure, if he lingers in a sickly state for a lengthy period of time despite the ministrations of medicinal herbs and all shamanic efforts to dispel the hostile spirits and enlist the good ones on his behalf, someone will suggest that his only hope is to become a shaman himself. Certain diseases, such as epilepsy, are particularly portentous. Most typically the role is not sought, because Hmong fear the spirits and prefer to have no dealings with them. But once convinced, usually in his youth, that he has been called to the shamanic vocation, the initiate begins his training in an informal apprenticeship with an experienced shaman and goes on for several years. Unfortunately, there are no accounts, firsthand or otherwise, of the inner experience of the shaman in training, his acquiring of *neeb,* or *neng* (the familiar spirits), his visions while in entranced struggles with possessing spirits, or what he sees, hears, and feels while behind the mask and riding the "horse" into the invisible world that is interlocked with this one.

The Shaman's Practice

The Hmong shaman is a healer. Having survived his own illness, he has been to the liminal fringes of society, where death and danger reside, and come back again; he knows the way; he has been fortified by the experience; he can go there again on missions on behalf of other sick members of his society.

The Hmong shaman has a professional's tool kit of equipment to assist him, but his principal task, which may be accompanied by a great deal of dramatic elaboration that helps observers imagine what only he can see, is to cross a threshold from the visible world of human materiality into the immaterial and invisible sphere that shadows it. While never out of sight of anxiously watching family and neighbors, he shouts, wrestles, leaps, and even tumbles off his "horse" until he has finally won a victory on behalf of a feverish or injured or chronically ill patient.

His horse is the bench upon which he sits, or rather rides, positioned in front of the spirit altar that can be found in every Hmong household. The altar may be a low table or a box hanging from a wall, or something convenient like an old tin drum will be made to serve, but in any case it will be opposite the door, because spirits traverse a straight line between the altar and the door. It is covered with white paper or cloth and holds a container with incense sticks and a bowl of paddy (rice).

Much of a shaman's work is diagnostic. What is causing this youth's fever? Is it something that medicinal herbs will cure, or is an evil spirit involved? Why has the medicine from the lowland clinic not stopped this patient's epileptic seizures? What is causing this child's chronic nosebleeds? Why have several children in this household died in recent months? Why has this man become mentally disturbed? There is always a concrete presenting problem that requires the shaman's interpretive skills. There are several methods of divination to answer these questions.

The most common method of divination is to cast the split horns of a water buffalo. These horns are among the shaman's most important tools; they are the two tips of horn, 6 to 10 inches in length, that have been split lengthwise, producing a convex and a concave side. They are thrown in the manner of throwing dice, while the shaman specifies what it will mean if they land in particular positions. Since this method is considered rather a technology than a mystical state or communication with spirits, a shaman may be able to consult the horns without going into a trance.

However, the central task of the shaman's repertoire is passing through the permeable barriers separating the visible world of humans and the invisible world of the spirits. Only the shaman is equipped to do this, by the years of training following the brush with death and close encounter with spirits—good and evil—that singled him out for a lifetime of these engagements. However experienced he may be, it is an ordeal every time he approaches that invisible world. Covering his face with a black cloth to create a state of sensory deprivation, and accompanied by the hypnotic drumming of an assistant standing close behind him, the shaman sits on his "horse," clutching the sword with which he fights the demons on behalf of the sick. He rocks, chants, and drums the earth with his feet until, after two or three hours of uninterrupted labor the pounded earthen floor bears the marks of his effort. At some point the familiar spirits who aid his entrée beyond "bite" him, or so the achievement of what may be a trance state is described. From this point on, observation cannot follow; the Hmong in attendance watch the visible signs of the invisible struggle going on out of sight. The shaman may leap off the bench, sometimes assisted by the drummer, in order to enlist friendly household spirits cowering in the rafters in the struggle against the invader. If the fight gets very intense, the shaman may be pulled off his horse into the ashes of the firepit, breaking household furniture in the fall (Heinz 2000, 110–115). He leaps up, hurling his sword at the vanquished spirit, who retreats out the door.

Once the central drama of the fight is over, the patient, the family, and the house must be fortified against further onslaughts; for the offending spirit has not gone far. It may still be in the vicinity, looking for an opportunity to reinvade. Further chanting encourages the protecting household spirits to take courage, return to the beams, altar, and firepit where family life is lived, and reassert their protective functions. The patient must be fortified with strings at neck, wrist, and ankles that bind his soul to his body. The patient must be given a temporary disguise for protection from the vanquished

spirit, possibly an *X* in lampblack on his forehead. Offerings of chicken or pig are made to feed the household spirits newly restored to their posts; the family shares in this feast, eating the flesh as the spirits eat the spirit of the offered animal. The family then pays the shaman the price that was agreed to in advance.

The Hmong shaman may engage in other rituals on behalf of his family and community, either during crisis points such as illness or at annually marked points such as Hmong New Year. But most of these additional ceremonies are performed by Hmong heads of household and do not require the expert services of the shaman.

It is perhaps surprising that there is not more information about Hmong shamanism, given the prominence of Hmong in the United States since the Vietnam War and the well-known fact that they have brought shamanism with them. There are several excellent films and a scattering of descriptive accounts, but they leave some interesting questions unanswered. How much variation is there in Hmong shamanic practice among the scattered Miao groups of China, the Hmong groups in Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam? What relationships exist between Hmong and other shamanic traditions in China and Southeast Asia? What is the inner experience of the encounter with the spirit world for the shaman? What is the phenomenology of the shaman in training who warily approaches wild and dangerous spirits and seeks familiar spirits? These questions await further exploration.

Carolyn Brown Heinz

See also: Healing and Shamanism; Siberian Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Chindarsi, Nusit. 1976. *The Religion of the Hmong Njua.* Bangkok: Siam Society.

———. 1983. "Hmong Shamanism." Pp. 187–193 in *Highlanders of Thailand.* Edited by J. McKinnon and W. Bhruksasri. Oxford University Press.

Conquergood, Dwight. 1989. *I Am a Shaman: A Hmong Life Story with Ethnographic Commentary.* Minneapolis: Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Fadiman, Anne. 1997. *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Heinz, Carolyn Brown, 2000. *Asian Cultural Traditions.* Waveland Press.

Lemoine, Jacques. 1986. "Shamanism in the Context of Hmong Resettlement." Pp. 337–348 in *The Hmong in Transition.* Edited by G. L. Hendricks, B. T. Downing, and A. S. Deinard. New York and Minneapolis: Center for Migration Studies and Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project, University of Minnesota.

———. 1996. "The Constitution of a Hmong Shaman's Powers of Healing and Folk Culture." *Shaman* 4, nos. 1 and 2: 144–165.

Mottin, J. 1984. "A Hmong Shaman's Séance," *Asian Folklore Studies* 43: 99–108.

Plotnikoff, Gregory A., Charles Numrich, Chu Wu, Deu Yang, and Phua Xiong. 2002. "Hmong Shamanism: Animist Spiritual Healing in Minnesota." *Minnesota Medicine* 85, no. 6: 29–34.

Siegel, Taggart, and Dwight Conquergood. 1985. *Between Two Worlds: The Hmong Shaman in America.* Film. Riverwoods, IL: Film Ideas.

Siegel, Taggart, and Jim McSilver. 2000. *Split Horn: Life of a Hmong Shaman in America.* Film. San Francisco, CA: Teri Lang Alchemy Films.

Tapp, Nicholas. 1989. "Hmong Religion." *Asian Folklore Studies* 48: 59–94.

———. 2000. "Ritual Relations and Identity: Hmong and Others." Pp. 84–103 in *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States.* Edited by A. Turton. Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.

Thao, P. 1986. "I am a Shaman." Pp. 164–200 in *The Hmong World.* Edited by Brenda Johns and David Strecker. New Haven, CT: Council on Southeast Asia Studies.

INDONESIAN SHAMANISM

Indonesia comprises a vast archipelago inhabited by over 200 million people divided among several hundred ethnic groups speaking a simi-

larly large number of distinct languages and dialects. Most Indonesian languages belong to the Austronesian language family, as do those of the Philippines, Polynesia, Micronesia, and parts of mainland Southeast Asia. Related to this common linguistic heritage, one encounters general similarities of culture and local social organization, not just within Indonesia, but between Indonesia and neighboring regions. Indonesian societies are organized mostly on the basis of bilateral kinship, that is, a system that does not form clear-cut descent groups. However, communities with unilineal clans (patrilineal or matrilineal) are found in the Batak areas of north Sumatra, in west Sumatra (Minangkabau), and in various parts of eastern Indonesia (the Moluccas and Lesser Sunda Islands). Moreover, locality can play an important part in systems of exchange and alliance between specific social groups, even where communities comprise corporate clans; and the household is a major locus of sociopolitical, economic, and religious life in all parts of Indonesia. Particularly in eastern Indonesia, although also in northern Sumatra, households or other social units tend to be linked in enduring affinal alliances (relationships through marriage), predicated on a categorical contrast of wife-givers and wife-takers (those groups from which the bride comes and those who receive the bride) and involving a preference for marriage of a man with a woman related through his mother.

Owing to its size and diversity, it is difficult to generalize about shamanism in Indonesia. If one employs a broad definition of shamanism, forms of shamanic cosmology and practice can be found in most parts of the archipelago, where they figure as important components of local, indigenous religion. Shamans occur in both small and large cultural groups (for example, among both the Huaulu of Seram Island, who number less than a thousand, and the Javanese, with a population of about a hundred million), and among complexly organized cultivators as well as more simply organized food collectors. Western parts of Indonesia especially have been affected by the introduction of Hindu-Buddhist ideas and later by Islam. A variety of Hindu religion is still encountered on Bali, and Islam is now the majority religion in most of the other western parts of Indonesia. In eastern Indonesia, the majority religion is Catholic or Protestant Christianity, effectively introduced mostly during the last hundred years. All of these external religious influences have affected Indonesian shamanism, as have a variety of changing social, political, and economic developments. Nevertheless, adapting to these changes, shamanic practices continue as a component of local religious traditions, maintained even by people who have converted to Christianity or Islam.

Throughout Indonesia, shamanism is bound up with a belief in a human "soul" that is able to separate from the body. Thus, shamans are often represented as sending their own souls on a journey, on behalf of a client or the entire community. Typically, they do so as a means of dealing directly with harmful forces, including malevolent spirits. On the other hand, Indonesian shamans are regularly charged with retrieving other peoples' souls, which have wandered far from the body or become lost or captured by malevolent beings, resulting in illness or other misfortune.

The older literature gives the impression that spirit possession, mediumship (in the sense of channeling spirits through incorporation), and "trance" are general characteristics of shamanism in western Indonesia, while shamanic practices and ideology in eastern parts of the archipelago (and perhaps especially in the southeastern islands) are represented as incorporating different principles and procedures. This contrast, however, is by no means absolute. For example, among the linguistically western Iban (who reside both in Malaysian Sarawak and Indonesian Borneo, or Kalimantan), shamans are neither possessed by spirits nor do they serve as passive mediums. Also, while disassociation (or "fainting") figures in some shamanic rituals, it is not essential to Iban shamanism in general (Graham 1987, 2; Sather 2001, 11–12). Contrariwise, in eastern Indonesia, possession by spirits is part of shamanic representations among the Huaulu of the Moluccas (Valeri 2000, 29, 286), while dissociation, as a critical means of interacting with spirits of the dead, and even intervening on behalf of living persons who are near death, occurs in particular ritual contexts in both Sumba (Forth 1981) and Flores (Forth 1991).

If the idea of spirit possession accompanied by controlled dissociation (or trance) largely characterizes shamanism among the Javanese,

the Balinese, and the Malays of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, as Richard Winstedt suggested long ago (1947, 24–25), this may reflect the influence of Indian (Hindu-Buddhist) religion. At the same time, among the non-Hinduized Karo of northern Sumatra, one encounters female spirit mediums who are possessed by "wandering spirits" (Steedly 1989, 140–142); mediums practising possession are also reported for the neighboring Toba Batak (Vergouwen 1964, 70). Nevertheless, throughout Indonesia, more widespread than the notion of possession by spirits is the representation of voluntary and controlled soul travel, which may or may not be associated with trance or some other special mental state (such as sleep and dreaming). In accordance with the relative absence of possession as a dominant value, the notion of the shaman as someone plagued and made ill by spirits that he or she subsequently overcomes and masters in the service of the community appears not to be a common idea in Indonesia.

The status of shaman is generally not ascribed or hereditary, although in stratified communities the shamanic vocation may be associated with a particular social rank—typically not the highest. Among some groups, shamans are mostly or exclusively women (as for example among the Karo; see Steedly 1989), whereas in others they are predominantly men. As in Siberia, male shamans occasionally assume female gender attributes or roles, but transvestite shamans appear to be rare even in the societies where they are known (see Graham 1987, regarding the Iban *manang bali*).

Becoming a shaman is usually a matter of individual talent and inclination. In some societies, it is usual for an aspiring shaman to serve a period of apprenticeship with one or more established shamans, followed by a rite of initiation. All this typically occurs after the individual has entered into a relationship with a spirit; among the Iban such spirits serve as messengers, complementing the journeying of the shaman's own soul in dealings with the spirit world. Among the Nage of central Flores, such a spirit may approach a person, or the person may deliberately go in search of a spirit patron in order to gain special powers. After passing a series of tests and surviving frightening ordeals, the individual may then experience a period of derangement, emerging as a full-fledged mystical practitioner (*toa mali* or *ana mata da*). If such a power seeker fails the tests set by the spirit, he may instead be transformed into a witch. In this regard, it is noteworthy that detecting witches and countering their nefarious activities is probably the most important function of the traditional Nage shaman (see Forth 1991, 1998).

Among the Karo of Sumatra, where women become shamans following possession by a male spirit, this relationship may be formalized as a marriage, the familiar spirit then becoming the shaman's husband. Traditionally, Karo female shamans were subordinated to male priests who, unlike the former, gained control of spirits through a period of training and apprenticeship and took the lead in rites in which the female shamans became possessed (Steedly 1989, 140–142). In the Karo idiom of asymmetric marital alliance, male priests further established control over the spirit husbands of the women as higher-ranked wife-givers. Comparable distinctions involving gender are encountered in other Indonesian communities. For example, among the Nage of Flores, uncontrolled dissociation is a tendency of certain women who, while in this state, typically encounter the souls of people near death or recently deceased. In contrast, Nage male shamans do not engage in trance, but deal directly with spirits through soul travel effected by controlled dreaming. Similarly, among the Toraja of central Sulawesi, male priests, who do not themselves engage in trance, take the lead in "a ceremony of mass or community possession" in which all participants may fall into trance (Crystal and Yamashita 1987, 66).

The use of drugs to alter consciousness is not reported in Indonesia. Common shamanic techniques include dancing and chanting, sometimes to musical accompaniment, which may produce a special mental state in both practitioners and their audience. Especially in the practice of prophecy and clairvoyance, or as an aid to divination or diagnosis, Indonesian shamans may employ quartz crystals, stones, hens' eggs, and plant materials. At the same time, shamans may be credited with special powers of vision in their own right—as suggested by the Nage name *ana mata da,* "[people with] clear eyes." Particularly where a special poetic idiom is employed, the language of shamanic chanting—in which the shaman for example describes a journey undertaken into

the realm of spirits—can form an important part of shamanic ritual, as Clifford Sather has recently demonstrated in his study of the Iban (2001). In other societies as well, shamans employ special forms of speech when dealing with spirits, which may comprise elements of neighboring languages or what is represented as a special language, unintelligible to other people. In contrast, among the Nage of Flores, speaking of any sort does not play a significant role in shamanic ritual, although Nage female trancers, upon regaining consciousness, do report their experiences in the realm of the dead.

Indonesian shamans sometimes wear special clothing while engaged in ritual. This may include a special headcloth; also reported is the practice of painting the body with special designs. Among the Nage of Flores, where shamanism is a largely private and almost surreptitious practice, there is the idea that shamans can be identified by the possession of a long beard (Forth 1998, 284), yet this physical feature is not in any way crucial to the status. Indonesian shamans commonly operate at night; but whether their performances necessarily take place inside a special building, enclosure, or other location is variable.

Among the commonest functions of Indonesian shamans is diagnosing and curing illness and affliction. Curing is often effected by recovering lost souls, or by confronting malevolent spirits, even engaging them in combat and killing them. Also regularly included in the shaman's repertoire are divination through communication with dead relatives or other spirits, identifying witches, finding lost or stolen objects, prophecy, and guiding recently deceased souls to the land of the dead. Individuals or groups of shamans may also lead in major collective ceremonies, including agricultural rituals and other rites of a calendrical (as opposed to critical) nature. Although all these tasks can be carried out by a single kind of practitioner, sometimes shamanic functionaries subserve a single kind of function. For example, in eastern Sumba the *papanggangu,* hereditary retainers of a high-ranking noble person, characteristically fall into trance at their master's (or mistress's) funeral. Representing various aspects of the dead person's soul, the souls of the retainers are thought to travel with the soul of the deceased to the land of the dead (Forth 1981, 198–199). Among the eastern Sumbanese, this is the only instance of ritual activity that can clearly be identified as shamanic. Even so, the function of these mortuary trancers is identical to that of psychopomps, or what have been called soul guides, in other Indonesian societies.

When curing illness, Indonesian shamans may counter spiritual agents of illness by removing these from a patient's body. As in other parts of the world, shamans on the island of Flores are adept at manipulating material objects identified with these afflicting forces. The objects may take the form of pieces of stone or wood, sand, or small animals such as insects, worms, or snakes (Forth 1991, 8–9). Since illness may alternatively be diagnosed as deriving from a person's soul having wandered from the body, Flores shamans may on the other hand retrieve the soul, also in the form of a small animal, and by way of a manipulation appear to replace it inside in the body. (Among the Iban of Borneo, a seed is used to represent a returned soul.) In curing, shamans may additionally employ non-shamanic therapies such as massage and material medicines.

Shamans usually act on behalf of an individual, that is, a single patient. They may also perform rites for the benefit of a group or the entire community. Shamans often operate individually, but either a pair of shamans or a larger group may cooperate, especially in larger ritual undertakings. Indonesian shamans usually coexist with other religious specialists, including priests and magicians, as well as with lay healers employing purely medicinal or manipulative remedies. Also, a person may occupy these other statuses simultaneously with that of shaman. In fact, rather than viewing shamanism as a discrete set of practices exclusive to a particular sort of specialist, it is generally more useful to view shamanic activity and ideology as one component, albeit often a major component, of the total spiritual life and practice of a community. Some Indonesian societies, moreover, recognize more than one kind of shamanic practitioner. For example, in southern Borneo, the Luangan distinguish shamans as *balian* and *wara,* according to whether they are concerned with matters of life or death (Weinstock 1987). A single individual may function in both capacities, although at present women are forbidden from serving as *wara,* or "death shamans." (Luangan men also predominate among the

balian.) Conversely, among the Iban, shamans, who are normally men, are distinguished from "soul guides"—women who function solely in the context of funerals, when they guide deceased souls to the afterworld (Sather 2001, 8–9). Interestingly, whereas Iban shamans sometimes go into trance, there is no mention of this with regard to soul guides, whose souls, like those of shamans, are also thought to leave their bodies. This pattern, then, appears to reverse what is found among Nage male shamans and female trancers, who like Iban women can similarly serve as soul guides.

In parts of eastern Indonesia (notably the Lesser Sunda Islands), shaman practice is often peripheral to the religious and ritual life of the community, and shamans are generally subordinated to priests and other sorts of ritualists, as well as to political leaders. In contrast, in more westerly parts of Indonesia—at least where Islam or Otherworld religions do not predominate—shamans appear to be socially more central. Indeed, sometimes community leaders are themselves shamans. Describing the Meratus people of southeastern Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo), Anna Tsing notes how many leaders are successful shamans, while those who are not "at least develop close working relationships with key local shamans" (1987, 204). In a similar vein, Jane Atkinson interprets shamanic ritual among the Wana of Sulawesi as informing and establishing political authority (1989). In fact, it may be in regard to the social location of shamanism, and the relation between spiritual and political power, that one encounters the most significant variations in shamanism among different Indonesian communities, rather than in regard to the occurrence of trance or beliefs in spirit possession.

Gregory Forth

See also: Javanese Shamanism; Shadow Puppetry and Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism; Taman Shamanism; Trance Dance; Trees

References and further reading:

Atkinson, Jane Monnig. 1989. *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanship.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Crystal, Eric, and Yamashita Shinji. 1987. "Power of Gods: *Ma'bugi'* Ritual of the Sa'adan Toraja." Pp. 48–70 in *Indonesian Religions in Transition.* Edited by Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Forth, G. 1981. *Rindi: An Ethnographic Study of a Traditional Domain in Eastern Sumba.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

———. 1991. "Shamanic Powers and Mystical Practitioners among the Nage of Central Flores." *Canberra Anthropology* 14, no. 2: 1–29.

———. 1998. *Beneath the Volcano: Religion, Cosmology and Spirit Classification among the Nage of Eastern Indonesia.* Leiden: Royal Institute (KITLV) Press.

Graham, Penelope. 1987. *Iban Shamanism: An Analysis of the Ethnographic Literature.* An Occasional Paper of the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies. Canberra: Australian National University.

Sather, Clifford. 2001. *Seeds of Play, Words of Power: An Ethnographic Study of Iban Shamanic Chants.* Kuala Lumpur: Tun Jugah Foundation (in cooperation with the Borneo Research Council).

Steedly, Mary Margaret. 1989. "Innocence as Authority: Shifting Gender Roles in Karonese Curing Ritual." In *Changing Lives, Changing Rites: Ritual and Social Dynamics in Philippine and Indonesian Uplands.* Edited by Susah D. Russell and Clark E. Cunningham. Michigan Studies of South and Southeast Asia Number 1. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 1987. "A Rhetoric of Centres in a Religion of the Periphery." Pp. 187–210 in *Indonesian Religions in Transition.* Edited by Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Valeri, Valerio. 2000. *The Forest of Taboos: Morality, Hunting, and Identity among the Huaulu of the Moluccas.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Vergouwen, J. C. [1964] 1993. *The Social Organisation and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra.* Translated from the Dutch by J. Scott-Kemball and with a Preface by J. Keuning. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Weinstock, Joseph A. 1987. "Kaharingan: Life and Death in Southern Borneo." Pp. 71–97 in *Indonesian Religions in Transition.* Edited by R. Smith Kipp and S. Rodgers. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Winstedt, Richard. 1947. *The Malays: A Cultural History.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

JAVANESE SHAMANISM (INDONESIA)

The Javanese are the largest ethnic group in Indonesia. They inhabit the central and eastern parts of the island of Java (pop. 110 million), the western portion being the homeland of the culturally related Sundanese people. With its long history and diverse social structures, Java does not lend itself to generalization. Nevertheless, it would be fair to say that the figure of the shaman, in the classical sense of an embodier and master of spirits, a voyager on soul journeys, hardly exists in Java as a distinct social type. Curers, midwives, and magicians may call upon supernatural aid, but very few incarnate their spirit helpers. Nor, in the highly contested, pluralist arena of Javanese religion, is there a distinct shamanic worldview. Shamanic voices must compete with Islam, Sufi- and Indian-influenced mysticism, Indian mythological heroes, and village cults. Nevertheless, features associated with shamanism—spirit possession, mediumship, the ritual use of trance, curing based upon soul recovery, and not least the parade of spirits in dubious public entertainments—are widely found in rural and urban settings. Generals and presidents, merchants and peasants, all alike have occasional recourse to the spirit world through the services of a specialist.

Historical Background

The inconspicuous, residual role of the shaman in Javanese society needs to be seen against a complex cultural history. Little is known about popular belief in the Hindu-Buddhist period, though there are hints of shamanic practices in literary sources. The Islamization of Java, which began in the late fourteenth century, was gradual and uneven. The north coast has been, and remains, closer to Islamic orthodoxy; the inland agrarian states, officially Muslim from the sixteenth century, maintained a more syncretic form of Islam, tolerant of pre-Islamic beliefs. Away from the centers of orthodoxy, popular religion remained an unstable mix of Islamic, indigenous, and Indic elements. Religion in contemporary Java reflects this checkered past; and its diverse strands, competing and often politicized, have taken different views of local traditions. In areas where modernist Islam is strong, spirit cults, trance dances, and the like have been suppressed as polytheistic and un-Islamic; elsewhere such practices may persist, with the connivance of traditionally minded Muslims. Some pious Muslims themselves become magical specialists, though they emphasize the use of Arabic prayers over Javanese mantras.

Practitioners

The generic term for the ritual practitioner is *dukun.* Many dukuns specialize as midwives, numerologists, or diviners. But when a practitioner is described simply as a dukun, without further specification, he—most are male—can be assumed to possess a range of skills, including curing, divination, exorcism, love magic, and (counter)sorcery (Koentjaraningrat 1985: 410–426). One becomes a dukun through apprenticeship (often with a relative), study of esoteric manuals, ascetic retreats, and at the invitation of spirits. Such people may be important, respected members of the rural village community. Equivalent figures—often referred to as "wise persons"—can also be found in white-collar professions and government circles.

Dukuns diagnose illness through calendrical divination, dreams, meditation, and supernatural revelation. Their prescriptions range from herbal remedies, ritual baths, prayers, and ritual meals, to charms against sorcery. A standard treatment is to have the patient drink water over which mantras have been recited. A minority of general dukuns also possess the facility of contacting spirits while in trance. At some stage in their careers, they have been afflicted or possessed by a powerful spirit. Having recovered from this crisis, often by accepting their vocation, they are able to call upon the spirit or spirits to help them. The relation is one of collaboration rather than mastery.

Firsthand anthropological accounts being scarce, an example from the author's fieldwork in Banyuwangi, an area in East Java famous for its magic, may serve to illustrate the nature of

the dukun's practice. A séance was held one night in a shrine dedicated to a village guardian spirit—a legendary nobleman-exile from Central Java. The dukun, a shrine caretaker, announced his presence with the Islamic greeting, then entered and laid flowers on the stone altar, embracing in turn the stones of the spirit and his wife. He burned incense and then clapped the ground and began springing about, showing that he had been entered by the spirit *(kasusupan).* The supplicant, a young unmarried man, crouching in darkness, put his questions to the spirit. "Will my application to be a civil servant succeed, Sir?" In a hoarse voice the spirit admonished him to give up gambling, promising success would follow. The man asked why his other enterprises had failed and who was thwarting his efforts to woo a village girl. The spirit named his rival and told him to look for magical substances planted near his house, promising to provide a charm to protect the house from further mystical attack. Later the voice of the dukun changed in tone, signaling the arrival of another spirit—a relative of the first. Before departing, the spirit requested cigarettes and flowers, which were placed on the altar; then an assistant tapped the dukun three times on the fontanel (the soul's point of entry), and he came out of trance.

Aside from such semiprofessional dukuns, whose shamanship may be a minor sideline, from time to time lay persons receive the call. Such *dukun préwangan* or *dukun kamomong* (Weiss 1977, 353) are often female, usually lower-class and poorly educated. Unlike the classic Siberian shaman, they appear to be passive vehicles of the possessing spirits. If they are chosen it is because—like most other victims—they are "empty," lacking in wisdom and spiritual resistance. (A political reading would, of course, attribute agency to the medium rather than the spirit.) While the inspiration lasts they keep open house, seeing many clients in a day. The spirit familiar—sometimes a deceased relative—may be required to diagnose the cause of illness (e.g., sorcery or inadvertent disturbance of a spirit's home), the location of a stolen ring, or the cause of misfortune. The medium's spouse or assistant is on hand to feed the spirit incense and maintain trance, interpret the medium's cryptic speech, dole out medicines, and collect payment. Different again, a *dukun tiban,* rather than being possessed by a dead soul, receives power or illumination *(wahyu)* from the spirit world *(alam antara)* or God. Clifford Geertz gave a vivid picture of one such practitioner and of the frenetic, unpredictable style of her consultations with clients (1960, 101–102). He contrasted the unstable personality of the dukun tiban with the apparent "normality" of the ordinary dukun. Those who have made adopting a shamanic role a regular part of their lives, as in the Banyuwangi example, are in a sense in between: They carry on normal lives as farmers, artisans, and good villagers, but their shamanic performances lie outside normally acceptable behavior. The apparent loss of control, the consorting with rough spirits, and the taint of black magic offend Javanese values of social harmony, balance, and decorum. Consequently, their séances tend to be regarded with awe or disdain rather than approval.

As elsewhere in the world, belief in spirits and in the possibility of contact with them is tempered by skepticism about particular practitioners. The most powerful dukuns are in the next-but-one town or village (therefore their clients, especially in serious cases, are often strangers); one's own neighbor one knows to be an incorrigible fraud. Partly because of their ability to do harm as well as good, many dukuns have an ambiguous reputation. This does not, however, imply a negative evaluation of magical or spiritual efficacy in general. The rulers of the Central Javanese principalities, the acme of Javanese civilization, derive some of their prestige from an intimate relation with powerful spirits. The sultan's matrimonial alliance with the spirit queen of the Southern Ocean safeguards the prosperity of the realm (Jordaan 1984). Similarly, in a cult described by Woodward (1985), a respected healer acted as master of powerful spirits, operating through mediums rather than personally incarnating the spirits. The manner of contact and the eminence of the spirits involved evidently reflected upon the practitioner's status.

Elements of Shamanism

There is no distinctive shamanic cosmology or worldview; rather one can speak of a range of syncretic practices and beliefs that may gain shamanic formulation in ritual. Shamanic séances and healing sessions draw upon concepts and techniques with a wider currency in popular culture. Among these are the following:

1. Notions of divine power as a formless energy *(kasekten)* diffused in the world yet concentrated in certain places, persons, body parts, and objects such as heirlooms. Power can be accumulated through ascetic practices and manipulated in spells (Anderson 1990).
2. Belief in spiritual beings: ancestors, village founders, sprites and demons, place spirits (of fields, caves, graveyards). A person has four spiritual "siblings" *(dulur papat)* associated with the placenta, amniotic fluid, and other birth products. These personal guardians are propitiated in household rituals and are the focus of mystical attack or shamanic recovery.
3. Notions of spirit doubles, dual presence, and transformation into wild animals. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia (Wessing 1986), some practitioners claim to be, or are alleged to be, weretigers or to have tigers as their spirit familiars. In this form they can either abduct victims' souls or recover them from the forest/spirit world.
4. Belief in possession or affliction by spirits as a cause of illness and madness.
5. Techniques that facilitate contact with the spirit world: drumming, incense-burning, meditation, fasting and sleep deprivation, chanting of mantras, concentration on ritual objects.
6. Belief in the interpenetration of the visible and invisible worlds. The spirit world is not simply *other;* it underlies and mirrors the everyday world. Just so, a person has a visible material presence and a subtle self, which can be contacted through esoteric ritual, meditation, or trance. The spiritual and refined *(alus)* is the complement and counterpart of the worldly and coarse *(kasar).*

These concepts frame encounters with the spirit world, whether one is a healer, medium, mystic, or householder staging a ritual meal. One communicates with the spirits *(wong alus)* through the refined, powerful language of spells and Arabic prayers and by means of symbolic offerings of food whose essence is borne by incense. The symbolism gains its force from correspondences between material and spiritual realities.

Unmediated contact with the hidden sources of power can be dangerous. As dukuns are fond of relating, the uninitiated can become temporarily insane or may even be struck dead as a result of unwise dabbling or improper skepticism. Those who seek spiritual enlightenment or power must first undergo preparation in asceticism and meditation. Spells and ritual actions function both to conduct power and to protect the supplicant. And much ritual work goes into shielding the weak from hazardous contact. Sick people, young women, infants, and the very old—unless fortified by *èlmu,* Javanese science—are especially vulnerable to spirit intrusion.

Related Phenomena

If the classical shaman is a rare, secretive figure in Java, elements of the "shamanic complex" can be found in many public settings. In the sacred *seblang* dance of Olehsari, East Java, it is not the master of spirits who goes into trance but the dancer, a young girl, who is animated by a succession of local spirits. Similarly, at the climax of the *barong* show of the same area, the dukun entrances a masked man whose animating spirit is the weretiger village guardian (Beatty 1999). In neither case does the possessed person communicate verbally with the audience: The ambiguous meanings of the performance are evident in symbolism and narrative structure. Elsewhere in Java spirit possessions may form part of the annual village cleansing rites. There are also popular entertainments, such as hobbyhorse dances in which men fall into trance at the crack of a whip and prance about or chomp grass like horses.

Mysticism, widely practiced in rural and urban Java, has, in the past, incorporated magic as well as the quest for divine power. In certain respects spirit mediumship parallels mystical practices in which adepts "die in life" and transcend their worldly form in union with the godhead. They "return" from these altered states to report their experiences to fellow adepts. This is not to say that mystical ecstasy or gnosis is the same as shamanic trance: The one is inward-looking and calm, the other a violent encounter with the spirit world "outside."

Andrew Beatty

See also: Indonesian Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. 1990. "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture." In *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Beatty, Andrew. 1999. *Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 1960. *The Religion of Java.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Jordaan, Roy E. 1984. "The Mystery of Nyai Lara Kidul, Goddess of the Southern Ocean." *Archipel* 28: 99–116.

Koentjaraningrat. 1985. *Javanese Culture.* Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Weiss, Jerome. 1977. "Folk Psychology of the Javanese of Ponorogo." Ph.D. diss., Yale University.

Wessing, Robert. 1986. *The Soul of Ambiguity: The Tiger in Southeast Asia.* DeKalb: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University.

Woodward, Mark R. 1985. "Healing and Morality: A Javanese Example." *Social Science and Medicine* 21, no. 9: 1007–1021.

MALAY SHAMANS AND HEALERS

Malays, practitioners of Hinduism for a thousand years before converting to Sunni Islam in the fifteenth century C.E., make up more than half the current population of Malaysia. They are speakers of Bahasa Malaysia (Malaysian Language, sometimes known as Bahasa Melayu, Language of the Malays), a Malayo-Polynesian dialect similar to Bahasa Indonesia. Although Malaysian cities have been growing at an increasing rate, Malays living in small villages *(kampung),* particularly on the east coast, still follow many traditional medical theories and practices. Malay healers are known, generally, as *bomoh,* but in the northeast states of Kelantan and Terengganu shamanistic specialists also treat "sickness of the soul" through ceremony, singing, dancing, and, in trance, becoming the voice of disembodied spirits.

Malay shamanism has attracted the attention of foreigners for more than a hundred years. The Malay spirit-raising séance first appeared in Western literature in the late nineteenth century as "demon worship" and "downright heathenism" (Maxwell 1881, 12; 1883, 222) and later, in 1925, as "gracious and beautiful" perhaps, but the product of "primitive minds" (Winstedt 1951, 14) lacking conceptions of unity and abstract thinking. By mid-century, Western opinion regarding Malay shamanism had evolved from considering it an example of the "black art" to examining psychotherapeutic elements in what was regarded as an essentially magical enterprise (Chen 1979). Although parallels were drawn between many cosmologies and psychoanalytic formulations, Western psychiatrists continued to believe that the work of the shaman could be compared to psychiatry only in the same way comparisons were made "between alchemy and chemistry, or between astrology and astronomy" (Prince 1980, 335). In recent years, Islamic leaders' religious objections to the shaman's practices have become increasingly strenuous. Contemporary Malay shamans, however, regard their work in quite a different manner. In fact, they claim it is the oldest kind of medicine, dating back to the time of Adam and Eve:

> In the days of the Prophet Adam (said one shaman), Eve was sick. Adam looked for medicine but he couldn't find any. Then he looked for a bomoh and he found one. Then he asked the bomoh, "Do you have medicine to treat Eve?" This is what the bomoh said, "I have medicine for everything!" He brought over a hand drum, he had a spike fiddle. Adam asked what those things were. "This is a bowl for medicine," he said, pointing to the drum. "This is a medicinal herb," he said, pointing to the fiddle. Then he treated his patient—he played. After he played Main 'teri, Eve was cured. When she was cured, then God said, "I can't afford to keep this bomoh around. It would be better if I send him to a cave. If I don't, no one will ever die, none of the followers of Muhammad." So he entered the cave and he is still living there. Its name is even older than that. When God made Adam he was just a lifeless image. God called Gabriel and breathed into his hands. He told Gabriel to fly over to Adam's image and put the breath up his nostrils. Adam sneezed, and the breath traveled all over his body. His body was too weak for the breath, and it broke into little pieces. God told Gabriel to weld *(pateri)*

> it back together, to make a whole. That's why it's called Main 'teri. When we do it, we weld people together, we make sick people well. (Laderman 1991a, 6)

Malay bomoh, most of whom never trance, treat many kinds of illnesses, using herbs, dietary changes, massages, and other, often humoral, treatments, as well as reciting spells. If a satisfactory response is not achieved, it may be necessary to hold a Main Peteri, a shamanistic healing ceremony that includes a *tok 'teri* (shaman) who achieves trance and speaks for the spirits, a *minduk,* who plays the spike fiddle, acts as interlocutor, and joins in singing with the shaman, and a player of floor gongs (often merely overturned pots); occasionally other instruments, such as the *serunai* (oboe) and hanging gongs, are added. This involves substantial expense, since a patient's family must provide a feast and pay a fee to each performer, as well as distributing refreshments at the close of the night's proceedings to an audience of friends, neighbors, and relatives who have come to offer moral support and be entertained.

Malay shamans differ from other bomoh in their breadth of knowledge and style of treatment. While many other healers insist on secrecy and rote recitations of incantations, shamans are concurrently or formerly performers in the shadow puppet play *(wayang kulit)* or Malay opera *(Mak Yong)*—or both. In their view, the power of words lies in their contextual meaning rather than in their inflexible recitation. What is essential to the shamanistic ceremony is that the shaman and minduk be in harmony with each other and with the patient. Students of shamanism are taught that what may appear to an outsider to be possession by and exorcism of external spiritual forces is not nearly as straightforward as it seems. The Main Peteri takes place within the Self. The minduk's invocation not only invites the spirits to the séance, but recounts the story of Creation—a double creation, of the universe and of humanity, the universe in microcosm. The mountaintop of which he or she sings is not merely the haunt of powerful genies; the healers, the patient, and the audience all know it refers as well to the human head. During this invocation the minduk recounts the role of the father in producing a child. The baby begins as a small entity in the brain of the father and lives there for forty days, absorbing human rationality and emotions, before being placed in the mother's womb.

Following the invocation, the shaman achieves trance, aided by the minduk's song, which raises the shaman's Inner Winds, the personification of his talent. While in trance, the shaman invokes forces within the human body and mobilizes them to help maintain and regain health—a kind of spiritual immune system. After the divination that follows, a series of spirits *(hantu)* appear, speaking through the shaman in a dialogue with the minduk, and occasionally with the patient and members of the audience. These spirits are believed to be external to humanity; their attacks are ineffectual unless the victim's own vital forces have been depleted by illness, overwork, shock, or fright. During the Main Peteri, the patient as well as the shaman may achieve trance. This is not a form of possession by external spirits; it is an outward expression of the inner workings of the personality, a sign that the Inner Winds have begun to blow freely within the patient's bosom.

The shaman does a divination, using the flame of a beeswax candle, or a handful of popped rice counted out as earth, air, fire, and water. A divination that points to any combination of earth, fire, or water may point to hantu (disembodied spirits) or genies as causal factors. They may have been sent by an enemy of the patient, or they may have come of their own volition, angered perhaps by the trampling of their invisible homes, or a shower of urine on their invisible heads. Although they are our older siblings, God didn't grant them the power of reason that makes us truly human. They are like children, easily flattered, cowed by threats, and caught in their lies by clever bomoh, whose insulting remarks make the human audience roar with laughter but elude the spirits' understanding. If an illness shows signs of spirit-connected etiology, the suspected spirits must be brought to the séance by the officiating shaman's own familiar spirits. The victim's humoral balance has been put awry by the spirits' airy heat. The minduk exhorts them to return to their origins and restore the balance within the patient and within the universe, whose integrity is threatened by their encroaching on humanity.

Complications can arise when the patient's birth sibling, as it is called, joins the hantu's attack. The afterbirth that accompanies the birth of each human child is the mirror image of the hantu. Both are incomplete: The spirits lack the earthy and watery elements of which our body is made, while the birth sibling never receives the airy and fiery breath of life that animates its human sibling when the baby takes its first breath.

A divination that includes air *(angin)* points to problems concerning the patient's inner winds. The inner winds, as understood by Malays, are close to European concepts of temperament, both in the medieval sense of the four temperaments, and as artistic temperament. Everyone is born with angin, the traits, talents, and desires inherited from ancestors, but some have more, or stronger, angin than the common run. If they are able to express their angin, they can lead untroubled and productive lives and, in fact, will often be respected for their strong and gifted characters. If they cannot, their angin may be trapped inside of them, where it accumulates and produces sickness due to blockage of the inner winds. Healers of all types must possess the wind specific to their calling, and they suffer when their talents are ignored. The meaning of inner winds extends as well to the basic personality. The majority of conditions treated by Main Peteri are *sakit berangin* (wind sickness), and the most prevalent are due to the thwarting of the personality type known as the Wind of the Young Demigod, Angin Dewa Muda, whose archetype is the hero of a story from the Malay opera. Those who have inherited this wind crave life's luxuries, both material and psychic, needing love and admiration as much as dainty foods and handsome clothes. Heirs to another wind, the Wind of the Weretiger, are quick to anger and heedless of its consequences, unable or unwilling to control their anger and hostility.

People with gentle winds run little risk of wind sickness. Strong winds will not harm their possessors if they can be expressed in ways that satisfy the individual and enrich the community. If they cannot, their angin is trapped inside them where it accumulates, unbalancing the humors and causing disharmony within the person. The symptoms of wind sickness include backaches, headaches, digestive problems, dizziness, asthma, depression, and anxiety; in short, a wide range of what we call psychosomatic and affective disorders. Asthma in particular represents a graphic example of repressed angin—wind locked within, choking its possessor.

The inner winds of a patient in the Main Peteri who has been diagnosed as suffering from sakit berangin must be allowed to express themselves, to be released from the confines of their corporeal prison, enabling the sufferer's mind and body to return to a healthy balance. After the hantu have been brought to the séance and exorcised, the patient afflicted with wind sickness is put into trance by means of appropriate music and the story of the angin's archetype, recited by the shaman. When the correct musical or literary cue is reached, the patient achieves trance, aided, as well, by the percussive sounds of the musicians and the rhythmic beating of the shaman's hands on the floor near the patient's body.

In shamanistic ceremonies whose primary aim is to remove demonic influence from human sufferers, the patient's trance is the peak moment at which the object of the demonic enters into direct communion with the entity that is possessing the patient (Kapferer 1983). For the Malay patient, trance doesn't occur during the exorcistic parts of the Main Peteri. The communication achieved by trancing patients is not with the demonic but with their own inner nature. While in trance, patients are encouraged to act out the repressed portions of their personalities until they feel refreshed and content. Entranced patients may sing and dance, perform the stylized moves and stances of *silat* (the Malay art of self-defense), or roar and pounce like a tiger. The relaxation experienced by patients after coming out of trance is profound. Headaches and backaches have disappeared, and asthma sufferers find they can once more breathe freely.

Patients in trance feel the inner winds as experiential reality rather than merely metaphor. At the height of trance, a person with powerful winds can feel them blowing inside the chest with the force of a hurricane. Trance, for a Malay, is never achieved by the use of drugs, either by the shaman or by the patient. It accompanies the music, singing, and dance of the practitioners, and, for the patient, the recitation of the story of the patient's own archetype.

Shamans have been said to provide remission without insight, or symptomatic relief rather

than a cure, in contrast to psychiatrists, who help patients form a better self-image, allowing them to cope with the world. Shamans' theories are conventionally thought to blame outsiders, whether spirits or humans. Malays, however, don't conceive of the séance as a cure, since inner winds are inherited and inborn, and, unless life circumstances of patients change, those with strong angin will always be at risk of accumulating too much unexpressed wind. The portion of the Main Peteri that attempts to heal the wounds of body and soul caused by thwarted inner winds is the sole method of nonprojective psychotherapy (that is, psychotherapy that does not involve projection of the difficulty onto an entity outside the patient) reported to exist within the context of a shamanistic séance. Perhaps a fresh look at shamanistic rituals in other cultures might reveal comparable constructs not yet fathomed, based on traditional knowledge of the human psyche.

Not all Malay healers are shamans. Other bomoh heal patients with medical treatments and incantations. Rather than dividing the causes of illness into natural and supernatural categories, they speak of usual and unusual sicknesses, a distinction based more on incidence than etiology. Usual health problems may be attributed to a number of causes: poor hygiene, bad diet, many intestinal worms (a small number is considered normal), overwork, worry, and changes in the weather that may upset the body's humoral balance. Belief in intrinsic heating and cooling elements (humors) of the microcosm, the human body, and the macrocosm, the universe, is a pervasive part of traditional Malay medicine. Humoral qualities of foods and diseases are not related merely to temperature; boiling squash is considered very cold, and alcohol, even if iced, is extremely hot.

Although villagers must travel for miles to see a physician, traditional healers are often readily available. The *mudin* treats broken bones and sprains. Obstetric and perinatal problems are the province of the *bidan* (midwife). Masseurs are in demand for muscular aches. Other usual problems are treated by patients and their families, often with the aid of a bomoh whose services are sought for both usual and unusual conditions. Bomoh are often experts in herbal medicine, as well as adepts of the spirit world.

Usual illnesses are often considered to be caused by humoral imbalance. They are treated through dietary changes that increase or decrease the heating or cooling elements, by ingestion or topical application of medicines, massage (thought to break up the lumps of cold phlegm that cause pain and keep the hot blood from flowing properly), and thermal treatments such as steam inhalation and cold compresses.

Illness are classified as hot or cold, using criteria that interpret symptoms through empirical evidence in the light of humoral reasoning:

1. External heat, such as fever or boils, hot to the touch.
2. Internal heat: illnesses that make the patient experience burning sensations, such as sore throat or heartburn.
3. Visible signs: hemorrhages demonstrate that the hot element, blood, has boiled over.
4. Deficiency or excess of a humor deduced from internal evidence: that is, anemia (not enough blood), or hypertension (blood rising to the head, overheating it).
5. Pulse reading: fast denotes heat, slow denotes cold.
6. Some forms of madness due to overheating of the brain.
7. Response to treatments classified as hot or cold, indicating illnesses have the opposite humoral quality. (Laderman 1983, 50–51)

Illnesses that do not respond to typical treatments are often blamed on incursions from the spirit world and must be treated by other means. Malays believe in a four-fold universe composed of the elements of earth, air, fire, and water. Spirits, lacking the earthy and watery components of fleshly bodies, consist only of superheated air. They were created, bomoh say, owing to the curiosity of the archangel Gabriel. God blew the breath of life into Gabriel's hands and ordered him to place it near Adam's nostrils so that his lifeless body, made of earth and water, might be animated. Gabriel, wanting to see what the breath looked like, opened his hands as he flew toward Adam, and the breath escaped. Having no body to receive it, the breath became *hantu,* the disembodied siblings of humankind. Like all siblings, hantu are sometimes beset with feelings of envy toward their broth-

ers, and like human siblings, they occasionally find ways to even the score. By blowing their hot breath on a victim's back, they upset his humoral balance.

Treatment involves increasing the cool and moist elements and ridding the body of excess heat and air. Bomoh employ "neutralizing rice paste," made of earthy and watery elements, recite spells *(jampi),* blowing their magically cooled breath on their patients' backs, and bathe them in cooling water. Healing, for Malays, concerns treating not only a body that is born and dies, but also a soul *(roh)* that lives on in heaven or in hell. The Malay person consists, too, of the breath of life *(nyawa),* which animates all God's creatures, the spirit of life *(semangat),* which pervades the universe, dwelling within fire and rock as well as plants and animals, and the inner winds (*angin*), which determine the individual personality, drives, and talents already present at birth. The presence of these winds can be deduced from the behavior of their possessor, but they are palpable neither to observers nor to their owner, except during trance, when they are felt as actual presences: high winds blowing within their possessor's breast. A whole, healthy person normally has little to fear from hantu, but, should an imbalance of component parts occur, whether due to depletion of semangat or accumulation of angin, the integrity of the person is breached, his "gates" no longer protect the "fortress within" but have opened to allow the incursion of disembodied spirits. The bomoh aims to return the patient to a state of balanced wholeness.

One bomoh's performance of healing began with an examination (Laderman 1991a, 44–48). He felt the pulse at his patient's fingers, wrists, inside the elbow, at the shoulders, ears and toes, to ascertain the source of a persistent fever. He then asked his assistant to chew a betel quid and spit into a cup. The saliva, red and frothy, formed patterns in the cup, which the bomoh divined as pointing to a path his patient had traveled, into a kampung (village) recently claimed from the jungle. The patient had neglected to ask permission from the hantu before intruding on their land. The bomoh cut the saliva with a knife, destroying the picture within. He dipped a leaf into the liquid and painted two crossed lines on the patient's forehead, red circles around the ears, the shoulders, elbows, wrists, knees, and ankles, causing the hantu's heat to descend, exiting by way of the toes. Seated behind the patient, he recited a jampi, blowing his supernaturally cooled breath on the patient's back to counteract the hantu's hot breath. Then he prescribed two kinds of cooling herbal mixtures, which he compared to vitamin pills, valuable for renewing the patient's strength and appetite. Before he left, the bomoh filled a pail with water to which he added lime juice, reciting an incantation, and recommended his patient bathe in the treated water. His treatment was complete; both the symptoms and their underlying cause had been dealt with.

During pregnancy, through childbirth, and until the end of the forty-day postpartum period, Malays rely on the midwife (bidan). Each kampung has its appointed trained government midwife and several traditional midwives. Although the latter are termed *untrained* due to their lack of formal education, they have been apprenticed since childhood to older midwives: mothers, aunts, grandmothers. Women suspect pregnancy when their breasts ache, their faces turn pale, they crave sour foods, and their periods cease. But before conception takes place in the mother's womb, the father has been pregnant for forty days. Men remember craving foods shortly before their wives began to exhibit signs of pregnancy. The baby begins life not as a creation in the mother's womb, but as an essence, not merely an idea, in the father's brain. Humanity is formed of the four elements and partakes of animal nature, but human beings also possess rationality, which makes humans higher than angels. Although both men and women have both rationality and animal nature, developed states of self-control are associated with men, while the body's emotions and hungers are associated with women. What better source is there for a baby to develop its distinctively human characteristics than in its father's brain?

Although a bidan may be informed of a suspected pregnancy, she cannot feel the presence of a fetus until the third month. She can relieve stomachache, backache, and aching legs by massaging the mother and adjusting the position of the fetus. If a mother-to-be has fallen or been beaten, she may come to the village bidan to be reassured that the baby inside is still healthy. In the seventh month of pregnancy,

the mother and her family will present the bidan of their choice with several dollars and a betel quid for her to chew, which is meant to reserve the bidan's assistance during childbirth. For a first pregnancy, special rites are performed to ensure ease of labor and safety of delivery. Many clients today request that Islamic prayers and ablutions be substituted for traditional forms; in the 1970s and 1980s, however, it was still possible to witness a full-scale *lenggang perut,* a rocking of the pregnant abdomen (Laderman 1983).

Seven cloths of different colors were placed on a mat, and the mother-to-be, after removing all clothing except for her sarong, lay down atop the cloths. After the bidan examined her abdomen to determine whether the baby was positioned properly, head down and body vertical, she and the pregnant woman's mother, sitting on either side, tied each cloth in turn loosely over the woman's belly, rocked her gently, untied the cloth, and pulled it out from under her. Each release of a cloth signified the release of the mother from spiritual danger. Then, one after the other, the bidan rolled three plants across the pregnant belly: palas leaves, used to tie rice seedlings; leaves of the areca palm employed to brush noxious spiritual influences away; and a joint of bamboo, one end open and the other closed, a duplicate of the womb's anatomy. After rolling a coconut three times around the woman's body, the bidan placed it on her abdomen and pretended to cleave it with a machete. The symbolic release of its contents was meant to encourage the successful release of the contents of the womb. After bathing in cooling water, the pregnant woman was daubed with neutralizing rice paste (the elements of earth and water opposing the disembodied spirits' fire and air) and gently touched with a knife or razor blade, to harden her semangat (spirit of life).

Childbirth, for Malays, is not merely a physiological event necessitating medical care, but is also a stage in a rite of passage requiring spiritual prophylaxis and ritual expertise. A competent midwife provides practical obstetrical and nursing care and knows how to ease a baby's way into the world and protect a vulnerable mother from attacks by envious spirits. Traditional Malay midwives employ a directional system whereby the laboring woman faces in the proper direction for the day of the week, humorally speaking. North and east are avoided; north because corpses are buried facing this direction, and east since it is the opposite of the direction toward Mecca. The midwife doesn't claim her methods are indispensable; they only encourage the baby to arrive with less difficulty than would otherwise be the case.

During labor, the mother-to-be lies upon a mat on the floor of her bedroom, her head and shoulders on her mother's lap. The midwife gently massages her abdomen, inserting a finger up her vagina at intervals to determine the descent of the fetus. Coffee and snacks are available to the mother and occasionally are requested. Female friends and relatives are present during labor, and children roam in and out of the room. The husband may enter the room briefly, but men usually stay in an adjoining room. The star of the drama is neither the husband nor the midwife; it is the mother. Although it is considered wise to follow the bidan's recommendations, rural Malays view childbirth as a normal event in every woman's life that should not be allowed to erode the mother's autonomy. In the event of a difficult or perilous labor, a bomoh may be called upon to recite an incantation beyond the knowledge of the midwife. But whatever the outcome, the birth is followed by a burial: the disposal of the baby's birth sibling, the placenta and umbilical cord, composed of earth and water and lacking the fire and air its human sibling receives with the breath of life. The midwife carefully washes it, wraps it in white cloth, and places it in a half-coconut coffin. Death follows birth, and birth includes death, in the Malay vision of the cosmos.

Carol Laderman

See also: Semai Shamanism; Shadow Puppetry and Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Material from Laderman 1991a is drawn from *Taming the Wind of Desire* by Carol Laderman, © 1991, The Regents of the University of California, and is being used by permission of University of California Press.

Chen, P. C. Y. 1979. "Main Puteri: An Indigenous Kelantanese Form of Psychotherapy." *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 25: 167–175.

Kapferer, Bruce. 1983. *A Celebration of Demons: Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri*

Lanka. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Laderman, Carol. 1982. "Putting Malay Women in Their Place." In *Women of Southeast Asia.* Edited by Penny Van Esterik. Northern Illinois University Center for Southeast Asia Studies Monograph Series, Occasional Paper No. 9. Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.
———. 1983. *Wives and Midwives: Childbirth and Nutrition in Rural Malaysia.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
———. 1987. "Destructive Heat and Cooling Prayer: Malay Humoralism in Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Postpartum Period." *Social Science and Medicine* 25, no. 4: 357–366. Special issue: *Hot-Cold Food and Medical Theories: Cross-Cultural Perspectives.*
———. 1991a. *Taming the Wind of Desire: Psychology, Medicine and Aesthetics in Malay Shamanistic Performance.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
———. 1991b. "Malay Medicine, Malay Person," *Medical Anthropology* 13, nos. 1–2: 83–98.
Maxwell, W. E. 1881. "Folklore of Malays." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch* 7: 11–29.
———. 1883. "Shamanism in Perak." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch* 12:222–232.
Prince, Raymond. 1980. "Variations in Psychotherapeutic Procedures." Pp. 291–349 in *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 6. Edited by H. C. Triandis and J. G. Draguns. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
Winstedt, Richard O. 1951. Reprint. *The Malay Magician.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Original edition, 1925.

MURUT SHAMANISM (BORNEO)

Murut shamanism is context-specific and therefore unique to Sabah, a state formerly known as British North Borneo. The *Muruts*, a term that literally means "Hill People," are the third largest indigenous groups in Sabah, after the Kadazandusuns and the Bajaus. The Muruts are by no means a homogenous group. They are subdivided into dialect groups such as the Baukau, Gana, Kalabakan, Okolod, Paluan, Selungai, Serundung, Tagal, Timugon, and the Beaufort and Keningau Muruts. The 1991 census has indicated that there are 54,037 Muruts in Sabah, with about 90 percent of them geographically concentrated in the southwestern part of Sabah (Pensiangan, Keningau, and Tenom).

Traditional Beliefs

The cosmos of the Muruts consists of seven levels above the earth and seven levels below the earth (Harris 1995, 70). Muruts believe that there is a "Creator God, known to them as *Aki Kaulung*" (Fung 1998, 69), whom some regard as a higher and unknown power (*kuasa* in Malay). Aki Kaulaung is the creator of heaven and earth and lives in the uppermost level above the earth (Harris 1995, 70) As creator, Aki Kaulung penalizes human beings for any disrespect and mockery of the animals. Furthermore, they believe in *aru* (spirits), whom they call by various names (Harris 1995, 72–75). The *kamanggas* lives in rocks and trees. This spirit travels to different areas and may even reside in objects kept in the house. Whoever accidentally disturbs a kamanggas living in objects in the house will be shot at with a blowgun and then will fall sick or die. The *angungkung* is a lion that has become an evil spirit that flies around and preys on victims' souls when they laugh as they walk in the jungle. The *tambailung* is a spirit that takes the form of an animal such as a deer and feeds on its victims. The *lalandou* takes on the form of a tall person and also kills its victims. Muruts believe in other jungle spirits that kill their victims in specific ways. The *amamalir* deceives its victims, especially children, and makes them wander lost in the jungle. The *tampuyung* leads people who sleep a lot to places of danger, such as a high place or the branch of a tall tree, so that when they awaken, they fall to their death.

Muruts believe in different kinds of water spirits (Harris 1995, 73). The *bandak* resembles water buffalo with long teeth; the *panandom* looks like a human being. The deep parts of a large river are believed to be the abodes of the panandom, and this spirit drowns its victims. The *lompor* is a snake that becomes an evil

spirit that sleeps in a hole in the river or jungle. The *baasan* does not kill but scares people. The *omolopot* is a water spirit that drowns a victim who is bathing in a river by catching its victim in a net in the river. Other spirits attack vulnerable persons such as children, pregnant women, and older people. The *amaratan* causes children and the aged to fall sick. The *baai* cries like a child, but it disturbs children, causing them to have bad dreams, cry, and fall sick. Pregnant women are prone to be attacked by *lalabi',* which causes the baby to die. To avoid the attack, a pregnant woman must light a lamp and stay awake. Akin to the lalabi' is the *pontianak,* which cries like a child and eats up the fetus in the womb.

Moreover, Muruts believe in a personal spirit known as *taniou,* residing in a rock, a piece of wood or some other object, which attaches itself to an owner (Harris 1995, 73–74). Taniou relates to people through dreams in which it communicates its location. When an individual obeys the dream and obtains the object, that person becomes a *lumahon,* the Murut word for a shaman. The taniou affords the shaman supernatural power for purposes of healing or inflicting harm, sickness, and death on others. In healing, the taniou assists the shaman in diagnosing the illness and finding the method of curing the sick. In addition, Maruts believe that the spirits of the dead, known as *alinguh* and *andauu,* linger on (Harris 1995, 74–75). The former returns just after death to bring spouse and children to accompany it in death. The latter is the spirit of one who died a violent death, which specifically preys on children left unattended by their parents.

Educated Muruts consider that belief in the ordinary spirits of trees or rocks is not inconsistent with belief in God. The presence of aru enables Muruts to live the moral imperative that nature and animals must be respected. To ridicule and disrespect them will incur punishment, whereas to honor and respect them will bring blessings and rewards. When Muruts sail past or underneath some boulders along the river, they observe a custom known as *amupuk* (Fung 1998, 70). Water from the river is sprinkled on the heads of those who are making their first trip to sacred sites, particularly young children as they sail upstream. It is a sign of respect paid to the aru. At the same time, when they pass these boulders, it is customary to utter a few words, asking to be excused or offering an apology for the use of the passage. During such times, no one is allowed to shout, bang the boat, or swim around in the river, out of deference for the aru of the boulders.

Muruts relate to the spirit world through taboo, divination, ritual, and magic. Taboos governing their everyday life, communicated to them via dreams, omens, and divinations, enable them to avoid coming into conflict with the supernatural spirits. They also placate the spirits through individual and group rituals.

Characteristics of Shamanic Rituals and Shamans

The two shamanic practices known to most Muruts are *sasampui* and *lumaagon.* The first ritual literally means "to blow accompanied by the uttering of spells." These shamanic rituals are normally intended for benevolent as well as malevolent purposes. For instance, Muruts resort to *babas tangou* to reverse the curse that causes someone to turn yellow (Harris 1995, 82). *Umparan* is a form of curse that is used with chants to inflict harm. On the other hand, *Babas rambuyun* cures those people who have gone insane and walk around talking to themselves. *Babas umparan* has the ability to heal someone who has been cursed. In another form of sasampui, small needles are used, together with a piece of paper with Malay words written on it, which cause the needles to fly into the heart of an enemy, resulting in a heart attack and death.

In general, shamanic rituals are rarely communal celebrations. They are conducted in response to personal requests, often by the family of the sick. The sick person is either brought to the shaman's house, or, the shaman makes a trip to the home of the sick person.

In both kinds of shamanic ritual, chants or spells embodying supernatural power are involved. Shamans obtain the chants through dreams or direct personal communication, or even as a result of a monetary transaction. Chants mediate the shamanic power of the spirit guides, known to the some Muruts as *jinx.* These spirit guides of nature assume different forms, such as birds or fireflies, or even human forms. They reside in the shamans, and their power can be extended also to objects that they use. Moreover, the spirit guides give a kind

of magical power known to Muruts as *amol* that makes them invincible to any bodily harm, even to bullets. Shamans are able to transform themselves into animals and are able to revert back to their human forms when they deem fit.

Murut shamans have experienced "privileged moments of election" when the spirit guides "visit" them, usually through dreams or when they engage in a *batapa,* a "quest" (Harris 1995, 82) in locations that are abundant in spirits, such as a graveyard or on top of a tall hill. Once shamans have been elected, the spirit guides act as their personal tutors. Unlike shamans of other regions, they do not become shamans as a consequence of an illness or a period of mental derangement (Winzeler 1993; Appell and Appell 1993). There is also a period of initial apprenticeship for those interested and initiated directly by the spirit guide or by a skilled shaman. After this period, the newly initiated are encouraged to memorize the chants. The well-intentioned shaman usually sternly forewarns them only to call upon the spirit guides for a well-founded reason, never to disclose the chants to anyone, not even their spouses, or to exhibit their latent power, lest these actions cause the spirit guides great displeasure, resulting in withdrawal of their power.

Shamans are not regarded with awe and do not live far from people (Winzeler 1993, xxvi), unless they are persons of ill repute because they resort to *ilmu hitam,* a Malay term that literally means "black knowledge." In such cases, they are feared and shunned. Murut shamans live in the midst of the villages and conduct their ordinary chores, such as collecting firewood, fishing, and mending their nets, like any other villager. Among the Semai, however, they live away from the village, usually at the fringe of the forest (Fung 2000, 191–192).

Murut shamans are by no means only men. Living in a village called Scalaban is a woman known as Inang Urik. She is a shaman who uses a rock called *babas* (Harris 1995, 81) with a hole in the center to bring about healing of the sick or reverse a spell and inflict sickness on the originator. The stone is said to whistle, and the tune is only audible to persons who are destined to hear it.

Garing bin Muntalan, a legendary living shaman, receives the spirit guide of water. The spirit guide came to him through his dreams when he was fourteen. At one point in his life, he devoted himself to ten days of solitary living for further initiation by the spirit in a cave. Chants were communicated to him through personal interaction with the spirit guides. Each one of his spirit guides has a name, and the name is disclosed upon his request. They belong to a cohort, akin to a large family of elders and siblings. They live in a nearby cave with a stream flowing by. They can be seen on moonlit night as illuminated translucent beings in human forms. Yet their movement resembles that of the flight of spirits, and they can move to a destined place in a split second. During his interaction with them, he is privileged to see and hear them as friends to a friend. They will come to him in his room in the night. At other times, he meets and talks to them in the open field, at the entrance of the cave, even at certain spots somewhere downstream, at a short distance from the cave where they reside.

Subversive Shamanic Power

Two well-known deceased shamans and heroes in the collective memory of the Muruts are Ontoros and Korom. The Muruts address them as *guru na amul,* teachers of amul (Harris 1995, 83). Ontoros's spirit guide resided in his *tung,* a Murut term for a tobacco pipe. Korom was believed to be guided by the spirit of a plant. When he slept under a solitary bamboo tree, his spirit guide came to him in a dream in the form of a woman. She requested him to marry her as a prerequisite to initiating him in the art and knowledge of shamanism. Shamanic power has been deployed by Murut shamans for protecting themselves or their comrades in subversive activities, as shown in many narratives associated with Ontoros, Korom, and Garing, the legendary living shaman.

Korom may serve as an example of the kind of feats that made these men into heroes. He was a rebel who fought against the Japanese during World War II. He was born blind, and that earned him his name, which means in Murut "his eyes were closed." When he was young, a cobra, intended to suck his blood, turned away from him. He drank poison and broken glass, but he did not die. If he hit anyone with his hands, the person died immediately. In a boxing match, when he hit his opponent in the jawbone, it was severely damaged. If he put his hand to the earth in a sand hole, he would be

able to hear the sound of the wild boar. His shamanic power extended to his *parang* (a Malay term meaning "knife"). When it remained in the scabbard, it was short. But each time he drew out his parang to use it, it lengthened. During the Japanese occupation, he used it to kill three or four Japanese soldiers. When he was in prison, he could break out. When the Japanese captured him, he was chopped up and burned alive, but he turned into a log that was seen to be burning in the flame. During the British rule, he was put to the test. He was tied up in a sack and thrown into the middle of the sea. But to the utter amazement of witnesses, he was found later to be drinking in a coffee shop (Fung 2000, 188–190).

Jojo M. Fung

See also: Javanese Shamanism; Semai Shamanism (Borneo); Taman Shamanism (Borneo)

References and further reading:

Appell, George N., and Laura W. Appell. 1993. "To Do Battle with the Spirits: Bulusu's Spirit Mediums." Pp. 55–99 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Fung, Jojo M. 1998. "The Legendary Batu Punggul." *Sabah Society Journal* 15: 59–73.

———. 2000. "Glimpses of Murut Shamanism." *Shaman* 8, no. 2: 181–193.

Harris, Annette Suzanne. 1995. "The Impact of Christianity on Power Relationships and Social Exchanges: A Case Study of Change among Tagal Murut, Sabah, Malaysia." Ph.D. diss., Biola University.

Winzeler, Robert L. 1993. "Shaman, Priest and Spirit Medium: Religious Specialists, Tradition and Innovation in Borneo." Pp. xi–xxxiii in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

SEMAI SHAMANISM (BORNEO)

A shamanistic belief system with many of the traits of classic shamanism, particularly noticeable in the form of rituals, still exists among the Semai and the Temiar, a people closely related to the Semai. The Semai are one of the eighteen subgroups of indigenous peoples in Peninsular Malaysia, frequently referred to by the Malaysian public as Orang Asli (Original Peoples). The Semai, also referred to as Seng-oi (Juli 1998, 2), constitute an Orang Asli ethnic subgroup, and they are part of the total population of 106,131 Orang Asli (Nicholas 2001, 3), spread out among eleven of the thirteen states in Peninsular Malaysia.

The Semai and the Temiar belong to the Senoi category, which represents one of the three main groups (the other being Semang Negrito and Aboriginal Malay) of indigenous peoples in Peninsular Malaysia. The Senoi are a Mongoloid people who are the direct descendants of the Hoabinhians (ca. 9000 B.C.E., an inland group of hunter-gatherers in the Red River delta of Vietnam (Higham 1989, 35) and the Neolithic cultivators. They migrated to Peninsular Malaysia around 2,000 B.C.E., presumably from present-day Cambodia or Vietnam.

The Semai live an essentially sedentary life in various locations on both sides of the main mountain range in Perak, Kelantan, and Pahang (Nicholas 2001, 4). Traditionally, they were swidden agriculturalists. Besides their main occupation, consisting of the cultivation of rice, they further engage in supplementary activities such as hunting and fishing (Juli 1998, 10). Some of them continue to cultivate the pieces of paddy land known as *selai* that they inherited from their ancestors. Traditionally, their land use has been dictated by a rotating cycle of "use and fallow," an agricultural method that is environmentally sustainable. When the soil of the selai was no longer fertile, they moved on to the adjacent plot in groups known as *gu,* each of which is made up of one or two extended families (Dentan 1968), only to return to the same plot years later. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these gu referred to the land for their permanent settlements, with the land around them, as *dengri* or *lengri* (Gomes 1990). In their contacts with outsiders, they have been known to be less shy than the Negritos. But as a people, they prefer to avoid conflict, as they prize nonviolence in their way of life. Faced with any threat, they withdraw deeper into the jungles. However, with the change of the times, some groups of Semai have been found to be fairly adaptable to

new experiences and challenges. It is not surprising that today they have taken to permanent agricultural settlements; some even manage their own rubber, oil palm, and cocoa estates, while others are employed on an unskilled, skilled, and even professional basis.

The Semai believe that the universe is divided into the real world and the spiritual world (Dentan 1968; Juli 1998, 67). Living in the spiritual world are supernatural beings. *Nyenang*, or *Jenang*, is the name used for the highest supernatural being, a term that means "elder," "owner," or "master." Names such as *Tuhard*, *Uyaang*, or *Muyaang*, and even Malay names such as *Tuhan* (God), are used to refer to Nyenang as well. As an ultimate power, Nyenang created the universe, and even became a human being with a *ruwai* (spirit, or head-soul). Nyenang sends plants to the earth, which possess ruwai as human beings do.

Since Nyenang does not deal directly with human beings, the *malikat* (angels, supernatural beings) become Nyenang's intermediaries with humankind. Jaja' Bidat, Malikat Maut, and Pangkal Tiik (Juli 1998, 69) are the only three types of malikat that assist human beings, while the other malikat remain in heaven. Of the three, Malikat Maut is the most feared. Nyenang sends Sabit to earth to bring about death, and Maut is responsible for extracting life, *nyawa',* from the dying body. Sometimes malikat are known as Mungkar and Nangkir or Sabit and Maut. They are given the task of returning the souls *(kloog)* of the dead to heaven. As the "root of the earth," Pangkal Tiik, otherwise known as Pasak Tiik, Mai Dengri', or simply Penyakit, is a guardian responsible for looking after the agricultural land of the seven main river tributaries where the Semai live. In the rituals, Pangkal Tiik is addressed as Datuk Keramat, or *mai engra' de be jaga' dengri adeh,* "elders who look after this plot of land," otherwise known in Semai as *dengri'.*

As a third category, the *keramat* are not believed to come from heaven, though they are supernatural beings (Juli 1998, 70–71). Human beings can become keramat too. A keramat has a human spirit, which takes on diverse forms of animals and plants, such as elephants, tigers, crocodiles, turtles, or snakes, especially pythons and dragons, and even fallen trees. Keramat live as a cohort in a small area, such as a river, a swamp, or a cave.

The supernatural beings in the final category are known as *penyakit* (Juli 1998, 72), with Ngkuu' and Naga' as two of the most well known among the Semai. They were both human beings who became bored with their existence. Upon their request, Nyenang transformed them into supernatural beings who watch over human behavior. Ngkuu' looks like a gibbon, while Naga' assumes the shape of a dragon snake with its scales shinning most of the time. When pets and disabled persons are being ridiculed, Ngkuu's anger transforms its voice into *terlaij* (thunder) and its shining tooth into lightning. Naga brings about flood. Penyakit are deemed bad when they set themselves up as opponents of the *hala',* a class of shamans, and enemies of the ruwai of human beings, which they devour as *menghar* (meat).

Among the Semai, there are several kinds of shaman, known as *pawang, hala', malip,* and *bidat* (Juli 1998, 62). Pawang are the highest-ranking shamans, for several reasons: Nyenang has given them *betuah* (extraordinary characteristics), they perform the Ngenggulang ritual, and they have a special relationship to the guardian spirits of the land. Pawang are given their kloog (souls) by the first shaman, known as Hala' Asal (Original Shaman), now living in a section of the heaven only inhabited by the souls of the hala'. Besides, pawang must possess a cool ruwai (head-soul) and a cool *broog* (body) in order to have the power to deal with supernatural beings such as Pangkal Tiik, Pawang Tiik, or Mai Dengri'. Pawang must be able to harness the supernatural power of the *gunig-gunig* (spirits) as guides and helpers and work the different kinds of spells known as *jenampi* and *chenagoh.* In the performance of rituals, pawang must take care not to commit errors that annoy the Pangkal Tiik, whose flaring anger may bring an epidemic upon the villagers or death to the pawang. For this and other related reasons, pawang are few, limited to one in each village, with one or two would-be successors. The pressing demands on the pawang and their ability to manipulate supernatural power and shamanic knowledge for healing purposes make them revered persons in the community. When they no longer fulfill their duties as pawang, they will choose their successors, who are known as *ie panku'* or *ie penangku'.* The chosen successors are required to undergo a rigorous process of apprenticeship. They will also undergo ritual

baths called *muh bunga* (flowery bath) to cool down their ruwai and broog in order to approach the Pangkal Tiik.

Hala' are ordinary persons who possess *gunig* (spirit guides) and knowledge of the spells known as jenampi and chenagoh for healing purposes (Juli 1998, 64). They only gain extraordinary characteristics when they become ie panku under a pawang. They become shamans in two ways: by apprenticeship under a skilled hala' and by election through a dream, in which a gunig abandoned by a living hala', or one who has died, comes to choose a person to be a hala'. The person is advised not to ignore the dream, for to do so will bring about illness. With the help of a skilled hala', the chosen one establishes a relationship with the gunig through a singing ritual known as *kebut,* or *lamur.* During the healing rituals, the hala' seeks the help of the gunig-gunig to find, and even rescue the lost ruwai of those people who are ill from the captivity of the bad penyakit, and bring the ruwai back to them. In some communities, hala' have a considerable standing. In others, hala' choose to be rather inconspicuous in the village.

Malip are shamans who have only mastered jenampi and chenagoh but do not have the gunig (Juli 1998, 66). A strong ability to memorize and remember hundreds of jenampi and chenagoh is a prerequisite for becoming a malip. The malip obtain the knowledge of jenampi and chenagoh through a tedious learning process or through their dreams. The malip recite the jenampi over objects such as water and ointment, which are rubbed into the body or drunk by the sick for healing. Sometimes, the jenampi is recited over the affected parts of the body. The same jenampi is used for personal gain and to bring about harmonious or intimate relationship, the jenampi is recited over fragrant oil, which is then known as *cenuai* (love potion). A desperate man may use cenuai to entice a woman, and a politician, to regain his declining popularity. It is also used to rebuild a harmonious relation between husband and wife, or even the relationships within a whole family. On the other hand, chenagoh is used to seek help or protection from a supernatural guardian and to expel bad supernatural beings.

Bidat (midwives) are exclusively women shamans (Juli 1998, 66–67). Bidat receive their skill from Jajag Bidat, believed to be the first midwife on earth. Her kloog is said to be residing in that part of the heaven only inhabited by children since it is her duty to oversee them. She too assists all the bidat on earth. Upon the requests of the midwives, Bidat comes to earth frequently to look after the ruwai of children. Bidat are given the task of looking after pregnant women, delivering their babies, and looking after the health of the children of her community. Among the Semai's kindred Senoi group, the Temiar, bidat are considered clever, brave, and filled with knowledge and steeped in experience; they are on a restricted diet all their lives (Jennings 1995, 140–141).

Sewang gelap, a Malay term, is a shamanic ritual, literally a "ritual in the dark." This ritual is often held some distance away from the village, but it is rarely held now. On the other hand, the Temiar have a number shamanic rituals, which have continued (Jennings 1995, 152–155). Play-dance is the simplest ritual, celebrated without any elaborate decoration, without even the intention of calling upon the spirit guides. Play-séance takes place with some measure of decoration and is accompanied by singing, dancing, and vigorous and less vigorous trancing. The shamans and trainees administer healing to the sick. As Sue Jennings put it, séance or trance-dance performance is "complete with decoration, ritual objects and healing elements" (Jennings 1995, 153). It is held either in the main house of the village for the sick who can attend or in the house of the sick person. The shamans in trance perform individual healing, with the patient lying or seated in the middle of the room, witnessed by all present.

A ceremony known as "the bursting of the mourning" is a ritual held among the Temiar to conclude the mourning period. It lasts three nights. There is a big celebration in the village before the ritual. Gifts are presented to the visitors. On the first night, the music is played in a minor key, participants put on old clothes, and no makeup is allowed. The most solemn and significant ritual is known as the tiger-séance, which is held in darkness. A special shelter is made within a house, without any decoration at all. Its purpose is to contain the shaman, who becomes a tiger. The ritual is conducted to "heal sick persons but also to improve an ailing community" (Jennings 1995, 153).

The better-known shamanic ritual among the Semai is known as *sewang terang.* The term

in Malay literally means a "ritual in the bright," so called because it is conducted with lights on even though it is nighttime. Usually it lasts for five days, during which the sick people of the village are "doctored." Participants who attend the shamanic ritual known as sewang terang are requested to strictly observe the rule that no question must be asked during the ritual. The account that follows is based on the author's observation of several such rituals.

Before the actual night of sewang terang, the living room where the ritual is to be held will be decorated with different items such as the *jari lipan, ketupat, kemenyan, berteh,* and *mangkuk putih* for the healing ritual. The jari lipan is a plaited string made from coconut palms. The Semai believe it acts as a channel for the descent movements of the gunig. The ketupat is a place for putting food for the gunig while they play and communicate with the shaman. The kemenyan is a kind of incense that is burned during the ritual. Its aim is to alert the gunig that the shamans intend to contact them for the healing ritual. The berteh is a kind of flower; these flowers are strung together into a chain around the stems of the leaves of red cassava. Finally, the mangkuk putih is a white bowl with water. Some women will already be in the kitchen, preparing different kinds of food for the night gathering.

By about ten on the first night, some of the villagers are seated in the living room, with their backs leaning against the wall of the house. The hala' also takes his seat among the crowd. When the time comes to begin the ritual, the young Semai women and men dance to the drumbeat made by beating a local instrument known as a *gendang.* They move counterclockwise in a circle in the living room, close behind each other. After about fifteen minutes the dance stops. The hala' gets up from where he is seated and begins the prayerful chant. Normally assistants, consisting of a woman and a man, help the hala'.

The language of the chant consists of ancient Semai phrases, which are occasionally interspersed with some Malay words. The two assistants join the hala' in the chant. The hala' begins the sewang terang with a prayer (*bercagoh* in Semai). The chant is offered to the gunig-gunig of the trees, animals, hills, flowers, and so on. Through the prayer, the hala' informs the gunig-gunig that a healing ritual is about to begin. As a hala', he is seeking their guidance in curing the sick. At the same time, he petitions them to be present at the ceremony. At other points in the ritual, the hala' alerts the spirit guides to the completion of the period of medication. The same prayer of the hala' is also directed to the *roh nenek-moyang* (spirit of the ancestors), *malikat* (the angels from the four corners of the earth), and to the Nyenang (God).

In the course of the ceremony, certain participants enter into a trance, and the others gather around to support the person in trance until the trance state is over. Sometimes, when the person in trance appears to run amok, a few strong young men wrestle with him and pin him down to the floor. They stay with him until he comes out of his trance.

As the ceremony continues, the hala' waves a leafy bundle made from the leaves of a plant known locally as *cenau.* When the bundle gets worn out, he takes a fresh one from the rack on which are placed other leafy bundles prepared earlier in the day.

During the shamanic ritual, normally the hala' and the assistants are in a state of trance, but they are still in control of themselves. As the hala' chants, he "sees" the gunig-gunig descending from "above." Occasionally, he makes "catching" gestures, which are intended to capture the gunig-gunig coming to his aid in the healing ceremony. The catching takes place at a time when he seeks the spirits' guidance to diagnose the kind of sickness. The assistants have to wave incense around the hala' and sprinkle him with water in order to cool down the gunig-gunig. The patients are requested to come to the center of the gathering. The hala' noisily sucks through a clenched fist to bring out the sickness. Then he releases the gunig into the sick persons by touching the leafy brush to their backs. Sometimes, the hala' blows the gunig through a clenched fist into the affected part of a patient.

On the second day, the ritual continues with greater intensity. On the third day, the hala' reminds the gunig-gunig to bring the necessary antidote for the cure of the sick. The hala' also alerts them to gather the dew of the earth for the last day. The dew is used to bless the villagers and cool down the life in the village.

On the final day of the ritual, the room and all the utensils (such as earthenware, pails, and glasses) to be used for the healing ritual are decorated with strings of plaited coconut leaves. From the ceiling, in the middle of the living room, a *balai* (shelter) hangs down. It is made of wood and decorated with lovely fresh coconut braids. The outside is painted black and red. Glutinous rice and fried cakes, made from flour and wheat, are placed inside the balai. This food offering does not include the orange juice, glutinous rice, beef curry, eggs, and red flour that are offered on this final day to the gunig-gunig. Candles are lit inside the balai, offering light to the gunig-gunig.

A second balai well decorated with coconut braids serves as a location for all the different *buyung* (metal jars). The mixture poured into one of the jars consists of rice flour *(tepung beras)* fried with lemon, a spice known locally as *serai guntung,* and leaves of an aromatic plant known locally as *perawas.* A special metal jar is filled with a type of scented wood known locally as *lengak,* or *stow.* This jar is offered by the sick to thank the gunig-gunig, and it serves as a place for the "pleasure and play" of the gunig-gunig. The rest of the jars are used for storage of the medicine brought by the gunig-gunig. These jars are filled with water, and the water serves as medicine for the sick and the general health of the villagers.

A little boat is made by the menfolk from a stemless palm with edible fruits, called *kelubi* or *ngentig* in Semai. In it are seated the wax figures of two centipedes, two snakes, and two scorpions. Into these items, the hala' discharges the misfortune of the sick from the village. Then the hala' and his assistants remove and dispose of them in the nearby stream. As they leave, the participants in the healing ritual are prohibited from looking at them, or else the misfortune will return to the patients. On this final day, the hala' dons a *sawit* (catlike attire made from berteh and the stems of cassava), *songkok* (headdress), and *pedang* (sword).

Since the fourth day is the climax of the healing ritual, it lasts until early morning. The solemnity of the final night enjoins that the participants refrain from any form of jesting and laughter, lest this unruly behavior offend the gunig-gunig. At the ceremony, the hala' prays with great earnestness to the gunig-gunig to bring the necessary medicine for the cure of the sick. At the close of this final day of the ritual, the patients bathe themselves with the water from the jars. Even the villagers are requested to drink the water from the jars, while those who have finished taking their medication wash their faces with the water from the jars. The patients are obliged to refrain from any activity for a day because the gunig is no longer with them to accord them protection. Those under medication must rest themselves too so as not to alarm the gunig within them. They too must observe the necessary food taboos also; hot spicy food is forbidden. In addition, they are not allowed to be wet by the rain. This ritual, clearly shamanic in nature, still plays an important role in the lives of the Semai.

Jojo M. Fung

See also: Indonesian Shamanism; Javanese Shamanism; Malay Shamans and Healers; Murut Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism; Taman Shamanism

References and further reading:

Carey, Iskandar. 1976. *Orang Asli: The Aboriginal Tribes of Peninsular Malaysia.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Dentan, R. K. 1968. *The Semai: A Nonviolent People of Malaya.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Gomes, A. 1990. "Confrontation and Continuity: Simple Commodity Production among the Orang Asli." In *Tribal Peoples and Development in Southeast Asia.* Edited by L. Teck Ghee and A. Gomes. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

Higham, Charles. 1989. *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jennings, Sue. 1995. *Theatre, Ritual and Transformation.* London and New York: Routledge.

Juli, Edo. 1998. "Claiming Our Ancestors' Land: An Ethnohistorical Study of *Seng-Oi* Land Rights in Perak Malaysia." Ph.D. diss., Australian National University.

Nicholas, Colin. 2001. *The Orang Asli and the Contest for Resources.* Subang Jaya and Copenhagen: Center For Orang Asli Concerns and International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.

Javanese shadow puppet. (Shelley Gazin/Corbis)

SHADOW PUPPETRY AND SHAMANISM (JAVA)

Javanese shadow puppetry (in Javanese *wayang kulit,* "leather shadows") is arguably the most elaborate form of shadow puppetry found anywhere in the world. Stories are drawn from the ancient Sanskrit epics the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata and from the myths of native Javanese animism (Van Ness and Prawirohardjo 1982). A close look at this art as practiced in Java reveals shamanistic elements.

A full performance takes around nine hours, from sunset until dawn. Musical accompaniment is provided by a *gamelan*, an orchestra that may consist of anywhere from ten to forty musicians, but the burden of performance rests on the puppeteer (in Javanese, *dhalang,* in Indonesian, *dalang*). The dhalang manipulates the puppets, provides them with voices, sings mood-setting songs, and directs the musicians. Working without a script, he must construct a nine-hour narrative according to a set pattern of scenes.

Though most dhalangs drink sweet tea and smoke during the performance, the dhalang is not permitted to eat during the performance. The position in which the dhalang needs to sit—cross-legged, with the right leg cocked over the left to allow signals to the accompanying gamelan to be rapped out on the side of the puppet chest with a small mallet held between

the toes of the right foot—is extremely uncomfortable.

Men who can do this (there are a few women dhalangs, but the overwhelming majority are male) are accordingly granted a special level of respect in Javanese society. The demands on stamina and memory alone are phenomenal, as is the range of skills and fields of knowledge a dhalang must master: puppet manipulation, gamelan music, singing, a firm grasp of the complex system of court linguistic etiquette, in-depth knowledge of the characters and plot lines of the stories of the repertoire, and the ability to vocalize dozens of characters.

The origins of wayang are now lost, but are certainly very ancient indeed—a Javanese chronicle of around 1000 C.E. contains the first written mention of a performance (Zoetmulder 1974, 208–211). Javanese religion at this period appears to have been a blend of Hinduism and native animism, and the wayang probably represented a form of communion with ancestors.

Although schools for training dhalangs do exist, these are a recent innovation, and very few (if any) successful dhalangs owe their skills solely to formal training. By tradition, dhalangs come from dhalang families. The craft is passed on from father to son, and dhalangs tend to marry the daughters of other dhalangs, women who are skilled in playing the *gender*—a gamelan instrument crucial in the accompaniment of song during the performance.

Most great dhalangs are said to be possessed by their art. Some speak of their training as starting before birth: "I began my profession as a dalang before I was born. I say that because I am a possessed dalang. My grandfather and my father were dalangs. I only continue the culture that was passed down to me. I never went to a dalang school but obtained my skill, in playing the shadow puppets, from my elders" (cited in Williams 1991, 117)

Becoming a dhalang involves many ritual or spiritual aspects besides learning the practicalities of the art of puppetry (in Javanese, *pedhalangan*). Many of these relate to the practice—widespread in Java—of asceticism to build up spiritual strength. It is a traditional belief that certain practices or exercises increase one's store of spiritual energy (in Javanese, *batin*), while other practices (which include performing wayang) drain or put a strain on batin. These ascetic practices include fasting (normally carried out on Mondays or Thursdays, or both), abstinence from sex, going without sleep, and performing meditation in particular places, including the mountains and the seashore, as well as while immersed in water up to the neck, this last practice being known as *kunkum.*

That these practices are also followed by student *dukun* (*dukun* is a term that embraces witch doctors, faith healers, and practitioners of Javanese ritual magic) is no coincidence. Dhalangs were formerly seen as somewhere between magicians and priests in their communities. Since the coming of Islam to Java in the fourteenth century, much of the overtly theological element has disappeared from wayang performances. Nowadays, Javanese interpretations are more likely to focus on the ethical and moral aspects of the stories, with the characters of Hindu heroes and demigods being seen as archetypes, and their moral dilemmas as metaphors for the travails of everyday life. In this interpretation, the battles fought by heroes and demons represent the inner battles waged by the individual in the course of progress toward spiritual maturity.

Traditionally, wayang performances are sponsored to mark notable events—the rice harvest, marriage, circumcision, and so forth. Although wayang performances to mark family events survive, many of the older traditional occasions for wayang performance have largely disappeared. These occasions were for the most part associated with a type of ritual known as *ruwatan* (from the Javanese verb *ngruwat,* "to release someone or something from a curse or evil spell"). Traditionally, misfortunes requiring a ruwatan could include breaking a grindstone or overturning a rice pot. Ruwatan might also be performed to release an individual from illness or misfortune caused (it was thought) by inauspicious circumstances surrounding their birth, or from having been given a name too "heavy" for the soul to bear. Such names commonly included those of major wayang heroes.

In these cases, only the performance of the appropriate wayang story could release them. Such performances, though rarer now than in the past, are still carried out in Java today. The story in question is called Lakon Murwakala, and deals with the ogre Betara Kala (Yousouf 1994, 135).

The story relates that Betara Kala, son of Betara Guru (the Javanese name for the Hindu god Śiva), was born out of a flame that could not be extinguished until Betara Guru acknowledged paternity. This done, Betara Kala was married to Betari Durga, and given the right to prey upon man, subject to a complex and extensive list of prohibited victims. Those who do not appear on the list are the potential victims who can be protected from Betara Kala's attentions by the performance of Lakon Murwakala.

Two versions of Lakon Murwakala exist in the Javanese wayang repertory. In the first, any wayang story can be used in a normal all-night version, concluding before dawn. On the conclusion of this performance, the dhalang introduces the Betara Kala puppet and tricks it into eating rice in the belief that the rice is his intended victim (i.e., the boy for whom the ruwatan is being performed). Thus duped, Betara Kala will be unable to persecute the victim again. At the end of this performance, the dhalang and most of the principal guests drop offerings of money into a bowl of water scented with flowers.

The second version of Lakon Murwakala is, unusually, staged during the daytime, beginning at around eight in the morning and concluding around one in the afternoon. In this version, the entire performance stages the Murwakala story instead of elements from it being added to the end of another story, as in the first version.

One further shamanistic element still sometimes appears at ordinary wayang performances—the introduction of a single three-dimensional rod puppet *(wayang golek)* at the end of a performance, to symbolize the return to reality from the two-dimensional world of the wayang kulit.

Tim Byard-Jones

See also: Dramatic Performance in Shamanism; Javanese Shamanism; Malay Shamans and Healers; Southeast Asian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Osnes, Beth. 2001. *Acting: An International Encyclopedia.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Van Ness, Edward C., and Shita Prawirohardjo. 1982. *Javanese Wayang Kulit: An Introduction.* Kuala Lumpur, New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, Walter L. 1991. *Javanese Lives: Women and Men in Modern Indonesian Society.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Yousouf, Ghulam-Sarwar. 1994. *Dictionary of South-East Asian Theatre.* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Zoetmulder, P. J. 1974. *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN SHAMANISM

Southeast Asia is one of the core areas of Old World shamanism. Indeed, given the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it seems likely that shamanism in Southeast Asia is as old as that of any other region of Asia. The fact that the term *shaman* derives from northern Asia does not mean that the practice or complex itself does. The occurrence of shamanism throughout this vast and complex region is broad but discontinuous, especially if shamanism is identified in terms of the "classic" features found among Siberian and Inner Asian peoples. Still, shamanism appears in both the mainland and insular areas and among all of the major language groups of Southeast Asia, has many of the same characteristics that it does in other regions of the world, and poses similar issues of definition and explanation. More specifically, much of what is known of classical shamanism concerns (1) the Hmong and other hill peoples of northern mainland Southeast Asia; (2) the Orang Asli, "original people" of the mountainous central region of the Malay peninsula; and (3) the interior and upland Austronesian groups of the insular regions, especially Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Borneo. Shamanism among these peoples is undergoing the same processes of decline or transformation that are occurring elsewhere, as the populations among which it occurs are brought under increasing control by postcolonial states and become subordinate and generally marginalized ethnic minority groups. Such peoples are now being attracted or pressured to convert to one of the world religions (Buddhism, Islam, or Christianity, depending in part on the country or region in question) and drawn into modern national and global processes of change.

Origins and Prehistory

Archaeologically recovered and analyzed materials (including grave goods and Dong-Son-style bronze drums) have sometimes been taken to indicate shamanism in the past, a conclusion arrived at by reference to more recent ethnological information. Ethnological accounts, moreover, involving the Orang Asli of the Malay Peninsula mention that shamans are sometimes buried differently from others (Endicott 1979, 137–138). The use of historical linguistic analysis to reconstruct early terms for shamans and shamanistic practices (in Borneo including *balian* and *dayung* for example) would probably also yield interesting results, but these would likely be limited at most to particular areas or language families, and even then would be unlikely to differentiate shamans from other sorts of ritual practitioners. The origins of shamanism throughout Southeast Asia are probably ancient and beyond recovery through any of the techniques used by anthropologists and others to learn about the past.

The evident origins of both present-day Southeast Asian populations and many Southeast Asian languages from more northern areas of Asia has given rise to the notion that shamanism in Southeast Asia is also derived from north, but this is a complicated matter. It can probably be said that the forms of shamanism practiced in the far northern areas of Southeast Asia are most directly and immediately connected to those of Inner Asian peoples. The Hmong and other hill peoples of this region trace their origins to Inner Asia, from which they have been moving southward for many centuries, until today they are spread over Yunan in China as well as the northern parts of the Southeast Asian countries. Much farther to the south the Mon-Khmer and other non-Austronesian languages spoken by many of the Orang Asli groups in the interior of the Malay Peninsula also link them to more northern populations, but the ties in this case are presumed to be much too ancient to suppose that their forms of shamanism also are linked to the north. The Austronesian versions of shamanism of Sumatra, Borneo, Sulawesi, and elsewhere probably do also have northern origins, in that the Austronesian peoples themselves are known to derive from the north, although the migrations concerned extend back over five thousand years or more (Bellwood 1979, 112–113). Although they probably brought their own version of shamanism with them, they could have adopted or borrowed parts of it from the modern humans who had already been living in Borneo and probably other areas of insular Southeast Asia for thirty or forty thousand years.

Shamanism as Narrowly and Broadly Conceived

Observers do not always clearly distinguish shamans from other types of ritual practitioners, including priests (specialists who perform various rituals, often involving sacrifice, based on the routine learning of standardized knowledge and procedures) and especially spirit mediums (specialists through whom the spirits speak and who cure or solve other personal problems through exorcism); observers may not necessarily even think that such a distinction should be made. In reading accounts, therefore, it is necessary to not only note the use of the terms *shaman* and *shamanism* or their absence, but also to consider the descriptions of various kinds of ritual specialists and their activities.

Scholars in general tend to take either a narrow or a broad view of shamanism, though in either case such views are often implied rather than stated explicitly. Those who take a narrow view tend to follow the lead of Mircea Eliade and see the phenomenon primarily in terms of its Siberian or Inner Asian features.

Although such scholars do not produce identical lists of essential characteristics, they tend to stress the following: (1) the belief in a cosmos with many spiritual beings that can help or harm human beings, some of whom can be controlled or influenced by shamans, that is humans who have been chosen, initiated, and trained; (2) the belief that the cosmos itself consists of distinct levels that include, broadly, a spiritual Upper World, a Middle World that is experienced through the natural senses, and a spiritual Underworld that is also the realm of the dead; (3) the belief that humans have souls that leave the body during illness and dreams and permanently at death, but that can sometimes be overtaken and returned by the shaman with the assistance of spirit helpers; (4) the belief that even though shamanism may be hereditary, shamans do not seek their vocation and often resist it, but are called by the spirits who

Southeast Asian shamanism as broadly conceived: A Malay spirit medium performing at a séance in a coastal fishing village (in Bachok, Kelantan, northwestern Malayan Peninsula, 1966), to secure the good-will of the spirits of the sea. (Courtesy of Robert Winzeler)

wish to form a relationship with them, one that is sometimes thought to be sexual or marital in nature, this call involving either dreams or bouts of physical or mental illness that recur and resist other attempts to cure them, phenomena that are interpreted by trained shamans as a summons that must be accepted, refusal meaning death or permanent insanity; (5) the practice of initiation, during which shaman candidates undergo training by other shamans and participate in ceremonies through which they gain control over their familiar spirits; (6) the understanding that, although the shaman deals in ecstasy and trance and may be a medium, most importantly the shaman goes on spiritual journeys to recover lost souls, or in some instances to guide souls of the truly dead to the afterworld, or is able to send familiar spirits to do these things; 7) the acquirement by the shaman of various paraphernalia that are used in ritual activities, usually items of dress or adornment and other objects. (Shamanism has also often been linked with transvestism or androgyny.)

Not every one of these characteristics alone would serve to differentiate shamans from other sorts of ritual specialists, but two in particular can be stressed. These are the beliefs that the shaman is chosen and called by the spirits and that once initiated the shaman has the ability to travel to other worlds, or at least to be able to send spirits to do so. Such basic features of course presuppose some of the other, less distinctly shamanistic ones, including the belief in spirits and in spiritual worlds. There are also mixed or marginal cases—ones in which one of these features is present but not the other.

In Southeast Asia, shamanism defined along narrow lines occurs mainly among "tribal" societies—those that until recently were at or beyond the margins of state control or of adherence to any of the world religions (mainly Islam or Buddhism, or, more recently, Christianity) and for whom, therefore, shamanism is much more than a mode of curing or a peripheral cult for troubled or subordinate persons, but in fact a large part of the religion they practice. Such tribal peoples traditionally have much in common throughout Southeast Asia. A few of them live or previously lived by hunting and gathering and are nomadic, but most practice swidden cultivation and live in more permanent villages, often in longhouses in the past (and still in some places today); many were headhunters. All of these practices set the tribal peoples apart from the lowland, or coastal, wet rice cultivating, single house dwelling, and permanently settled populations that have state political organization and adhere to one of the world religions.

Shamanism more broadly conceived includes other practices involving ecstasy, trance, or altered states of consciousness. In particular, practices of spirit mediumship are regarded by some scholars as shamanism, especially when some of the spirits involved are believed to have been summoned by the medium and are under the medium's control. Shamanism among Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese in East Asia, for example, is primarily interpreted in this way.

In Southeast Asia, shamanism approached in broader terms occurs not only among the tribal peoples but also the lowland, state-controlled societies adhering to one or another world religions. Although the term *shaman* itself has not been widely used in regard to the latter groups, two well-known examples in which it has been used are the Buddhist Burmese and the Muslim Malays. In his study of Burmese village religion, Melford Spiro devotes a chapter to the *nat kadaw* (literally "nat's wife"; sometimes spelled *natkadaw* and translated, "spouse who dances for a spirit lord) whom he labels a shaman (Spiro 1967, 205). But he explains that he does so simply "for want of a better term," and goes on to say that the nat wife is not a shaman of the classical Siberian sort, since she does not ascend to the spirit world or perform other kinds of shamanistic supernatural feats or even cure illness.

Another instance is that of Malay shamanism. As originally formulated by the British colonial scholar R. O. Winstedt in his book *The Malay Magician,* the interpretation is that Malay shamanism, usually involving spirit mediumship, séances, trance, and exorcism, has existed along with, but subordinate to, orthodox Islam over a long period of time in various forms throughout the states of the Malay peninsula. The argument is that shamanism as practiced by the modern Malay *bomoh* (magician) was originally brought by Malays long ago in their southward movement from China, and then overlaid first with Hindu Saivism (the worship of Śiva) and then Islamic Sufism. Whatever its possible origins, Malay trance performances

Southeast Asian shamanism as narrowly conceived: A Selako Dayak shaman in a curing seance in Lundu, western Sarawak, Borneo, 1989. (Courtesy of Robert Winzeler)

and spirit mediumship have continued to be reported as shamanism in more recent accounts (Endicott 1979; Laderman 1991).

No absolute answer can be given to the question of why narrowly conceived shamanism is mainly lacking among Southeast Asian peoples with world religions and state organization. Probably, however, the combination of the cosmology of shamanism and the spiritual powers claimed by or attributed to shamans make them unacceptable to both the world religions and to the traditional rulers of the Southeast Asian states who also claim spiritual powers. The world religions of Southeast Asia are famous for their traditional tendency to absorb earlier beliefs and practices and to be tolerant of heterodox forms of religious expression. Supernatural curing, spirit beliefs, agricultural magic, exorcism, and the like were all widely tolerated and flourished within the boundaries of acceptability, at least until recently, so long as their practitioners also affirmed their loyalty to Islam, Buddhism, or Christianity, depending on the country in question. Shamanism in its classic form, however, was probably too much to digest until it was tamed or transformed into forms of magic and spirituality familiar and acceptable to the practitioners of the world religions and to the kings, princes, and chiefs who ruled in the name of these religions, and who often sought to monopolize or control spiritual powers, if never with complete success.

Characteristics of Southeast Asian Shamanism, with Special Reference to Borneo

The cosmologies associated with Southeast Asia shamanism are broadly similar to those found elsewhere—a universe of three levels, and often many sublevels—but there are many local variations. In Borneo there is a widespread view that the Upper World is a male realm associated with life and birds, the most important of which is the hornbill, and is reached by traveling upriver, while the Lower World is a female realm associated with death, fish, and reptiles and presided over by the dragon, and is reached by traveling downriver. Travel to the spiritual realms, both by shamans and by the souls of the dead, is often by boat.

As elsewhere, the idea of crossing boundaries between worlds is probably linked to the association of shamanism with transvestism or intermediate sexuality that occurs in some instances. Among the Iban of Borneo the highest grade of shaman is the *manang bali*—the transformed shaman, one who has sought to change his identity from male to female, donning women's dress and doing female things thereafter. Transvestite shamans have also been noted in Sulawesi (Eliade 1989). In general, however, shamans in Borneo and elsewhere in Southeast Asia are neither of transformed or intermediate gender nor sexually deviant in other ways.

In most instances, therefore, shamans are either men or women, although this does not mean that they are equally likely to be one or the other in particular societies. The common pattern seems to be rather that they are predominantly men or women in each instance. Why this should be so is not so easily answered in a general way. In Borneo, for example, there are exclusively female versions of shamanism or spirit mediumship, but most societies with shamanism in Southeast Asia appear to have no formal cultural rules that specify gender. Instead, it is usually more a matter of tendencies or preferences and of offering practical reasons for why men or women are or are not apt to become shamans. Jane Atkinson thus reported being told by the Wana of Sulawesi in Indonesia that women were not prohibited from becoming shamans, but they were discouraged from doing so, since the practice involves extensive travel (Atkinson 1989, 280–282). Much the same thing might be expected in the case of the Iban of Borneo, among whom shamans are also mainly men. Here shamanism is similarly a traveling activity, renowned shamans often being called from long distances. This means also that among the Iban shamanism is one of several activities—others being headhunting in the past and trade and wage labor in distant places today—that are sources of male prestige because they involve travel.

In contrast to priestly sorts of activities, which are more highly localized, shamanism itself seems to travel readily between ethnic groups as well as within them. Probably all over Southeast Asia members of one ethnic community regard the shamans of other groups as being especially effective for one reason or another. In both the Malay Peninsula and in Borneo, nomadic hunting and gathering groups are believed by others to have particu-

larly powerful shamans. In Borneo, shamans from Punan nomadic groups are sought out by the settled peoples because of their reputed efficacy—because the Punan are considered by their neighbors to be intermediate between humans and animals—even though their shamanistic practices are but rudimentary versions of those of the surrounding settled groups (Sellato 1994, 161, 205).

Obviously, such observations about shamanism and travel do not explain the opposite pattern of female shamanism that prevails (in Borneo at least) in some places, the Taman of the interior of West Kalimantan as recently described in detail by Jay Bernstein (1997 and in the current volume) being a good example. Nor are the consequences or corollaries of female shamanism always clear in general terms. In some instances female versions of shamanism or spirit mediumship are prestigious roles for women, but in others they are not. The latter include several instances from Borneo, including the Baluy Kayan (Rousseau 1998, 119–140) and the Ngaju, in which there are two kinds of shamans: one kind mainly female with lower status and limited to curing activities, one mainly male with higher status and political influence, which involves priestly as well as curing activities. It is also possible—and in the case of the Ngaju is in fact known to be so—that such a development is the result of change (Jay 1993).

Shamanism and Change

In Southeast Asia the establishment of colonial rule brought the beginning of changes that have often altered, marginalized, or eliminated shamanism. Colonial authorities seldom objected to shamanists or shamanism in the same way they did to indigenous practices of warfare, headhunting, or in Borneo occasional human sacrifice. Insofar as they were aware of it, they generally held shamanism to belong to the realm of local culture or lifeways that should not be disturbed, but if anything studied and written about as a contribution to ethnological knowledge. The missionaries who came with colonial rule generally took a different view. It is true that some of them also produced excellent and sympathetic scholarly accounts of indigenous shamanism as practiced by the peoples among whom they lived, but many or most regarded it as devil worship, or at least as a form of paganism that would have to be eliminated.

Postcolonial governments have often been much less reticent than colonial ones about interfering directly with the religious practices and traditions of indigenous peoples. Such governments are usually dominated by the lowland ethnic groups adhering to world religions that formed the traditional states: the Javanese, Malays, Thai, Khmer, Lao, Vietnamese, and Burmese. Such groups tend to regard the tribal peoples of the hills and interior areas as primitive and marginal, sometimes as disloyal or as outsiders altogether. In seeking to modernize and incorporate the tribal peoples, the modern governments of Southeast Asia have not focused on shamanism per se, about which they may have little knowledge, but rather religion and culture in general.

For their part, the tribal minorities in predominantly Buddhist or Muslim countries in Southeast Asia often convert to Christianity, partly because of Christian missionary efforts among these groups, going back to the colonial period in many instances, and partly because Christianity enables them to be modern but separate from the dominant central, coastal, or lowland groups. In any case, the result is often the alteration or eventual elimination of shamanism, along with other religious practices that are held to be in conflict with Christian practice. Not everyone converts, or stays converted, but even where some do not, shamans tend to be marginalized as backward and traditional. Even in places where Christianity has been propagated for long periods without much success, or where large segments of a population continued to adhere to their own religious practices, it may have an effect on shamanism.

In recent decades at least, those who have converted to Islam have probably been under the greatest pressure to abandon shamanistic practices and to separate themselves from those who still adhere to them. Even here, however, the policies and practices of the Southeast Asian governments of countries with dominant Muslim populations (Malaysia, Brunei, and Indonesia) vary in their inclination or ability to effect religious change among tribal or ethnic minorities. Like the government of Brunei, the Malaysian government has sought to promote the Islamicization of indigenous minorities, al-

though this effort has generally been resisted by the Orang Asli in the Malay Peninsular and by the various Dayak and other indigenous non-Muslim groups in Malaysian Borneo. However, the Orang Asli have been more vulnerable to government pressure to become Muslim and to assimilate to Malay Muslim society than have the Borneo groups, who are much more numerous, powerful, and independent. The shamanism and other religious practices of the Borneo groups are also protected by the legal guarantees accorded to *adat,* "customary practices." At the same time, they have, throughout Malaysian Borneo, widely converted to Christianity, and although shamans—including ones who themselves have converted—may perhaps occasionally still practice in Christian villages, the likelihood that they will continue to do so and to pass their knowledge and practices on to new recruits does not seem great.

The situation in Indonesia, including Kalimantan or Indonesian Borneo, has been different, although here also shamanistic practices as such have not been singled out or even identified, but rather affected by broader government attitudes and policies regarding the religion and cultural ways of the interior minority peoples. Although the Indonesian constitution guarantees religious freedom, this in effect refers to the practice of one or another of the world religions, including Hinduism as well as Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. All of these religions are officially defined as being based on a "belief in one god," adherence to which is the first of the five basic principles of the Indonesian state (Kip and Rodgers 1987, 17). Shamanism and other indigenous beliefs and rituals that are not based on monotheism are therefore "not yet religion" and not covered by guarantees of religious freedom. Such beliefs are not considered to be proper beliefs and practices for citizens of a modern Indonesia. Moreover, such definitions and requirements are not simply bureaucratic abstractions that have little effect on real religious practices. Religious identity is, among other things, indicated on the identity card that is required for many purposes and is a fundamental part of social identity.

The effect of Indonesian government policies on shamanism has varied, however. In many or most regions of the interior, former tribal groups have by now formally converted to Christianity, or, much less frequently, to Islam, with resulting differences. Among the Ngaju peoples of Central Kalimantan in the far south of Borneo, those who have become Muslims have withdrawn from any involvement with shamanistic ceremonies, including the great death rituals associated with secondary funeral practices (those held months or years after the initial funeral, which provide for and celebrate the final journey of the soul to the land of the afterlife). Some Ngaju Christian converts on the other hand, especially first-generation ones who live in villages and households in which some members have not converted, continue to participate in the shamanistic festivals (Jay 1993, 154).

At the same time, such Ngaju shamanistic practices have themselves been transformed and gained official approval as a legitimately monotheistic religion. Faced with government pressure to adopt one or another form of monotheism, some Ngaju Dayak succeeded in having their own traditional religious beliefs, practices, and ritual specialists recognized as a form of Hinduism, similar to that practiced by the Balinese. Ngaju shamanism has thus been transformed, just as the religion itself has been, to better fit the model of monotheism (Schiller 1997). In the past Ngaju shamans were of two types, both of whom were essential participants in religious ceremonies: the female *balian,* who was a slave prostitute, both within and outside of ceremonial contexts, and the male *basir,* who was a transvestite or a hermaphrodite (Schärer 1963, 53–59). With the transformation of the "old religion" into Hindu-Kaharingan, the priestly role of female shamans was eliminated from the great life-and-death ceremonies and restricted to curing and to dealings with the downriver, Underworld spirits. The role of *basir* was retained and enhanced, but males who came to assume it are no longer sexually transformed or of intermediate gender but normal men, who assume the role by studying with established priests or by going to a school for priests (Jay 1993).

Robert L. Winzeler

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Burmese Spirit Lords and Their Mediums; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Gender in Shamanism; Hmong Shamanism; Indonesian Shamanism; Javanese Shamanism; Malay Shamans and Healers; Murut Shamanism;

Semai Shamanism; Taman Shamanism; Thai Spirit World and Spirit Mediums; Transvestism in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Atkinson, Jane Monnig. 1989. *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanism.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bellwood, Peter. 1979. *Man's Conquest of the Pacific: The Prehistory of Southeast Asia and the Pacific.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Bernstein, Jay H. 1997. *Spirits Captured in Stone: Shamanism and Traditional Medicine among the Taman of Borneo.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Chindarsi, Nusit. 1976. *The Religion of the Hmong Njua.* Bangkok: Siam Society.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Endicott, Kirk Michael. 1979. *Batek Negrito Religion: The World-View and Rituals of a Hunting and Gathering People of Peninsular Malaysia.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Graham, Penelope. 1987. *Iban Shamanism: An Analysis of the Ethnographic Literature.* Occasional Paper of the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

Jay, Sian. 1993. "Canoes for the Spirits: Two Types of Spirit Mediumship in Central Kalimantan." Pp. 151–168 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumism and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, vol. 2. Williamsberg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Kershaw, Eva Maria. 2000. *A Study of Brunei Dusun Religion: Ethnic Priesthood on a Frontier of Islam.* Borneo Research Council, Monograph Series no. 4. Phillips, ME: Borneo Research Council.

Kip, Rita Smith, and Susan Rodgers, eds. 1987. *Indonesian Religion in Transition.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Laderman, Carol 1991. *Taming the Winds of Desire: Psychology, Medicine and Aesthetics in Malay Shamanistic Performance.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press.

Meñez, Herminia. 1996. *Explorations in Philippine Folklore.* Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Rousseau, Jérôme. 1998. *Kayan Religion: Ritual Life and Religious Reform in Central Borneo.* Leiden: KITLV Press.

Sather, Clifford. 2001. *Seeds of Power, Words of Play.* Kuching: Tun Jugah Foundation.

Schärer, Hans. 1963. *Ngaju Religion: The Conception of God among a South Borneo People.* Translated by Rodney Needham. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Schiller, Anne. 1997. *Small Sacrifices: Religious Change and Cultural Identity among the Ngaju of Indonesia.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Sellato, Bernard. 1994. *Nomads of the Borneo Rainforest: The Economics, Politics and Ideology of Settling Down.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Spiro, Melford E. 1967. *Burmese Supernaturalism: A Study in the Explanation and Reduction of Suffering.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Winstedt, Richard. 1961. *The Malay Magician: Being Shaman, Saiva and Sufi.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Winzeler, Robert L., ed. 1993. *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumism and Possession in Borneo.* Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, vol. 2. Williamsberg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

TAMAN SHAMANISM (BORNEO)

Among the Taman of Indonesia, a form of healing is still widely practiced that manifests some aspects of classic shamanism. Those who practice healing rely completely on their relationship with the spirits.

Background

The Taman are a Dayak (non-Muslim Borneo indigene) ethnic group of 5,000 inhabiting ten small villages along the Kapuas, Mendalam, and Sibau Rivers upstream of Putussibau, the largest town in the Kapuas Hulu regency in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. The remoteness of the area contributes to the persistence of traditional ways of life, but its isolation has been

alleviated somewhat by the advent of a small airport in the 1970s and a paved road to Pontianak in the 1990s. With the Embaloh and Kalis peoples, the Taman form a larger ethnolinguistic entity called Maloh by outsiders, although some local scholars have recently recommended the appellation Banuaka as a preferable substitute. The Taman are believed to have lived in the Upper Kapuas at least since the seventeenth century; intriguing evidence from legends and research in the statistical study of their vocabulary suggests a much earlier link to Sulawesi, and specifically Bugis. Today, the Taman frequently interact with Chinese, Malay (Muslims, often Dayak converts to Islam), Iban, Kantu', and Bukat people.

The Taman economy is based on shifting rice cultivation, supplemented by the sale of produce and forest products in Putussibau's morning bazaar, rubber tapping, and timber cutting. Fishing, hunting, and gardening also contribute to their subsistence.

Christianity was introduced by Catholic Dutch pastors during the colonial period, and more recently through Protestant churches, notably the Evangelical Church. Mass conversions were carried out in the 1970s, and most Taman are Catholic, except in the villages on the Sibau River, which have a Protestant majority. Many Taman have converted to Islam, but with few exceptions they cease to identify themselves as Taman once they are Muslims. Relations are amicable between persons of all faiths.

The Centrality of Shamanism in Treating and Explaining Illness

Despite its heterodoxy and unflattering association with idolatry, shamanism is extremely important for the Taman, since it is the remedy both of first resort, and in some cases, last resort in treating illness. Taman shamanic curing uses no medicine—its purpose is to treat illnesses (or those aspects thereof) for which there is no medicine. More precisely, it treats illnesses resulting from the attack of a *sai* (spirit) on a person's *sumangat.* The latter term refers to a person's image, as in what one sees in a mirror, or something containing a person's identity or essence. Unlike the English word *soul,* which will henceforth be used as a gloss for sumangat, it does not refer to psychological processes or personality structures. A person's sumangat has the same experiences as the person, but it can separate itself from the person's body, travel, and materialize.

An individual has eight sumangat. All but one "original" sumangat may leave the body, especially during sleep, as proved in dreams. The seven souls that can wander are not further individualized as to name, function, personality, or location in the body. The majority of dreams are considered harmless and normal, although all dreams are believed to contain important meanings, perhaps as omens or warnings, and are taken to emerge from actual journeys of the soul. Some dreams, however, signify special danger, such as interference with the recently deceased, and may require ritual actions or proscriptions. The further a sumangat wanders, and the longer it is absent, the more perilous the outcome.

A sai is any animal or other nonhuman spirit unattached to a body. Sai are believed to live an unseen world and to be found outside the village: in the forest, in certain trees, especially banyans (*Ficus*), localities in a river, grottos, and the like. Sai are considered typically amoral, petulant, and vicious. They act impulsively as well as intentionally and out of revenge. They can cause illness by shooting an unseen object into a person's soul. They may attack a soul by punching, spearing, biting, or clawing it. They can also cause illness by lodging themselves in a person's soul. Most simple or body part illnesses are attributed to cuts inflicted on a soul. Infections and other more serious internal illnesses are attributed to a soul being stabbed or burned by a sai while outside a person's body. These serious illnesses are believed to be caused out of vengeance on the part of a sai for some behavior attributed to a particular person. The victim of spirit attack may not have knowingly committed any action harmful or insulting to a sai but may innocently share the name of the offended sai.

Treatment by Shamans

Taman shamans (called *balien*) are able to cure illnesses caused by sai in part because they are the only persons who can not only see them but have ongoing relationships with them. Few non-baliens report ever having seen a sai.

The first stage of balien treatment is to rub certain stones over body parts, including but

not limited to the parts about which a complaint is made. The treatment is called *bubut,* which derives from a Malay word meaning "pluck" or "extract." Bubut is conducted to treat simple illnesses caused by the attack of a sai, but is also the first and last step of all other balien cures. Certain highly polished stones, kept in a small kit woven from thatch, called a *baranai,* are used. The stones used in bubut are not ordinary stones but are thought to be solidified spirits that represent the souls of the persons in the balien's household. Most are black, polished, and roundish (female spirits) or long and round (male spirits), in a size that fits easily in the hand. Some are oddly shaped but smooth.

Before being rubbed on the person the stone is dipped into a decoction of a crushed, freshly cut ginger plant, usually the ground rhizome of *tantamu (Curcuma xanthorrhiza),* though *saur (Kaempferia galanga)* leaves may also be used, and are preferred in treating children. The balien not only strokes the wet stone over the skin but deeply squeezes and sometimes blows on the patient's flesh. The cure is revealed in the removal of a small object, usually a tiny pebble, from under the stone (and purportedly the patient's flesh), which drops audibly into a bowl held by the balien. This object must be "fed" to the bubut stones to prevent the extracted disease from flying into the balien's body. The normal payment is a cup of uncooked rice.

The next ceremony, *mangait,* involves calling back the patient's absent soul. A balien is brought to the patient's house in the evening, bringing not only bubut stones but a much larger basket, called a *taiengen,* containing stones called *batu kait.* Also used is a wooden pole fitted with a hooked metal tip, called a *pangait.* (The word *kait,* from which the words *pangait* and *mangait* derive, means "'hook"). This pole is planted in or put next to the taiengen and is tied at the top to a house post facing eastward (the direction of the rising sun, symbolizing the living). The balien wears bracelets, called *tauning,* that are covered with cast iron bells that jingle when the balien pulls down on the pangait.

In preparation for the ceremony the balien rubs her face and hands with a magical oil called *polek mo,* drinks a cup of palm wine that is offered to her, covers herself with a blanket or a cloth called a *kain burih* (see illustration in Bernstein 1997, 122), and crouches while grasping the pangait. (The feminine pronoun is used in reference to baliens because about 90 percent of them are women.) As the balien chants, her soul is carried by the batu kait on a trip in a canoe manned by the batu bubut. She visits various spirit houses, searching for the patient's missing soul. She may find that the soul is being held by a sai and may plead with it to return the soul in exchange for a small figurine called a *sulekale,* which is carved into a human shape (further illuminating the Taman soul concept). She then must make her way back, sometimes bringing the soul with her. The entire journey is narrated, usually in an archaic dialect little understood by those who are not baliens.

After emerging from under the cloth, the balien advises the patient's family as to the cause of the illness and may instruct a family member to present a second sulekale at a specified location to assure the release of sick person's soul.

The next level of therapy often involves two baliens working together. It begins early in the morning and is not finished until late in the afternoon. Besides baliens and family members, many guests will attend the ceremony and must be treated with hospitality. This ceremony, called a *malai* or a *maniang,* is similar to a mangait, but differs in that it requires the baliens after locating the missing soul to travel with a number of the patient's kinsmen and supporters to the spot where the spirit has taken it. To catch the soul, they use their equipment as they did at the patient's home, but for a different purpose. In a mangait they use the pangait and stones to enable their own souls to travel, but here they summon the spirits, bringing them near so they can snatch the patient's soul from the spirit who holds it, capturing it in a vase, bringing it back, and reinserting it into the body of the patient, who has been home the whole time.

An even more advanced technique, a *menindoani,* is a further elaboration of a mangait, in which the balien works at the patient's house to locate his soul. It is the step taken after a malai, performed only when the patient's soul is thought to be in great jeopardy, whether from illness or an inauspicious dream or death. A menindoani is the only ceremony a balien may

perform for a reason other than the treatment of illness or to initiate a neophyte balien.

Whereas the previous two ceremonies involve travel on an earthly plane, a menindoani requires the further step to heavenly flight. A menindoani uses a specific chant, *timang manik* ("rising up" chant) and a specific stone, a *batu bau* (eagle stone), not used in previous ceremonies. The chant may last over two hours, as compared with twenty to forty minutes for a mangait. The balien performing a mangait induces through isolation under a cloth or blanket a "shamanic state of consciousness" (Harner 1990, 21–39), but in performing a menindoani the balien conforms to the defining criterion of a shaman as a person who employs "a trance state in which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld" (Eliade 1964, 5).

In another ceremony, *tabak buse,* the balien chants the timang manik but does not use a pangait, effecting soul travel instead through the beating of a drum on two consecutive nights. No firsthand, observational accounts of this ceremony exist. Tom Harrisson, whose report was based on the testimonies of three nonbaliens he interviewed in 1962, described a ceremony called *belian maniang buluh ayu sera* that corresponds with tabak buse, except that it was said to last for six nights (Harrisson 1965, 262–263). The name derives from the decorated bamboo poles used. Harrisson also mentioned a ceremony, no longer practiced by the 1980s, in which the provisions were doubled and two decorated bamboo poles were used instead of one.

The next ceremony, *mengadengi,* is performed when an illness that may not be severe is thought to be the result of spirit victimization and may indicate that the person treated will have to become a balien. It involves two or more baliens and requires food offerings contained either in a tray placed on the floor or a platform made from wooden boards and suspended from a ceiling rafter draped with a cloth, functioning as an offering structure. Also used is an unripe areca palm blossom *(mayang pinang)* to determine whether the person will need to become a balien. Chants are made to invite spirits from the surrounding area. The baliens, wearing special blouses and other finery, dance around the offering structure, accompanied by percussion rhythms made on bowls, gongs, and drums. The person being treated may join the dancing if he or she wishes. While dancing, each balien carries a bundle of leaves including one from the cordyline plant, or palm-lily *(suri),* in one hand and a bowl in the other hand. The baliens see the spirits as they descend and tap them with their leaves, at which time stones drop as if by magic into their bowls. These bowls are displayed, collected, and later given to the patient. At the end of the night the blossom is stroked with tantamu and is cracked open and examined (see Bernstein 1993, 196–197 for illustrations). If the tips are seen to be hook-shaped, it is a sign that the person must become a balien.

The Basis of Taman Shamanism

The balien does not consciously choose her profession but is selected through a process of illness, treatment, and ceremonial induction. The process begins with an indistinct illness that could affect any person, and may include such symptoms as gastrointestinal disorders or an illness that seems to 'travel' from one part of the body to another. Over time, and as treatment continues, men and young people of both sexes usually select themselves out or get selected out of the process. Those who become baliens are mainly mature, often elderly women.

Becoming a balien is considered a fate determined by sai. Balien status is not only not sought voluntarily but is avoided. In fact, anyone who wanted to be a balien would be consider inauthentic. (It is possible that some people desire to become baliens but do not admit it precisely for this reason.) Baliens' intimate and familiar relationship with the spirit domain begins with illnesses and other experiences that are interpreted over time as disturbance from a spirit. Like ordinary illnesses, the balien's predisposing condition is believed to have been sent by some spirit purposely, but not in order to harm them in the more ordinary sense, even though the target may suffer and may even die if not healed by becoming a balien.

Instead, the spirit has selected the person for victimization out of a romantic preoccupation. Signs of these illnesses are recurring sexual dreams that continue to disturb and preoccupy the victim. The victim may long for the dreamed-of person or constantly see the imagi-

Baliens and candidate gathered for a group portrait during a menyarung ceremony, Sibau Hulu, August 1986. All women wear a baju kalawat, a blouse worn only by them. No such garment is worn by male baliens. (Courtesy of Jay H. Bernstein)

nary person in waking life, following it with no awareness of having wandered off. The victim may frequently faint, cry, or feel sad for no apparent reason.

The balien's initiation is an elaborate and expensive ceremony called *menyarung.* Because of the high cost of holding this ceremony, years may elapse between the mengadengi that indicated the candidate was to become a balien and the full initiation to finally resolve the condition. In the interim, the candidate cannot use the stones, though they may reveal their identities to the person through dreams.

Up to ten baliens participate (see photo) in a menyarung, at least one of whom must be a man. It lasts for three days and nights, followed by a day and night of rest and a final night and day. The ceremony involves dancing and stone-catching as in the previous mengadengi ceremony, but is far more elaborate in its provisioning. It is a public event, attended by as many as one hundred guests at some times. The candidate must participate in some dancing and must catch a stone on the last night of the ceremony. All the stones collected become the property of the neophyte, for whom they become occult instruments for treating patients. The candidate is further initiated through the (symbolic) piercing of the fingertips with fishing hooks *(rabe),* which are then embedded in the flesh to enable the novice to feel and remove sai, and similar piercing (though not embedding) of the outer eye tissue, to "clean" the eyes and enable the person to see sai.

After the ceremony is complete, the person is formally authorized to be employed as a balien, though in practical terms she learns the various techniques one by one through apprenticeship, starting with the simplest, bubut. Practicing healing activities enables baliens over time to resolve their own difficulties.

Since much of the balien's work, including all of that performed by less experienced persons, involves no soul flight but only extractive magic, the balien does not fit the classic, primal model of the shaman embodied in Siberian, Inuit, and Central Asian practitioners. Indeed, only the most experienced baliens are able to execute the menindoani ceremony, which best satisfies the prototypical criteria of shamanism. The existence in many societies of healing regimes that include both shamanic and nonshamanic techniques led Michael Winkelman to introduce the term *shaman/healer* (Winkelman 2000, 73), which succinctly characterizes the balien.

Baliens work together in certain ceremonies and are associated loosely through their traditions, but they have no other common interests binding them together. The origin of the whole balien tradition is attributed to Piang (Grandmother) Siunsun Amas, an ancestral goddess who had the power to revive a person who had died, and who guides souls to the land of the dead. She was the first balien and is said to have dictated the rules, methods, and customs followed by baliens to the present day.

The domination of shamanic healing work among the Taman by women is intriguing to anthropologists, since it is not a peripheral cult of rebellion organized by a subaltern category of people, which is the usual explanation of such phenomena. It is possible that the key lies (at least in part) in the experiences of the sexual longing and sense of victimization often described as harbingers of their destiny by those who subsequently become baliens. It would be worthwhile to explore more deeply and compare mythologies about the origins of healing traditions among the Taman and other peoples to determine whether this female domination is part of a larger pattern.

Jay H. Bernstein

See also: Indonesian Shamanism; Murut Shamanism; Semai Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bernstein, Jay H. 1993. "The Shaman's Destiny: Symptoms, Affliction, and the Reinterpretation of Illness among the Taman." Pp. 171–206 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, vol. 2. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

———. 1997. *Spirits Captured in Stone: Shamanism and Traditional Medicine among the Taman of Borneo.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Harner, Michael. 1990. *The Way of the Shaman: A Guide to Power and Healing.* New York: Harper and Row.

Harrisson, Tom. 1965. "The Malohs of Kalimantan: Ethnological Notes." Sarawak Museum Journal 12: 236–350.

King, Victor T. 1985. *The Maloh of West Kalimantan: An Ethnographic Study of Social Inequality and Social Change among an Indonesian Borneo People.* Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, no. 108. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Foris.

Winkelman, Michael. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

THAI SPIRIT WORLD AND SPIRIT MEDIUMS

Thailand is a Buddhist country. The people of Thailand, like other Southeast Asian peoples, also practice an additional religion or ritual system that is centered around spirits. These spirits can be powerful protectors, and people go to them for protection from danger and help with worldly matters with which Buddhism does not much concern itself.

This ritual system has its roots in indigenous religions predating Buddhism in Southeast Asia. Having their roots in different societies, these religions were not identical to shamanism of the classic type found in Siberia. Nevertheless, in their dealings with the spirit world, Thai spirit mediums employ methods similar to those of the Siberian shaman, such as inviting the approach of the spirits and altered states of consciousness.

Spirits *(phi)* are often the ghosts of dead humans, but they can also be the spirits of natural phenomena, such as trees and streams. Important spirits are usually the ghosts of known people, either historical or mythological, and stories are told about their histories. Indeed, the more important spirits can legitimately be called divinities. Sometimes the Vedic gods of India, such as Indra and Brahma, who are important in Buddhism, are installed as protective spirits. The Erawan Shrine (more properly the Brahma shrine) in Bangkok is a well-known example. The four-faced Vedic god Brahma is installed there as the protective divinity for the site of the Erawan Hotel and has become very popular with the public as a divine patron who can grant wishes.

The spirit world is, from an orthodox Buddhist point of view, an ambiguous and potentially dangerous thing. The Thai have historically defined themselves as a Buddhist people, and Buddhism defines the spirit religion as morally troublesome, for it involves the killing of animals and is addressed to amoral supernatural forces. For instance, it is explicitly and strictly prohibited to make sacrifices to spirits during Buddhist Lent. The spirits of socially acceptable cults are thus generally said to be Buddhists or protectors of Buddhism. These spirits observe the Buddhist sabbath, defer to monks, and cannot receive sacrifices during Buddhist Lent. Furthermore, many of the important tutelary spirits of the traditional Thai state were said to be the spirits of deceased princes, whose political legitimacy rests in part on their personal religiosity.

The Thai spirit hierarchy structurally parallels the traditional social hierarchy. Under the traditional system there was a global integration of state, territorial, and domestic cults within a single ritual-*cum*-political framework.

Spirits can be classified by the type of thing they protect or rule. A preliminary classifica-

tion would distinguish three kinds: (1) spirits that protect physical spaces (territories, structures, and waters); (2) spirits that protect persons (kinship groups and individuals); and (3) spirits that are either malevolent (such as witchcraft spirits) or indifferent to humans (such as nature spirits), but capable of becoming dangerous if annoyed. This classification distinguishes spirits by their functions, but it is entirely possible for any given spirit to be both a protector of places and a protector of persons, in the sense that a territorial spirit may sometimes be adopted as a kinship spirit. Similarly, personal protective spirits are spirits who have established a reputation for effectiveness and are adopted by people seeking special protection, such as soldiers or workers going overseas.

Territorial Spirits

Territorial spirits can be ranked according to the territory they protect, in a hierarchy that closely parallels the traditional political hierarchy. At the top are spirits that protect whole principalities. Below them are spirits that protect capital cities, such as those associated with city pillars. (City pillars are large free-standing pillars enshrined at the center of a walled city.) These first two are often the same. Then there are spirits that protect smaller towns and districts, down to village-protecting spirits. Below these spirits are the spirits of neighborhoods and individual house sites. A hierarchy of structure-protecting spirits parallels that of the territorial spirits, and the two hierarchies partially overlap. Essentially three types of structures are protected: (1) public works (such as palaces, city walls, and irrigation structures), (2) Buddhist temples, and (3) houses. At the top are spirits that protect royal palaces, city walls and gates, and the like. These spirits were sometimes made to order by the colorful custom of killing and burying people under the foundations of new structures.

At an equal level of prestige, although outside the political hierarchy as such, are the spirits of the royal temples and great reliquaries, also sometimes made to order. For example, the chronicle of Wat Lampang Luang in northern Thailand recounts that four prisoners were beheaded and buried under the foundations of the reliquary with their heads facing in the four directions. At a lower level are the spirits of ordinary houses (as opposed to house sites), which live in the master bedroom. The house itself is fairly crowded with spirits. In addition to the spirit of the whole house, there are spirits for the staircase, the threshold, the kitchen, and the rice pot, among others. At all levels these spirits, and the territorial spirits as well, serve to mark centers and boundaries. They are meant to protect and keep in what is wanted in a place and keep out what is not wanted, such as robbers, disease, and evil spirits. If the bedroom and kitchen are each in their own way the center of the home, then the front staircase and threshold are the boundary. If the city pillar and palace are each a center of the capital town, then the city walls are its boundaries. Territorial spirits of the political system are likewise found not only in capitals, but also high in the mountains at the frontiers, along the routes by which enemies invade.

Individuals and communities interact with the spirits for various purposes on many occasions. Spirits that protect communities receive collective offerings. Individuals usually interact with spirits to ask their help with problems and challenges in life. Spirit priests and mediums, of course, interact with spirits as part of their duties. Spirits that protect communities receive offerings on a scale commensurate with the spirits' status in the social and territorial hierarchy. When made collectively, these offerings are given to the spirit by a man known as a spirit priest, sometimes in cooperation with a spirit medium or shaman. Priests are men who have been trained in the proper rituals and means of addressing both their specific spirit and spirits in general. In villages, such priests are usually ordinary farmers. In large cities they are sometimes professionals who also act as healers and diviners. Local spirits receive frequent regular offerings that can be given by a priest acting alone, or by whole communities in large sacrificial rituals. These sacrifices are given in regular cycles of years. Some villages seal off their territory with sacred thread during their sacrifices, clearly protecting boundaries and defining the community.

Individual houses have protective spirits in little shrines (spirit houses) on their sites. These spirits usually receive daily food offerings, given

by a woman of the household. The same spirits that receive collective offerings can also receive private offerings, and frequently do. An individual who needs help with some problem can make an offering to the spirit and ask for its help. It is common, for instance, at examination time to see the spirit shrine of a university covered with flowers offered by students asking for a little extra help in passing their exams. In the case of more serious problems, individuals will often approach a spirit through its priest or a medium, or both. This is especially true for spiritual healing, because illness can sometimes be a sign that a spirit has called someone to be his or her (usually his; most spirits are male) medium. The only way to avoid chronic illness, madness, or death is accept the spirit's call. It is not at all clear, however, that the initial illness or the initial possession state is in any way related to any modern medical (particularly psychiatric) disorder.

Spirit Mediums

Spirit mediums, practitioners who exhibit many shamanistic features, have a personal relationship with a specific spirit. They are usually women, and their spirits are almost always male. They are usually from peasant, working-class, or lower-middle-class backgrounds. The medium acts as the spirit's "riding horse" or "seat," and is a kind of servant to the spirit. On the other hand, spirits will come at their mediums' call. This gives mediums the possibility of acting as professionals. Professional mediums are popular at all levels of society and are consulted by many people seeking medical treatment, advice, and the location of lost objects, or wishing to confer with deceased family members. Mediums who serve as the seats of protective spirits play an important role in maintaining social solidarity and transmitting cultural knowledge.

The social status of mediums varies, depending on the social status of the observer and the origins and role of the medium herself. In general terms, the lower one is in the social hierarchy, the higher the status of a medium appears to be. The higher the status of a medium's spirit and the more prestigious a medium's clientele, the higher the status of the medium. Other considerations include the religiosity and modernity of an observer's orientation. Buddhism regards spirit mediumship as a bad thing in and of itself. Pious people are therefore likely to regard mediums as people of bad character—not so much low in status as morally deficient. A person of consciously modern orientation is likely to regard mediumship as superstitious claptrap. On the other hand, many modernists—like many Buddhists—regard the whole spirit religion not as false, but as a waste of time.

Spirit-possession rituals vary, but they all have certain basic features in common, which are similar aspects of shamanistic ritual. Namely, the medium enters a receptive state, invites the spirits, and has initial possession. Then the spirits interact with the people present. When the session involves a private audience of people seeking advice, the session is usually fairly calm and quiet. In the case of large-scale sacrifices, the rituals can be quite dramatic. The mediums dress in their spirits' attire, which is that of traditional noblemen, in preparation for possession. Once they have entered their mediums, the spirits receive large, bloody offerings of sacrificed animals, such as buffaloes, pigs, and chickens. Activities are accompanied by traditional musical groups playing spirited music. Spirits (embodied in their mediums) can become very aggressive during a sacrifice, swaggering about with swords, threatening people present, and eating the raw meat of the sacrifice in bold displays of machismo, authority, and wildness.

Spirits as Guardians of Morality

In addition to serving as protectors and benefactors, spirits can also be guardians of morality. As such, they punish people who engage in certain kinds of immoral conduct by making them sick or killing them. Household spirits are particularly concerned with sexual morality. If a member of the household engages in extramarital sex, the spirit will afflict him or her. This function is tied to the household spirits' role as protectors of the family. Spirits of the fields and forest are usually not so particular about these things. The chronicles do tell, however, of a king who had an affair with a friend's wife while visiting his court. To punish him, the forest spirits caused him to be drowned in a

stream as he returned home. Since he was the ruler, the king's misconduct would upset the moral balance of his kingdom. What stands out in both these cases is firstly, that the spirits concern themselves with people at the spirits' own level (household spirits oversee household members, territorial spirits govern territorial rulers), and secondly, that the spirits' actions are aimed at maintaining social harmony by punishing those who violate the norms of social relationships.

Spirits of the Natural World

Spirits of the natural world are another important type of spirit. Spirits inhabit the world of nature in great profusion. Most of them are unknown to humans, who rarely come into contact with them. Each intrusion into the world of nature, however, carries with it the risk of encountering and angering one of these spirits. Thus people do not like to go into wild forests, and when they do enter a forest, they take care not to engage in activities that might offend the spirits, such as urinating on them. An offended spirit will make its displeasure known by striking down the offender through illness or accident. Every human-inhabited space, however, was once a wild place, and as populations move and grow they intrude into new wild spaces, requiring the domestication of the spirits there. Thus, whenever a piece of woodland is cleared for cultivation or habitation, the person who clears it must make an offering to the spirits there and entreat them not to harm him. He then must beg them to stay on as protective spirits and erect a small shrine to them.

Malevolent Spirits

Witchcraft spirits are found in areas that have ancestral spirits. They are a type of descent spirit gone bad. It is said that they are ancestral spirits that became malevolent because of the neglect of their lineages, who did not perform the necessary sacrifices to them. These spirits may go out and attack other people, eating their livers until they die. The matrilineal descent groups of people who have these spirits are sometimes ostracized from villages and live in separate communities. Witchcraft accusations historically served as a mechanism of social control, often of a political nature. There are also some other extremely unpleasant spirits, such as the spirits of people who have died violent deaths.

Michael R. Rhum

See also: Buddhism and Shamanism; Korean Shamanism; Southeast Asian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bilmes, Jack. 1995. "On the Believability of Northern Thai Spirit Mediums." *Journal of the Siam Society* 83: 231–238.

Rhum, Michael R. 1994. *The Ancestral Lords: Gender, Descent, and Spirits in a Northern Thai Village.* De Kalb: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University.

Tambiah, S. J. 1970. *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand.* Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, no. 2 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turton, Andrew. 1984. "People of the Same Spirit: Local Matrikin Groups and Their Cults." *Mankind* 14, no. 4: 272–285.

Wijeyewardene, Gehan. 1986. *Place and Emotion in Northern Thai Ritual Behavior.* Bangkok: Pandora.

Overview

AUSTRALASIA AND OCEANIA

This regional section includes entries for shamanistic beliefs and practices of the people who speak mainly Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian), Papuan, and Australian Aboriginal languages. Geographically it refers to the peoples who live in Micronesia, Melanesia, Polynesia, and Australia, as well as to Austronesian speakers in Taiwan. It covers numerous islands over a vast area in the Pacific and the Australian continent in the south.

Geography and Language

Micronesia covers the Federated States of Micronesia, Guam, the Marshall Islands, and other island nations in the Pacific; Melanesia includes Fiji, New Caledonia, the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Papua and Vanuatu. Polynesia consists of New Zealand, the Cook Islands, Easter Island, French Polynesia, Samoa, Tonga, Hawaii, and other islands. Located in the northern tip of this Oceanic region, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan such as Puyuma and other ethnic minorities are also included in this section, as they speak Austronesian tongues related to other Oceanic languages.

Except for the languages of various peoples in New Guinea, Australia, and other nearby regions, the peoples of this vast Pacific region have a common Austronesian linguistic origin, although the variants number over a thousand. Australasia and Oceanic lands are covered by variety of terrain, such as tropical rain forests, deserts, delta plains, flat grasslands, and mangrove swamps. High humidity, hot temperatures, and severe weather are characteristics of this region. Moreover, malaria and land erosion are two major concerns of the people of some of these islands. Some members of these Pacific peoples are wage laborers in an urban environment, but the principal economic activities are subsistence farming and fishing. Many of them are good gardeners and grow breadfruit, taro, coconuts, bananas, yams, sweet potatoes, and other crops as the main staples, in addition to raising pigs for ceremonial reasons. Some ethnic groups are hunters and gatherers in remote regions. Their societies vary from small-scale bands and tribal groups of egalitarian social structure to chiefdoms, all existing today within various nation states.

History

Based on the study of their languages and cultures, and material traces of their past, it is generally accepted that Australasian and Oceanic peoples originated from Southeast Asia, although there are still disputes about the origins of these people. People have been in Australia and New Guinea for at least 60,000 years, but spread to other parts of Oceania much more recently. Numerous tides of migrations by sea took place from prehistoric times on, and the various peoples developed languages and cultural characteristics over millennia as they lived in isolation on different islands. Since the sixteenth century, various European nations such as the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch

dominated the region. The Australian continent was claimed for the United Kingdom in 1770 and first colonized in 1788. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, colonial powers such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States dominated the South Pacific, and later the Japanese joined in the colonial game. This colonial encounter eventually led to the Pacific war, or World War II, in which the Japanese and the United States confronted each other in the Pacific. The United States gained many islands in Micronesia after the Japanese lost the war, and many of them are still U.S. territories. Since the 1970s, if not before, many island nations have achieved independence, although these nations are still dependent to a large extent on former colonial powers for economic and military aid.

Religions

During these centuries of European and American colonial encounter, most of the people adopted English or French as their national tongue and Christianity as their religion. As noted in the entry "Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners," Islam is also present in Papua (western New Guinea) due to the immigration of Muslims from Java. As the British brought many South Asians to Fiji to work in the sugar industry, Hinduism also exists in the region. Moreover, the Japanese also brought Buddhism and Shinto to Micronesia during the Japanese occupation from 1920 to the 1940s. Nevertheless, none of these major religions, with the exception of Christianity, has managed to convert large numbers of indigenous people.

Christian missionaries have been extremely active in providing material assistance; the price of this assistance, however, has often been discarding or at least drastically changing indigenous beliefs and practices. Most of the Christian denominations (including the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, the Mormons, and the Methodists) have taken root in Australasia and Oceania. Christianity has introduced new symbols, which have had a profound effect on indigenous religious beliefs and practices, yet elements of traditional religion have blended with the new beliefs and still coexist with Christianity in religious practice.

Despite these changes, indigenous religions have in various ways and to various extents survived to this day, and shamanistic elements can be detected in the myth, beliefs, and rituals of these peoples, as these entries demonstrate. As for the indigenous peoples in Taiwan, the conflict and coexistence between their traditional shamanistic beliefs and Buddhism were and still are apparent. Like the conversion to Christianity among the Australasians and Oceanic peoples in other regions, many Atayal and the Puyama in Taiwan had to adopt Buddhism, the religion of the colonizing Chinese, due to socioeconomic reasons as well as a part of the colonial assimilation policies. Yet Buddhism is an eclectic religion and these indigenous people managed to keep their spirit worship and other practices even after they became Buddhist.

New religious movements in these regions have involved syncretism between indigenous religions and Christianity, which also have brought both spiritual and material culture from the West. For example, cargo cults, which embody a kind of millennialism, spread in Melanesia after contact with the colonial powers, as mentioned in the entry "Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners." These movements, less influential today, seek to reconcile local egalitarian values of sharing and European inequality and capitalism through spiritual means. This kind of syncretism still continues, manifesting in various movements.

Shamanistic Practitioners

Many Pacific societies have shamanistic figures, whether they are called healers, priests, witches, sorcerers, diviners, or mediums. These religious specialists either have positive functions in the community or cause harm to the people through the control of supernatural powers. Some religious specialists use soul journeys and communicate with spirits in dreams, as described in the entry "Dreams and Shamanism (Papua New Guinea)." Shamans among Australian Aboriginals are called "men of high degree," "medicine men," and "clever men" (or clever people, since women do play this role to some extent), as described in the entry "Australian Aboriginal Shamanism." They

can commune with the dead, see spirits, fly through the air, and heal or harm, thus resembling in many ways shamans in other parts of the world. The *tohunga* (priest) among the Maori of New Zealand could be a specialist in magic, knowledge, or healing; in their functions as shamans they spoke as mediums, having received communications from the gods. In Oceania various practitioners such as healers, priests, mediums, and prophets have shamanistic functions. Spirit mediums in Tikopia in Polynesia enter into trance and serve as mouthpieces of gods or spirits of the dead, as noted in the entry "Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners." Puyuma shamans in Taiwan, discussed in the entry "Puyuma Shamanism," also function as therapists, exorcists, and sometimes soothsayers through their communication with the spirits.

Thus the shaman figures of these societies in Australasia and Oceania utilize their supernatural powers and control spirits embedded in indigenous beliefs and practices. There are thousands of ethnic groups in the regions covered, and easy generalization would be misleading. Nevertheless, the shamanistic elements in their practices are strong enough that it makes sense to see these shaman figures as at least comparable to shamans in other parts of the world.

Mariko Namba Walter

Introduction to the Entries

In the entry on "Dreams and Shamanism (Papua New Guinea)," the major feature emphasized is the importance of dreams as sources of spiritual information and hence as an integral part of the shaman's practice, from the initial vocational calling to analyzing the dreams of others to dream travel in search of information from ancestors. The author notes that for the people of Papua New Guinea, success in hunting, war, and gardening depends on good relationships with supernatural beings, and therefore "shamans," those specialists who use dream work as a type of soul journey, are important for their ability to facilitate these relationships. It is also noted that there is a wide variation in religious belief systems among the many different peoples of Papua New Guinea, but that ancestors, ghosts, and other spirits who resemble human beings generally play a role, as do spirits associated with specific places; the belief in witches and sorcerers is a common theme, and in some areas totems and deities are accepted. The shaman is thus one of a number of religious specialists who may be called upon for good or for evil. Dreams are understood to be omens of the future, but they serve diagnostic as well as prophetic purposes; people believe in some areas that spirits of nature—trees, stones, and water—can cause illness and that the dream of a shaman can reveal which spirit has caused an illness and what the appropriate ceremony would be. As Christianity has spread throughout Papua New Guinea, it has been combined in various ways with local shamanic practices and beliefs. Among the Asabano, for example, there are now "Spirit women" who are in essence Christian shamans and whose practice includes various Christian artifacts and prayers; moreover, it is now the Holy Spirit who is the bestower of game and who appears in hunters' dreams.

The entry "Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners" includes a widespread area: Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. Despite the great diversity of languages and cultures in this area, the entry brings out that there are certain religious themes in common. Primary among these is the relationship of the Oceania people to their land, attested to in myths and reinforced in ritual. As noted above in the entry on Papua New Guinea, relationships to spiritual beings, including ancestors, is important for fertility in gardening and other economic subsistence enterprises. Ritual specialists are necessary to ensure or to restore the health and well being of the land and the people. The author notes that throughout Oceania people have traditionally identified with a particular locale, and this relationship has been reflected in myths and rituals and ideas concerning gods and spirits. The importance of the relationship to the land has led to the maintenance of life-giving relationships and motivated participation in the rituals of traditional religion and Christianity, and more recently has led to the emergence of new religious movements.

In Oceania there are a variety of rituals for crops, gardens, hunting, fishing, and healing, for which different types of practitioners are employed, such as healers and mediums. The healer is always a diviner who uses ritual, often including dreams and trance, to diagnose and treat illness.

Mediums, sometimes called shamans in the ethnographic literature, communicate with spirits and are able to enter into an altered state of consciousness. Moreover, their work, like that of many shamans in other cultures, is directed toward improving the well-being of the community as well as that of the individual.

The entry "Australian Aboriginal Shamanism" continues some of the same themes noted in the previous entry. The term *shaman* is rarely used by those who study this area; rather the author describes a "clever" person who has shaman-like knowledge and special powers but does not go into trance nor have political power. "Clever" men (and sometimes women, though most of the literature up to this point has focused on men) have advanced psychic abilities, and only they can intervene between ordinary people and dangers of a supernatural kind. The clever person is described as "one who sees" and has a special relationship to the Rainbow Serpent, a prominent mythological figure in Aboriginal cosmology. Such a person therefore has special powers that the ordinary person does not have: They may hold off floodwaters, change shape, revive a corpse, send storms and floods, and the like. They have a training that is similar to shamans in Eurasia: Their special powers are noticed in childhood, and in their initiations they encounter a spirit or have special dreams and visions. They undergo a ritual "disembowelment" and have their insides replaced by magic substances, such as quartz crystals. After this death and disembowelment, the initiate will spend time alone in a deserted place, meditating.

Elements in making a clever person in southeastern Australia include going into a cave and meeting supernatural beings, the growth of feathers, a sky flight, quartz crystals rubbed or inserted into the body, and a magic rope used to climb into the sky. (In Eurasia, a classic concept of shamanism is the cosmic tree, connecting the three worlds, used for the ascent of the shaman, particularly during initiation).

There is some question in the literature whether the clever person is also a sorcerer, or whether they are separate specialists. Among some Aboriginal peoples a clear distinction is made, and one way of making a clear distinction is that, though clever people may sometimes do harm, their main function is to heal. Substance insertion and substance extraction are major practices of these healers; they can retrieve lost souls with the aid of spirit helpers, they see with the inner eye, they go on journeys while asleep, and they can even travel on a spider's web. Clever people thus exhibit many of the properties of "shamans," including the practices of initiation, soul journeying, divination, clairvoyance, seeing diseases in the body, and healing. However, they do not go into altered states of consciousness, though some do use dreams (as in Papua New Guinea) to follow a sick person's spirit, catch it, and return it to the body.

The New Zealand Maori, covered in the entry "Maori Religion," were a Polynesian people who began to arrive in New Zealand, about a thousand years ago according to myth and legends. Yet it wasn't until around the middle of the fourteenth century that fleets of Maori arrived and settled. They based their social organization on the belief that they descended from those who came in a "great fleet," which arrived at that time. The deities worshipped by the Maori are found among other Polynesian tribal groups, and in contrast to Australian Aboriginals, their traditional religion was polytheistic, not totemic. Membership in the Maori tribe is by tradition based on common ancestry, and this basis is reflected in the Maori worldview, which connects everything through ancestors.

Traditionally, the concept of *tapu* (holy) has permeated their religious life; objects (and people) could become tapu once in contact with supernatural beings or aspects of the supernatural. For this reason priests have had very strong tapu, which also gave them mana, the power over fate as mana is a concept where power is combined with sacredness. Mythology and stories about cultural heroes kept these concepts alive. The ‘*tohunga,* "priest," was a specialist in art, knowledge, magic, and healing. The tohunga were able to diagnose the sources of adverse events often due to witchcraft or the breaking of a tapu. In their capacity as healers, they were mediums of their own local gods *(atua),* and in a shamanistic manner they relayed messages from these deities, who communicated by whistling. As elsewhere, Christianity made inroads into Maori religious life, and several syncretic religious developments have resulted. Nevertheless, kinship and the concept of tapu are still important parts of Maori religious life.

The Puyuma are an aboriginal group living in the southeast area of the island of Taiwan. They speak an Austronesian language and are divided into two groups; the village of Puyuma, where the group lives called "born of a bamboo," is described in the entry "Puyuma Shamanism." In the entry, a distinction is made between "religious practitioners," who are bound up with mythical founding ancestors and attached to their territory and who perform those rituals that recur every year, and "shamans." Shamans, who currently are always women, play the role of therapists, exorcists, and sometimes soothsayers. There are three categories of *birua* (spirits): the *kaqisatan* (On High), the *kaqaulasan* (the Aulas), and the "homeless." Only the shamans have access to the *kaqaulasan,* allowing them to invoke the spirits of their ancestors and of dead shamans, as well as their elector spirits. The shaman candidate undergoes the usual initiatory process: visions, dreams, illness. Her investiture is a kind of death and rebirth. A shrine is built by the men of the shaman's household; it holds among other cult objects a special bag with a rattle that is used to communicate with the birua and to recall a soul. There is no formal training, since it is said that invocations come to the initiate while she sleeps, but there is a period of apprenticeship.

At the end of the nineteenth century, hunting was the major occupation of men, and shamanism was built around this activity, with men as shamans, providing spiritual support for this activity. With the change from hunting to agriculture and the influences of Japanese colonization, men now do the community rites, whereas women are the shaman healers. Today, the author notes, the shamanistic practices of the Puyuma can be seen as falling somewhere in the middle between classic shamanism and a possession cult. When Puyuma shamanism was shaped by hunting, it shared features with Siberian shamanism as observed in the nineteenth century; the current form is closer to the possession cult that characterizes Korean shamanism.

The entry "Atayal Shamanism" discusses another one of the Taiwan aboriginal tribes who focus their religious practice on ancestor worship, with the ancestors as a source of moral authority, propitiated with prayers and sacrifices. Again there are two types of religious specialists involved: the *gaga* chief, male, who acts as a priest, responsible for rituals, and the "shaman," female, who performs exorcisms, makes rituals for weather-related problems, and most importantly diagnoses and treats illnesses. The healing functions of the shaman, including the recovery of lost souls and exorcism of evil spirits who are creating illness, are made possible by the shaman's ability to communicate with ancestor spirits. Head-hunting is also an important part of Atayal ancestor worship because it is believed that head-hunting adds to the soul substance of the village, increasing its fertility and viability for the future. If a member of the head-hunting expedition party is killed, it is believed that the enemy now controls his spirit, and hence it is a source of danger; the local shaman is called upon to perform an exorcism to prevent his spirit from entering the village. Although shamans are not as powerful as gaga priests, these practitioners contribute to the health and safety of their community.

Eva Jane N. Fridman

ATAYAL SHAMANISM (TAIWAN)

The Taiwan (Formosan) aborigines, an indigenous people who number around 400,000 people (less than 2 percent of the entire population), inhabit the Central Mountains, the Eastern Coastal Region, and Botel Tobago Island (Government Information Office 2001). These tribal groups are the Atayal, Saisiyat, Sedeq, Ami, Bunun, Tsou, Kanakanabu, Saaroa, Rukai, Puyuma, Paiwan, and Yami (Mabuchi 1953). They were called Takasago People by the Japanese (Takasago is an old Japanese name for Taiwan), Mountain People by the Nationalists, and simply "nonsinicized people" by the Manchu of the Ching dynasty (1644–1911 C.E.). Physically, they are considered to be of Southern Mongoloid stock. Their language belongs to the family of Austronesian languages, but culturally they are Indonesian. Their primary subsistence pattern is slash-and-burn agriculture, based principally on the cultivation of cereals and root crops. Hunting and fishing are supplemental activities.

In this entry, the Atayal are discussed as representative of these aboriginal groups in their head-hunting and shamanistic practices, which are major aspects of their religious belief system (Ho 1956). The source of the account of shamanic rituals is an interview by the author in March 2003 with a seventy-four-year-old Presbyterian minister named Watan-Tanga who lived in Taoyen Hsien, Fushin Hsiang, Tsojin Tsun.

Shamanism

In the religious beliefs of the Atayal, the ancestral spirits are the most important group of deities. They are the objects of prayer and sacrifice. In community-based rituals, such as head-hunting and agricultural rites, the *gaga* chief, the leader of ritual groups, acts as a priest. He is in charge of most of the rites. Shamans *(phgup),* on the other hand, are involved in exorcisms for a victim's family and handle weather-related disasters. Shamans are very active in the diagnosis of causes of illness, treatment of illness, recovering of lost souls, and exorcism of evil spirits associated with family or individual affairs. The gaga priests are men only, whereas the shamans are women. The gaga priests' function is on a permanent basis and consists of regular ritual activity. The shaman's performance is only temporary and for specific reasons.

It is moderately difficult to become a shaman. A woman must take lessons from a master. The student pays the master a tuition fee, in the form of strings of shell beads. After the training, if she passes the examination, she will become a shaman. Therefore the social status of shamans is not as high as that of gaga priests. The shamans treat any kind of sickness, such as headache, stomach problems, or even toothache. There is no trance, nor helping spirits; only ancestor spirits are involved. The shamans do receive payment for their work. The form of the payment is a string of shell beads, sometimes a "bundle" (ten strings of shell beads), sometimes a skirt (five bundles, or fifty strings), depending on how long and how hard the work is.

Shamans are like doctors in that their main function is to cure sickness. They communicate with the ancestor spirits, using prayers and divination to ask whether a sickness can be cured, the cause of the sickness, and the nature of the sickness. The ancestor spirit answers only yes or no. The shaman has a device made of a piece of bamboo stick and a wooden board, to which a glass ball *(ureyanan)* is attached. When the ball falls it means "no"; when the ball stays on the joining point of the bamboo and the wooden board, it means "yes." For healing sickness, shamans use a variety of natural items such as the gall of a bear, leaves of a peach tree, the tender branches of a vine, mugwort or artemisia leaves, and calamus roots.

Shamans have special power in dealing with other sicknesses. For example, in the case of a very sick person, who is about to die, they tie a string between the sick person's hand and the foot of a chicken. They kill the chicken by beating it to death. It is said that the life of the chicken will go into the body of the sick person, who will then survive.

Head-hunting trophies were permanently preserved in the public head shelf of the Ulai village, a Saqoleq subgroup of the Atayal. (The Album of the Customs of the Taiwan Aborigines, vol. 1, plate 50, Ushinosuke Mori)

If a farmer finds that someone is stealing his crops, he asks a shaman to come and say a special prayer. After the prayer, the thief's hands and feet will become numb and not able to move, and therefore he will no longer be able to come to the farmer's field to steal. The same method is used to prevent birds or beasts from eating the crops. Shamans are also called upon in weather-related emergencies; when a drought happens, they butcher a pig, letting its blood flow into the river. People then jump into the river and splash the water with their hands, symbolizing raining.

Head-Hunting

As noted, the most important spirits for the Atayal are the ancestral spirits, ancestor worship being the core of the Atayal religion. The ancestor spirits are the sources of moral authority and the object of prayers and sacrifices. The Atayal called head-hunting *megaga,* which means "to follow the rules and demands of the ancestral spirits." Hence, head-hunting by the Atayal people was motivated by their belief in the soul and the spirit world. Early research records mentioned that in some subgroups of the Ataya, human heads were needed at sowing, harvesting, and thanksgiving rituals—demanded as a sacrifice to promote the fertility of crops and the prosperity of the human population (Kojima 1915, 61).

Head-hunting also added to the soul substance of the village, as newly acquired heads were believed to increase the power of resistance to disease and encourage the fertility of the villagers as well as agricultural fertility. Moreover, it was believed that the soul of the head one has taken will serve the hunter in the next world as a slave. A case is known in which

a person who wanted to die went head-hunting before his suicide so that he would have a slave in the next life.

When the need for head-hunting arose, it was customary to organize a head-hunting party, usually consisting of a dozen men. A man of experience was chosen as a party leader for the expedition. He would visit the village chief to get permission for an expedition and borrow a village-owned good luck amulet *(tsinetto).* This amulet was a bag made of leather containing the enemy's hair, fire-making tools, and a water container made from a gourd to use for headhunting rituals.

After permission was granted, the men discussed their head-hunting strategy and performed a ritual to form a party. Then the participants prepared the hunting weapon, head-carrying sack, and other items, and returned to base camp. That night they would consult an oracle through a dream *(mita-supi).* The dream was regarded as a revelation from the ancestors. When the men dreamed of receiving gifts from others, young girls coming to visit, or drinking wine, these were considered good omens. On the other hand, giving gifts to others, breaking things, or teeth falling out were seen as bad omens. A person who received a bad omen might drop out of the expedition.

Next morning, all the men who had received good omens performed a purification rite. In front of the shed, the leader faced the person holding a water container in the left hand, and a camphor branch in the right hand. He prayed to the spirits of ancestor, "Please let us have a good bird omen." On the way to the destination, the bird omen *(mita-sileq)* was consulted for the expedition. The Atayal regarded the bird called the *sileq* bird as a divine messenger who could foretell good and bad luck. It was a good omen when a sileq bird flew in front of the expedition, keeping a certain distance, and called out with a smooth cry. On the other hand, if the bird was flying on one side alone, calling with a harsh cry, or cut across the march of the expedition, these were bad omens.

When they arrived near their destination, all members faced in the direction of home in order to pray to the spirits of the ancestors, "Blessing us return in triumph." After the attack and gaining a head from a nearby settlement, they quickly went home. The head-hunting feast followed with songs and dance, encircling the head itself as if they were welcoming a new spirit. After one or two days of celebration, the head would be moved to the public head shelf. A village-wide memorial service would be held there. Every family brought their best offering to the spirits of the victims, and the village chief addressed the spirits of the victims saying, "Please stay here. We will treat you the best. Tell your relatives and friends this is a wonderful place to stay. Ask them to join you." After the ritual was completed, members of the head-hunting party would perform the last head-hunting dance to end the celebration. Next day, the headhunters and all the villagers would go together to hunt. When they catch game, part of the game would be offered to the spirits of the heads on the public shelf. After this hunt, the head-hunting expedition was officially completed, and people would return to their normal life.

When a member of the head-hunting party was killed during the raid, the head of the victim had to be cut off and discarded at the outskirts of the village in the dark. The villagers had to destroy the house and belongings of their slain comrade, because the enemy, who inevitably will do evil things to the villagers, controlled his spirit. At this point the village shaman was invited to perform an exorcism. Both the gaga priests and the shamans exhausted every means to stop a killed person coming back into the community.

Presently in Taiwan, the practice of head-hunting is completely outlawed. Instead of human head-hunting, youth hunt animals in "games" to exhibit their skill and bravery. These Australasian people maintain their communities and live among themselves in special regions or on tribal reservations in Taiwan. These reservations were strictly maintained for the tribal peoples before 1945 by the Japanese administration but are now open to other people. They maintain their tribal identity—in practices such as costume—only in festivals or special occasions, such as the New Year celebration. These people, especially those who are over fifty years old, still speak their own language as well as Chinese (Mandarin). The majority has converted to Presbyterianism but a small portion of the population, especially the old, still keep their religious identities. Only a very small percentage of the population believes in Buddhism or Daoism. There is no signifi-

cant revival of traditional, tribal beliefs and ritual except for songs and dances.

John Ting Jui Ho

See also: Dark Shamanism; Puyuma Shamanism

References and further reading:

Government Information Office. *The Republic of China at Glance—Taiwan 2001.* Taipei: Government Information Office.

Ho, Ting Jui. 1956. "Tai Ya zu Leihto Hsisu chih Yen Chiu" [A Study of the Atayal Head-Hunters of Taiwan]. *Bulletin of the College of Arts, National Taiwan University* 7, no. 4: 151–208.

Kojima, Yoshimichi Ed. 1915. *The Survey Reports on the Customs of Formosan Aborigines*, vol. 1. Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokutu.

Mabuchi Toichi. 1953. "Takasago zoku no bunrui: Gakushi teki Kaiko" [Retrospect on the Classification of the Formosan Aborigines]. *Minzokugaku Kenkyu* [The Study of Ethnography] 18, no. 3: 1–2.

Mori, Ushinosuke. 1917. *Ethnography of the Formosan Aborigines*, vol. 1. Taipei: Rinji Taiwankyūkan Chōsakai.

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL SHAMANISM

Many of the techniques that a person acquires in order to become a recognized shaman are similar cross-culturally: the ability to enter an altered state of consciousness, to act as intermediary between the seen and the unseen worlds, to be a "supernatural specialist," to wield power, and to bring back knowledge from other realms. Both healing and harming are qualities attributed to the shaman, making the shaman a person of high degree in a special sense.

With regard to Aboriginal Australia, there is some debate about whether the term *shaman* should be employed, and in fact the term is rarely used. A. P. Elkin (1977) called them "men of high degree" and used "medicine man," "doctor man," and "clever man" interchangeably with "man of high degree." He wrote, however, that the man of high degree is not peculiar to Australia, and likened him to the Amerindian "man of power." Other Australian aboriginalists have stated adamantly that "clever" men are not shamans. The reasons they give mainly center on the definition of shamanism as incorporating ecstatic possession, the role of the shaman as specialist, the shaman's connection with political power, and the perception that shamans are in some way abnormal. The Australian clever person possesses a high degree of normality according to the mores of the group, does not become ecstatically possessed, and has no political power. Although he must undergo a life of self-discipline, training, and social responsibility, he enjoys no extra privileges and, apart from his special powers, leads a life like anyone else in his group. Also, "clever" powers are possessed to some degree by many people and are sometimes spotted in children as inherently present. Some actions, such as pulling certain plants out of the ground, or killing a living creature such as a bat, can create heavy winds and rain without the intervention of a clever person. A more recent objection to the term is that shamanism is linked with the New Age, and any such association may pave the way for possible trivialization of Aboriginal culture and the subsequent neglect of important contemporary social and political issues concerning indigenous rights.

Nevertheless, most agree that clever people display shaman-like knowledge, skills, and qualities. They can commune with the dead, see spirits, bilocate, shape-shift, fly through the air, and learn what is happening at a faraway location, and they have the ability to heal and to harm. A person is clever and of high degree because he has been admitted to secrets not disclosed to the ordinary person. In some places, clever people are called upon to interpret dreams, recover missing objects, predict future events, explain unusual phenomena, and protect people from psychic attack. This type of access to information is not considered extraordinary, but only clever people are considered experts on such subjects. Where clever men differ from others is in their more advanced psychic abilities and their heightened perception and awareness of the world around them.

Uluru, formerly Ayers Rock, Australia. (Corel Corporation)

Although the literature emphasizes *men* of high degree, and thus the pronoun *he* has been used so far, this may be a narrow and restricted view of clever people. Women can also be clever (Bell 1998; Payne 1993; Reid 1983). Indeed, women possess curative knowledge for the benefit of both males and females and have other abilities similar to those of men, a fact that eluded earlier studies conducted by male researchers. In the areas of Australia where there are reports of clever women or doctor women, women's expertise is thought to be principally concerned with women's business, midwifery and menstruation, though also with the practice of healing and love magic.

Although most Aboriginal people are conversant with various bush medicines, and women have the most consistent responsibility for their preparation and application, only a clever person can intervene between ordinary people and dangers of a supernatural kind. A powerful person, operating primarily at a spiritual and social level, is usually only called upon to treat illnesses that do not respond to the bush medications. The ability of powerful people to cure comes from the possession of spiritual powers or from powerful objects given to them by spirit beings, as well as from their astute knowledge of events and relationships within the community.

Regional names for clever people vary according to linguistic groupings (Hume 2002). In the Western district of New South Wales they are called *karajji,* in central western New South Wales, *wireenan* or *walamira;* in Queensland, *wingirin;* in Victoria, south of the Murray, they are known as *kuldukke.* In the Kimberley area of northwestern Australia they are known as *banman* or *barnmarn,* in the Western Desert as *mabarn,* in northeastern Arnhem Land as *marrngitj,* and in western Arnhem land as *margidjbu.* In southeastern Australia, the Dieri call them *kunki,* and the Wiimbaio call them *mekigar* (from *meki,* "eye," "to see"—"one who sees'). The Wiradjeri refer to such a man as *wiringan* (powerful man), or *buginja*

(spirit, or spirit of the whirlwind), or *walamira* (clever person). He is clever in the sense that he has intellect and shrewdness, but he also has the ability to receive help via spirit and psychic agencies. The clever man also has a special relationship with the Rainbow Serpent (a prominent mythological figure in Aboriginal cosmology) and its powers.

Whenever clever people appear in myth they have power beyond that of most other figures mentioned. These powers include keeping floodwaters at bay temporarily, changing shape more rapidly than any other characters in the story, reviving corpses, knowing what is happening at a distance, sending storms and floods to punish people, and summoning their personal magic snake to either protect themselves or to harm others.

Becoming "Clever"

The training of clever people varies from one region to another. One can become clever in several ways: by inheriting powers (although individuals still have to prove themselves equal to the task), being "made" by another clever person, by a personal quest, a psychic experience, or being "called" by the spirits of the dead. Whatever the way, however, a reputation for special powers is essential.

The making of a clever person can be a long and complex process. Other clever people might keep their eyes on a promising young candidate who has psychic abilities or experiences, or on a child with a reflective nature and a more than passing interest in tribal lore. By the age of ten or twelve years, someone who shows promise might be taken to an isolated spot and have his assistant totem or spirit companion "sung" into him and be taught how to use it. But it is more common for a young man with power to be required to pass through some of the stages of initiation before another clever man assists him to release his power. This, again, may vary from one region to another. A potential clever man might have his vocation confirmed by significant dreams or visions, or by encountering a spirit. Such experiences might be further encouraged by sleeping in isolated places or near the grave of a deceased clever man.

The procedure for the making of a clever man mirrors shamanic procedures in other cultures. Typically, he is taken by a spirit into another realm where he undergoes disembowelment and his insides are replaced, usually by substances such as quartz crystals (Elkin 1977). Alternatively, objects may be magically "hammered into his body" by a group of older medicine men. Thus transformed, he has the ability to use the power in these new innards to do his magical work. Quartz crystals and other magical substances such as a magical cord are usually put inside a medicine man during his "making," sometimes physically and sometimes metaphysically.

In eastern Australia, it was reported that magical substances such as quartz, pearl shell (both closely associated with the Rainbow Serpent), and special stones were inserted into a novice through an abdominal incision or a hole made in his head, or were rubbed or pressed and sung into his body and limbs.

Among the Gunwinggu of western Arnhem Land, a clever man obtains his power mainly from spirits of the dead. A deceased relative inserts into his head a small thin rod, like a bamboo spear, and breathes power into all his body apertures, telling him to use this for healing purposes. Only a man thus transformed by the spirits could survive such insertions. When the clever man "sends" these things to others, they become very ill and die, unless countermagic is used. Generally, except in the case of clever men, insertion leads to illness, and extraction leads to cure.

After a ritual disembowelment and "death" at the hands of the spirits, the clever man might spend lengthy sojourns in the desert or the bush in order to meditate alone and develop his psychic powers. He may acquire a spirit familiar or a spirit assistant. Djiburu, an Arnhem Land clever man, said that his powers came from spirits called *gulun,* who stupefied him for five days and operated on him while he was asleep, inserting a kangaroo fibula into his thigh, then rubbing away the wound with water. When he awoke, he recognized that he had been "made" because of his ability to see through objects. The clever man's knowledge and powers would become more fully developed over many years, during which time he was given instruction by others in the art of bone-pointing, sorcery, diagnostic techniques, the cure of illness, and psychic healing, as well as how to use his quartz crystals most effectively.

In other places the postulant is sometimes swallowed by a water snake and spat out, or by the Rainbow Snake and vomited out. In the North Kimberley region of western Australia, Ungur, another local name for the Rainbow Serpent, is believed to live in a pool. On top of the pool floats scum that is said to be Ungur's spittle. When a boy is selected for training, his induction includes the magical insertion of a ball of the pool scum into his navel. The ball is Ungur's egg, which hatches in the boy's belly. While it grows, the boy neither drinks nor eats anything hot, for fear of disturbing it. Once the boy is "made," Ungur endows him with special powers that enable him to summon the snake to do his bidding. In northwestern Arnhem Land, the Rainbow Serpent is known as Ngalyod and is the bringer of life and the creative expression of continuing life. Some clever people are said to possess a *ngalyod* (a private rainbow serpent usually located in the stomach region), and its power is very potent for those clever enough to harness or control it. It can also be sent out of the body to penetrate other people.

Essential elements in the making of clever men in the southeastern part of Australia involve going down into a bright cave and meeting supernatural beings, the growth of feathers, a flight into the sky or among the stars, quartz crystals being inserted into or rubbed against the body, and possession of a magic rope by which the person is able to climb upward to the sky. A fully qualified clever person can travel through the air or under the ground, cure illness, see with a "strong eye," and even transmogrify (Berndt and Berndt 1977).

Characteristically, an Aboriginal clever man has his own spirit familiars, or personal totems that act as his assistants. A Walbiri (central Australia) clever man has an assistant called a *mabanba,* a small being the size of a thumbnail that lives in his body. In this area, being a clever man is dependent on the possession of a mabanba, and it is usually inherited from the father. The mabanba is said to be transparent as glass and soft as rubber, and although it is invisible to the uninitiated, it appears to the medicine man as clear or white—the color of quartz crystals. The mabanba makes a ticking sound that anyone may be able to hear, but only the clever man understands its message. It can choose to leave the man's body and travel about freely at great speeds, either through the air or under the ground, and its resting-place is in the man's belly, arms, chest, or head. The mabanba can be "pulled out" of the physical body to be sent on diagnostic errands or used for healing purposes. Clever men may apply their mabanba directly by rubbing or inserting it into a patient's body (Cawte 1974).

Overcoming fear is a necessary prerequisite in achieving mastery of the power, and not everyone is even a candidate for being clever. To be able to gain knowledge, transfer thought, see visions, and send out power to bring life and death, one must face terrors and dangers of a psychic nature. Becoming clever requires much practice, courage, and perseverance.

Healing and Harming

There is some ambivalence in the literature about whether or not a clever person is also a sorcerer. Some say that the function of the clever man or woman is to heal rather than harm, and to withdraw evil magic rather than promote it. But there is evidence to suggest that the clever man has the power to perform acts that both heal and harm. In some places, different names are conferred upon the two, helping to delineate their separate roles. For example, in eastern Arnhem Land, a medicine man is called *marrngitj,* and a sorcerer is known as *kalka.* The main role of the *kalka* is to injure or bring about the death of a person. The role of the *marrngitj* on the other hand, is to attempt to diagnose and cure illness, which often has been caused by a sorcerer (Berndt and Berndt 1977).

Substance insertion and substance extraction play a large part in both magical healing and sorcery, and are mentioned repeatedly in the literature as being powerful tools of the clever person. Sometimes a magical object is extracted from a clever man's own body and used on the patient as part of a cure. Or patients may have an object extracted from their bodies that has been sent by a sorcerer.

Traditional curing techniques also include sucking (the most common healing method in many areas), biting, massaging (or rubbing), squeezing, pinching, and pressing various parts of the body, as well as the magical extraction of objects such as bone, stone, or charcoal. Sometimes the patient may be smoked, or objects

such as quartz, pearl shell, and stones may be placed on the affected part. Other cures might necessitate retrieving lost souls with the aid of spirit helpers. The clever man might go into a trance and send out his spirit familiars to locate and return an object that has been removed from the patient's body. Singing or chanting accompanies most methods. Sometimes evil magic can be sucked out as a mouthful of wind and blown away, or a medicine man might pass his own power to that of the sick person, then suck the affected part and draw out his own power along with the patient's pain. Massaging a patient with bare hands or a rag (or kangaroo skin pads) smeared with fat or oil is believed to be efficacious in some areas, as is brushing an affected part with feathers. Another method employed to alleviate pain is to place hands on the affected part of the body. Sometimes several methods are used on the same patient.

The work is said to require much energy and concentration, and a man may say at times that his power is light, or weak. Some clever men have more power than others; a man "heavy with power" can follow a sick person's spirit in a dream, catch it, and return it to his body. Although sucking and massaging are common procedures for getting rid of illness, sometimes a clever man's powers are believed to have become so strong in his later life that he might dispense with techniques such as sucking.

Clever people throughout Australia consistently use human body fat, especially gall or kidney fat, to magically harm a person. A bunch of emu feathers soaked in a dead person's fat could make a person unconscious if waved over him by a sorcerer. Fat was considered lucky, and the eater of human fat gained strength through its consumption. Smearing a spear with a dead person's fat was considered to give it a magical quality. Other bodily excretions—feces, urine, phlegm, or spittle—were used in sorcery. Urine sorcery created bladder troubles; phlegm or saliva sorcery caused severe colds or chest pains.

Seeing with the Inner Eye, Spirit Flight, and Other Powers

One attribute of clever people is the ability to "see with the inner eye," or "strong eye," and locate the site of an illness. Aboriginals compare the strong eye to an X-ray machine; the person possessing such sight can see parts of the body such as the liver and the intestines and establish whether or not they are diseased. R. M. Berndt and C. H. Berndt (1977) wrote that a clever man was noticeably different from others because of the light radiating from his eyes. He could also see through trees and other objects, and was able to detect a psychic light moving about a dead man's grave for up to three days after death.

Clever people can go on journeys while their physical bodies are asleep. The person's spirit might exit through the navel and fly away. During these journeys a person might find himself at a ceremony where he is both a witness to and a participant in events and learns important songs and other information. In 1937, Norman Tindale noted that a man could "travel as a whirlwind," leave the supine body, and fly on a spider web. A hair cord is reported in some areas as the means by which one might fly into the sky world. In the Northern Territory, clever men might fly through the air astride the rainbow. This is achieved by a self-induced trance and is called traveling in a clever way.

The abilities of clever people also include: divining, clairvoyance, thought-reading and thought-transference, seeing what is happening at a distance, seeing visions of the past, present, and future, making themselves invisible (or transforming themselves into other shapes), fast traveling, communicating with spirits, control over the weather (especially rainmaking), and the conquest of space and time. All these powers can be lost if clever people fail to maintain strict self-discipline such as adhering to food restrictions or, more recently, avoiding excessive alcohol consumption. Illness and age can weaken their powers as well, either temporarily or permanently. Clever people are not all-powerful, especially when it comes to combating sorcery, and some have more power than others. A person of high degree has great power, but others are credited with only a little power.

Nowadays, Aboriginal people use the facilities of Western medical health clinics and Western medicine, but they do not abandon bush medicines and the assistance of clever men if they are available. Indeed, some Western medical practitioners recognize the importance of traditional healers and allow them to work with their patients. In the mid-1970s an elderly Aboriginal nursing aide who was also a medicine man was

employed by the Yuendumu (central Australia) Hospital and encouraged to use techniques such as massaging, sucking, and withdrawing substances alongside Western methods of health care. Not all clever people respond to requests for their services, and some are called upon more frequently than others. Increasing urbanization and less interest shown in traditional culture by Aboriginal youth has resulted in a diminishing number of clever people.

Lynne Hume

See also: Extraction; Fire and Hearth; Healing and Shamanism; Initiation; Rock Art and Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bell, Diane. 1998. *Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin: A World That Is, Was, and Will Be.* Melbourne: Spinifex Press.

Berndt, R. M., and C. H. Berndt. 1977. *The World of the First Australians.* Sydney: Ure Smith.

Cawte, John. 1974. *Medicine is the Law.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Charlesworth, Max, ed. 1998. *Religious Business: Essays on Australian Aboriginal Spirituality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elkin, A. P. 1977 [1945]. *Aboriginal Men of High Degree.* St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Howitt, A. W. 1996. Reprint. *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia.* Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press. Original edition, 1904.

Hume, Lynne. 2002. *Ancestral Power: The Dreaming, Consciousness and Aboriginal Australians.* Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

Payne, Helen. 1993. "The Presence of the Possessed: A Parameter in the Performance Practice of the Music of Australian Aboriginal Women." In *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions.* Edited by K. Marshall. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Reid, Janice. 1983. *Sorcerers and Healing Spirits.* Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Rose, Deborah Bird. 1992. *Dingo Makes Us Human: Life and Land in an Aboriginal Australian Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stanner, W. E. H. 1966. *On Aboriginal Religion. Oceania* monograph 36. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Tindale, Norman B. 1937. "Native Songs of South-East Australia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 61: 107–120.

DREAMS AND SHAMANISM (PAPUA NEW GUINEA)

Introduction

Papua New Guinea (PNG), a Melanesian country north of Australia in the Western Pacific, is home to hundreds of distinct peoples, many of whom see dreams as a source of spiritual information and a venue for shamanic action. In this tropical land of vast forests, rugged mountains, impenetrable swamps, and scattered islands, people experience dreams as nightly soul-travels in which people can see their own and others' hidden intentions and actions. As most societies in Papua New Guinea emphasize human equality, anyone can exploit dreams to discern causes of misfortune, produce magical effects, and communicate with supernatural beings. Nevertheless, some individuals specialize in these and other shamanic endeavors.

Papua New Guinea's Cultural Diversity

Comprising the eastern half of New Guinea and surrounding islands, Papua New Guinea is one of the most culturally diverse regions on Earth, with approximately 760 language groups. Even the homogenizing effects of outside political, economic, and religious contacts do not override Papua New Guinea's human diversity. Sustained interactions with outsiders began at different points in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, under the aegis of German, British, Australian, and since 1975, independent Papua New Guinea administrations. The hundreds of indigenous religious traditions have been combined with numerous mission-introduced Christian sects. These influences add new cultural variation to the mix, so that generalizing about Papua New Guinea is even more perilous.

Papua New Guinea's indigenous peoples remain the vast majority and control their own land. Ethnic groups have from tens to thousands of members, with traditional economies

based on gardening, pig raising, foraging, and fishing. Social structures include egalitarian bands, tribes led by "big men," and chiefdoms. Villages typically number in the tens or hundreds of residents, and in some places men and women reside separately. In the twentieth century, colonial powers established cities and governments associated with states and world system economics. These now coexist with traditional villages and social institutions.

Religious belief systems vary widely as well, though they usually concern ancestors, ghosts, human-like sprites, place spirits, witches and sorcerers, and in some places, totems and deities. Some religious traditions emphasize secrecy and initiations, often with men being privy to special foods and maintaining sacred houses off limits to women and children.

Many societies have "shamans"—healers who use soul journeys in dreams and trance to counteract supernatural causes of illness. However, anthropologists use various labels to describe practitioners of shamanic arts in Papua New Guinea, such as "sorcerer," "witch," "diviner," and "medium." Which term is used depends on what activities practitioners undertake in the various societies. "Shamans" not only heal, but can also attack people as "sorcerers" or "witches." Sorcerers purposely manipulate supernatural powers to harm or kill, and occupy a socially accepted role. Witches are unable to control their powers and destroy their own people, resulting in social disapproval. Of course, whether an action is for good or ill depends on perspective. In most Papua New Guinea societies, illness and death are understood to ultimately result from sorcery, witchcraft, or the action of spirits rather than simple physical causes. Therefore, to heal one person is to thwart another. Depending on the society, any of these roles can be occupied by either men or women or both.

Numerous references attest to shamans using dreams as a source of information for healing and other pragmatic concerns in both traditional religions and in localized forms of Christianity. For Papua New Guinea peoples, success in gardening, war, and hunting, like health, depends on robust relationships with supernatural beings. Shamanic practices that heavily emphasize dream work serve these relationships because of the widespread belief that dream experiences are not mere fantasy, but soul journeying.

Shamanic Uses of Dreams

Dreams aid every stage in the shaman's career, from the initial vocational calling, to analyzing the dreams of others, to dream-travels in search of information from the dead and other supernatural beings. Shamans use dreams of patients, interested others, or themselves to divine disease causes, intervene with spirits, or determine actions for waking life. For example, M. J. Meggitt observed among the highland Mae Enga that "diviners" and "mediums" see and communicate with ghosts in dreams (1965, 110).

Many Papua New Guinea peoples recognize an affinity between dreaming and death, as among the Gimi of the highlands, who experience dreams as a kind of reversible demise, in which the person's life departs from the body (Gillison 1994). Not only is one's own death-existence envisioned in dreams, but one may also encounter those already deceased and learn from them, as among the highland Melpa (Strathern 1989). Here, seeing the dead in a dream can portend one's own death because one is in effect reestablishing a close relationship with them—risky, because they can pull one to the other side. However, it can also be an opportunity to seek assistance, for the dead are regarded as having an understanding of hidden actions and intentions that the living lack. The shaman can thus temporarily die and acquire the insight of the ancestors.

Among most Papua New Guinea peoples, there is a strong sense that neither illness, death, nor success are accidental, but rather flow from the hidden intentions of human or humanlike beings who can be witnessed in dreams and trance. For example, the Mekeo of southern coastal New Guinea see dreams as a realm in which sorcerers' hidden selves operate to both kill and heal. People can also become ill or die when they dream of spirits whose interest in them causes distress or physical maladies. For example, Michele Stephen described a Mekeo woman who suffered back pain after recurrent dreams in which a water spirit in the form of a European man took her dream self as a lover. In her subsequent dreams, other water spirits prescribed certain medicines. Upon applying these in waking life, her pain dissolved (1996, 476–479).

Among the highland Sambia, dreams are frequently understood to be omens, and shamans share their own dreams and later reinterpret

them in line with events to give the impression of prophecy (Herdt 1987, 65). In one fascinatingly convoluted case, Gilbert Herdt reported that a shaman dreamed he hit his wife. When his stepmother subsequently fell ill, he feared that his dream actions had caused her condition. A second shaman's trance quest produced a reinterpretation, changing the identities of the characters in the dream: The first shaman's dream-self had not in fact hit his wife's dream-self; rather, his familiar had attacked his stepmother's spirit. Accepting this interpretation, the first shaman performed a cure that involved tethering his familiar to prevent further attacks (1989, 99–101). These Sambia shamans saw dreams as venues in which people cause, diagnose, and heal illness. Illnesses could also be treated through reentering dreamlike awareness in trance.

Maurice Godelier reported that the Baruya of the highlands consider shamans distinctive from ordinary people based on the actions of their spirits during sleep. Instead of merely wandering at random, like most dreamer's spirits, male shamans' spirits transform into birds, and female shamans' spirits change into frogs. They assemble nightly at the boundaries of the group's territory to stand sentry, protecting Baruya spirits who may be led astray by malevolent beings. In healing rituals, following a diagnostic visit to the patient, shamans seek a course of action in their own dreams based on the cause of the sickness that has been revealed. To allow greater control than is possible while dreaming, shamans undertake the actual cure while in a tobacco-enhanced trance, rescuing the patient's spirit from its captor and restoring it to the body. Shamans then seek and appear to remove an illness-causing object from the body, hurling it toward the enemy territory to project its harmful effects there. Godelier pointed out that here we have a link between shamanism and warfare, which illustrates that the shaman's role as healer includes the ability, or even the necessity, to harm as well (1986, 115–117).

Asabano people don traditional finery for a celebratory dance, 1994. The woman in the foreground is a spirit woman named Maka, who described her own shamanic dreaming as follows: "I don't see traditional spirits. I see only the good Spirit of the Lord. I do spirit work and the Lord shows me indications that people from far away will come, and tells me to get food to offer at church. I just see this in dreams and the Lord tells me to do no wrong. The Lord gives me [prophetic hunting] dreams and then my husband takes a gun and kills animals. [When I get sick,] I pray and sleep, and then I dream and get better. I saw a dream in which the Lord told me where to make a garden and showed me that plenty of food would grow. I planted there and harvested plenty of food. I just hear talking in dreams; I don't see a face. I see dreams and think they are true [prophetic] dreams that the Lord gives me." (Courtesy of Roger Lohmann)

Dream Shamanism and Religious Change: The Asabano Case

Missionary work has resulted in spiraling cultural change—most of Papua New Guinea is now Christian. Typically, Christianity has simply been superimposed upon indigenous beliefs, so that local spirits find themselves demoted to created beings, likened at best to angels, and at worst to demons. Nevertheless, shamanic dreaming remains vital, though transformed in many areas.

Roger Lohmann (2000b) described a case in which shamanic dreams of God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, and angels compelled the Asabano of the highlands fringe to convert to Christianity. The Asabano discontinued their traditional initiations for men and women and abandoned the traditional food taboos that had maintained the religious order. Further dreams clarified and established the supernatural authority of the Bible and writing, transforming the social structure (Lohmann 2001).

Traditionally, Asabano shamans, who were usually male, used tobacco trance and dream encounters with spirits to diagnose illness and prescribe cures. The people believed (and still believe) that tree, stone, and water spirits cause some illnesses by holding onto the souls of passers-by. Dreams indicated which spirits had caused a particular illness and made possible an appropriate offering and curing ceremony to retrieve the soul. Asabano say that witches also cause sickness by mystically cannibalizing their victims. Dreams, together with other indicators, revealed the identities and actions of "witches," who were then executed. Asabano hunters also used dreams to communicate with benevolent forest sprites believed to control access to wild game.

Conversion saw the advent of Christian shamans, called Spirit women because they are usually female. Spirit women say they communicate with the Holy Spirit in dreams and during prayer-induced trance to discover the spirits and witches responsible for illnesses. Rather than executing or making offerings to the revealed culprits as in former times, Spirit women prescribe various prayers to God, including the new practice of planting a wooden cross bearing a Bible verse in the path supposed to have been taken by the culprit. This practice itself originated in a Spirit woman's shamanic contact with the Holy Spirit (Lohmann 2000a, 264). The Holy Spirit now appears in hunters' dreams as well, having replaced forest sprites as the bestower of wild animals.

Even peoples like the Asabano who depict Christianity as the antithesis of traditional religion retain the widespread notion that in dreams one's soul may encounter and influence supernatural beings. Dream travels by people adept at communing with the new god provide a cure for the uncertainty and unease that comes with the overthrow of familiar beliefs and the adoption of foreign ones. This, too, is a kind of dream shamanism, to heal whole societies as they move from one set of religious assumptions to another.

Roger Ivar Lohmann

See also: Christianity and Shamanism; Dreams and Visions; Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners

References and further reading:

Gillison, Gillian. 1994. "Les rêves, la mort et le désir d'immortalité: Une étude des Gimi des haute-terres de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée" [Dreams, death, and the wish for immortality: A study of the Gimi of highland Papua New Guinea]. *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 18, no. 2: 91–104.

Godelier, Maurice. 1986. *The Making of Great Men: Male Domination and Power among the New Guinea Baruya.* Translated from the French by Rupert Swyer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Herdt, Gilbert. 1987. "Selfhood and Discourse in Sambia Dream Sharing." Pp. 55–85 in *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations.* Edited by Barbara Tedlock. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1989. "Spirit Familiars in the Religious Imagination of Sambia Shamans." Pp. 99–121 in *The Religious Imagination in New Guinea.* Edited by Michele Stephen and Gilbert Herdt. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Lohmann, Roger Ivar. 2000a. "Cultural Reception in the Contact and Conversion History of the Asabano of Papua New Guinea." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison.

———. 2000b. "The Role of Dreams in Religious Enculturation among the Asabano of Papua New Guinea." *Ethos* 28, no. 1: 75–102.

———. 2001. "Introduced Writing and Christianity: Differential Access to Religious Knowledge among the Asabano." *Ethnology* 40, no. 2: 93–111.

Meggitt, M. J. 1965. "The Mae Enga of the Western Highlands." Pp. 105–131 in *Gods Ghosts and Men in Melanesia.* Edited by P. Lawrence and M. J. Meggitt. London: Oxford University Press.

Stephen, Michele. 1996. "Dreams and Self-Knowledge among the Mekeo of Papua New Guinea." *Ethos* 24, no. 3: 465–490.

Strathern, Andrew. 1989. “Melpa Dream Interpretation and the Concept of Hidden Truth.” *Ethnology* 28, no. 4: 301–315.

MAORI RELIGION

The Maori, a people of Polynesian descent who inhabit New Zealand, maintain a worldview of the cosmos and a religious outlook that goes back to the earliest development of their culture. Shamanism, which involves a close association with the natural landscape, such as mountains, rivers, and ocean, and the maintenance of sacred sites and sacred areas within each tribe’s stewardship, has continued as a vital aspect of Maori culture to this day. Previously under the care of the *tohunga* (a shaman-like priest), currently the concern of elders or specialists, the recovery and maintenance of land is a major component of any discussion of Maori identity and religion.

Background

Drawing on myth and legend, together with other evidence, Western historians have assigned a date of around 1350 C.E. when the first peoples migrated from an island known as Hawaiki lying in a northerly direction from New Zealand (Shortland 1856, 1–30). It is thought that a civil war had broken out on the island, and therefore they embarked for the coast of New Zealand in seven large seagoing canoes, the most famous of which were named *Tainui* and *Te Arawa:* They came to land in Waitemata harbor (Simmons 1976, 103–108). Significantly, a sperm whale *(paraoa)* was discovered beached at that location, and hence the harbor was called Wanga-paraoa, “Whale-port” (Shortland 1856, 2). The memory and significance of this early voyage remained central to Maori traditions, and the sperm whale continued to be an important source of food, while its bones were used for weapons, and the teeth of the whale valued as neck pendants. There is a legend concerning the god of fishes and whales, Tinirau, who sent the tohunga (priest) Kae home on the back of his pet whale, Tutunui, after he had baptized Tinirau’s son (Reed 1966, 183). For the Maori, the mythological past is peopled with deities; it is brought to mind through religious ceremonies and practices, enabling them to trace their descent from the ancestors who arrived by canoes and holding a sacred relationship to their land and ocean.

Once settled in New Zealand, the Maori organized into descent groups of tribes, subtribes, and families, each tribe occupying a large area; and the various subtribes and families cooperated in warfare and ceremonial gatherings. Men usually emphasized their descent from their paternal ancestor, although they occasionally gave allegiance to their matrilineal line of descent (Salmond 1976, 12). The descent continuity of a group, the role of chief, and the respect and awe due to ancestors were, particularly in the past, important components of Maori culture.

Cosmology and World Order

Maori history is considered to begin in the time before even the birth of the land of Hawaiki, both a real and an imagined, mythological place. This place, distant ancestrally, is linked with the spirit world and hence is part of the Maori concept of the cosmos. Once Hawaiki (the spiritual cosmic place) came into being, the gods, Rangi the Sky Father and Papa-tua-nuku, the Earth Mother, were created. From their embrace, many children were created, who then populated the sea, winds, woods, and other plants, and who were also progenitors of human beings. According to this version of the creation myth, the children, living in darkness with their parents, decided to separate themselves and create a world of light. One of the children, Tane, the spirit of the forest, separated Sky Father from Earth Mother, and hence the (earthly) New World *(Te whenua Hawaiki)* arose (Henare 2001, 202). Joseph Campbell (1949, 283n) recounted this narrative, quoting from George Grey’s 1855 *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as Furnished by their Priests and Chiefs.*

According to Grey’s version of the story, Tane rejected the suggestion of one of the other children to kill their parents: “Then spake Tane-mahuta, the father of the forests and of all things that inhabit them, or that are constructed from trees, ‘Nay, not so. It is better to rend them apart, and to let the heaven stand far

above us, and the earth lie under our feet. Let the sky become a stranger to us, but the earth remain close to us as our nursing mother'" (Campbell 1949, 282). This was the beginning of life in the world—birds, animals, and fish, including humans. A contemporary Maori scholar, looking at the creation myth from a philosophical point of view, wrote that the cosmos was thought to have started with a burst of primal energy (Henare 2001, 202–203).

Oral historical sources recounted the crossing of the Ocean of Kiwa by the partly human, partly spirit hero Maui, who was said to have tamed the sun, captured fire, and tried to conquer death. His great achievement, however, was to bring up from the ocean depth, using his grandmother's jawbone, the Great Fish of Maui *(Te-Ika-a-Maui),* now the North Island of Aotearoa (the Maori name for New Zealand). The Polynesian explorer Kupe sighted the land, which looked like a long white cloud, and named it Aotearoa—Land of the Long White Cloud (Henare 2001, 203).

It is important to note that the fundamental religious and philosophical concepts of the Maori did not originate in Aotearoa, but such concepts as *tapu,* mana, and other aspects of their religious thinking were brought to Aotearoa from the original Polynesian homeland. One of these concepts, which was found in Polynesia and had its later echoes in Aotearoa, was the idea of the creation of the universe, seen as an egg that contained Te Tumu and Te Papa; after the egg burst they remained on the lowest of three levels and created humans, animals, and plants. The first two men were incomplete, but after the creation of Hoatea (Sky-space) and Hoatu (Earth fruitfulness), the human race descended from them. This concept of the creation of the universe and the human race as deriving from a cosmic egg, known to many mythologies worldwide, emphasizes "the fertile seed-power within [that] typifies the inexhaustible life dynamism of nature" (Campbell 1949, 277)—a concept fundamental to Maori religion. The Maori myth has the narrative of the egg dropped into the sea by a bird; when it burst, a man, woman, boy, girl, pig, dog, and canoe came out. They all got into the canoe, arriving in New Zealand (Campbell 1949, 274–275, 292).

Nature and Deities

The children of Sky and Earth were the gods *(atua),* who were closely connected to various aspects of nature. Tane, the god of the forest, created all vegetation, and the trees of his forests reach toward the sky, making that spiritual connection between the levels of sky and earth. Rongo was the god of peace and agriculture; Tangaroa was the god of the ocean. Rain bound earth and sky together again, in their sorrow over their separation. The elements of nature thus, like the human beings, were linked in kinship; the Maori world order was seen as genealogically connected (Parrinder 1967, 50). Respect for and love of the land are still part of the spiritual outlook of the Maori. The land is conceived of as a sacred gift passed on from the ancestors to the present generation, a gift that needs to be cared for. The memory of the mythic history of the people links the Maori to the environment, and to the deities associated with it.

Other important atua are the house-dwelling gods *(atua noho-whare),* the spirits of the seeds of the unborn infants; their importance clearly relates to the respect paid to the line of ancestry and descent, past and future (Shortland 1882, 35). Edward Shortland noted that the Maori addressed *karakia* (invocations) to the Powers or Deities of Nature, considered as their own original ancestors. Moreover, they had forms of invocation *(karakia)* addressed to the spirits of their dead ancestors (Shortland 1882, 10, 11). This offering of incantations to deities of nature as well as to ancestral spirits shows great similarity to shamanic forms of invocation and worship in Eurasia, specifically in Siberia and Mongolia. This is not to suggest that there is any connection or diffusion between shamanic cosmology and forms of religious invocations between Siberia and the Maori, but simply to note that very similar outlooks and forms of worship prevailed.

Mauri, Tapu, Mana, Hau, Wairua

Tapu is defined as the cosmic power with which all things—persons, places, objects—were imbued at the time of creation; hence all are in a sacred state. The power or potency within a thing or person is defined as mana. In the concept of mana, the idea of power is combined

with a sense of sacredness that leads to awe and respect, and the separation of the sacred from daily life. Hence the idea of tapu as a system of prohibitions, but its real meaning is related to the concept of sacredness, which may be applied to children, houses, gardens, rivers, lakes, and often whole ecosystems. Balance and harmony is brought about by respect, whereas abuse leads to disharmony and imbalance. *Mauri* is defined as the vital spark, or life force, once possessed by Io, the Supreme Cosmic Being. Since mauri may be abused by improper usage or lack of respect, the proper rituals, prayer forms and incantations need to be offered to reestablish the balance of life again. *Wairua* is the spirit within the body that is implanted in the embryo and needs to remain in the body for its continued existence. The wairua can move away from the body but must return to it for life to continue. The *hau,* on the other hand, a cosmic power that is embedded in the embryo and is often called the breath of life, or the wind, "is called up by the priestly leader at birth and bound in humans" (Henare 2001, 210). Together with the tapu and mana of the child's ancestors, which are present at conception, these life forces are vital essences for the human being (Henare 2001, 207–210).

Karakia and Makutu Ceremonies

Religious rituals play an important role in reestablishing and protecting the hau of the natural world, feeding it by making offerings to the waters and the forest. Religious rites of the Maori are essentially oriented toward correcting breaches of the laws of tapu. According to Shortland, the sacred essence of an atua could be communicated to objects that he touched; this sacred essence could then be transmitted to something else, and hence it was necessary to make the object containing the sacred essence of the atua tapu to protect it from pollution. To this purpose, various *karakia* would be chanted. A karakia was a prayer, an invocation of ancestral spirits in genealogical order, or a combination of prayer and invocation (Shortland 1882, 25, 28). Karakia were chanted at a variety of situations and life stages. Karakia were recited for childbirth, for grown men going into battle, for eels, for birds, and for *makutu* (sorcery). A special karakia was recited at the birth of a child; Shortland noted that, among the Arawa tribe, in the case of a difficult birth, this karakia was used (Shortland 1882, 30). Moreover, in such cases it was assumed that the mother had committed a breach of tapu, which had to be discovered by the *matakite,* "seer." The father of the child had to plunge into the river while the karakia was recited; during this time the child would be born. Once the child was born, if the mother had difficulty nursing, the tohunga was called; he brought the mother and child to the water, sprinkling the mother and dipping the child in the water. The tohunga then repeated a powerful karakia, which brought the power of the water to the breast of the mother and caused her milk to flow.

Disease was considered to be caused by a spirit having taken possession of the body of the ill person. Any neglect or violation of the laws of tapu could bring about the anger of the family atua, who then would send an infant spirit to feed on some part of the patient's body. Infant spirits were used because of their short time on earth; they would have lesser attachment to their relatives and be less inclined to show mercy in their feeding on the bodies of the guilty. Sick people needed to consult the matakite and a tohunga in order to understand what offense they had committed and what ceremonies were necessary to appease the atua and restore health. In addition, there was a dark science called *makutu* that could make a person violate tapu and offend the atua without the person being aware of it. The person wishing to use makutu just had to obtain some of the person's spit or some part of the person's food, in order to change it so as to anger the family atua and bring about illness (Shortland 1882, 31).

There was a very strong belief in the power of makutu among the Maori. Even in instances of petty theft, the power of makutu in the words of the tohunga was used to bring about the image of the thief and curse him with death threats. As among other peoples with shamanic practitioners, forms and curses of makutu were used to counteract the makutu of a more powerful tohunga, someone whose mana came from a more powerful atua (Shortland 1882, 34–35).

The Tohunga

Tohunga in Maori language means "expert." Various kinds of experts in the Maori community were known as *tohunga: tohunga-whakairo* (expert in carving), *tohunga-moko* (expert in tattooing), and *tohunga-karakia* (expert in charms and incantations). It was the tohunga-karakia who had many of the duties of a priest and was, in many respects, a shamanic person (Andersen 1948, 1), and to whom this entry refers simply as a tohunga. The tohunga was able to make the body of a dead warrior move as though it were alive, as an omen of future victory for the tribe (Andersen 1948, 38–39). Original notes taken by S. Percy Smith, published in 1899 in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute,* are the basis of description of the tohunga by Johannes Andersen (1948). S. Percy Smith had noted that ancient traditions of this priesthood were recounted among the Polynesians in the Rarotonga traditions. These priests were active in the selection of ruling chiefs and performed many other magical and astrological functions. They were seers, poets, historians, and most importantly, navigators with knowledge of astronomy. As a historian, the tohunga performed a most important function, knowledgeable in tribal history orally handed down from father to son. Their knowledge extended to ancient songs and karakia, which had to be performed correctly.

Expeditions of war were a part of Maori life; the tohunga could lead an expedition, or function as a *matakite* (seer) to foretell the outcome. Since everything connected with war was tapu, the tohunga, considered the representative of the deity Tu-matauenga, god of war, needed to be engaged in every aspect of warfare, from the preparations of war to the return of the warriors after blood had been shed, since shedding blood was a violation of tapu. The tohunga was involved in all ceremonies of Maori life and life-stages: naming of the newborn child, sicknesses, handling the infringement of laws of tapu, and counteracting makutu thrown by an enemy. Marriage and death were ceremonies at which karakias intoned by the tohunga were necessary, and indeed, it is noted that more karakias connected with death have been preserved than any other type (Andersen 1948, 18–20).

The powers of the tohunga were transmitted from father to son, across many generations. The father or grandfather would teach the son; occasionally, the young acolyte went to a tohunga in another family or tribe. However, some knowledge and certain karakias were the property of a particular family or tribe. Young boys, starting at age twelve, were taught in the *whare-maire,* the special building with carvings of ancestors and ancestral lore. They were taught by recitation the origins and the history of the tribe, the entire genealogy of the ancestors, and other tribal lore. Initiation ceremonies with special karakias were used, and care was taken not to mention the name of the Supreme Deity, Io, as well as other sacred karakias, taught only to prospective tohungas. Karakias were supposed to be learned perfectly after one session; a single mistake could ruin the efficacy of the incantation and even cause the death of the tohunga (Andersen 1948, 21–25). There were various tests and ordeals to which the young initiate had to submit. The Arawa tribe had the pupil brought by the tohunga to the altar *(tuahu),* a tall upright stone, which he was supposed to hit with a small flat pebble. If he succeeded in not breaking the small stone, then he was further tested, using a karakia called a *hoa* (an exertion of willpower), to break the stone into fragments without damaging his hand. A further test was to try these powers on an animate object, such as a flying bird, causing its instant death. A final test is noted, whereby the *tauira* (pupil) showed his powers by willing the death of a near relative (not a child or parent), to demonstrate that the powers of the tohunga were greater than all other emotion and needs (Andersen 1948, 26–28).

The tohunga were used as mediums in all situations where communication between humans and deities was necessary. It was thought that the called-upon deity entered the body of the tohunga, who then uttered oracular words intended for the guidance of the people. Often the tohunga would be in a state of trance, *urua,* and in this state he was described as "like a furious raging madman, his body and limbs convulsed, his eyes protruded, foaming at the mouth, giving utterance to strange tongues; sometimes rolling on the ground, at others rushing hither and thither with furious grimaces and frantic cries. These fits gradually died away, and were succeeded by a long period of prostration" (Andersen 1948, 34). This description is like that of the classic shaman of

Siberia, and although the term *shaman* is not used in accounts of Maori religion, it is quite clear that the tohunga can be thought of as such a personage, starting with the ancestral line, the passing through various ordeals and tests, his functions, and indeed, his ability to go into trance (altered state of consciousness) while communicating with the atua of the world above.

Current Adaptations

Though *tohunga* was the name historically given to the person who acted as a shaman for his tribal group, currently the term *tohunga* is not used for such a personage. In accounts of the important nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Maori leaders Te Kooti, founder of the Ringatu faith, and his successor, Rua Kenana, the term is not used, though both were heirs of famous tohungas. One can see, however, despite the predominance of Christianity in their teachings, the continuing importance of land and landownership as an intrinsic aspect of these religious leaders' messages and activities (Binney 1997; Binney, Chaplin, and Wallace 1990). Although Rua cast aside all traditional Maori practices in favor of new forms associated with Christianity and spoke of himself as the promised messiah, he was greatly concerned with more modernized systems of landownership and land usage, organized on a strong communal basis but at the same time emphasizing family ownership of land (Binney, Chaplin, and Wallace 1990, 9). In his focus on land, despite the Christian framework of his religious ideology, older, more traditional forms of shamanic thinking still prevailed.

Present-day shamanistic practices connect very strongly to land and its stewardship. A major focus of current practitioners, who are called specialists, is the guardianship and care of sacred sites. They look after land, mountains, and rivers. Each subtribe has a symbol that represents a mountain, river, lake, harbor, or ocean. When the subtribe moves within or outside its own territory, it takes on the mountains or rivers of these new lands and those associated deities. Specialists are asked to go to sacred areas that have been disturbed and deal with the problems that have arisen. This could be an ordinary person from the family, or, if it is a serious tapu, people will ask someone who has special powers to take away the difficulty on the land. In present-day situations and since the nineteenth century, many issues have arisen relative to resource management, treaty claims, and land usage—issues that are of vital importance to the identity and continuity of Maori life. In this context, these spiritual specialists have great importance, and it is in fact thought that prophets and spiritual leaders receive much of their power from these sacred sites.

The specialists, who may be either male or female, have inherited their gifts from their ancestors and can see the future as well as the past. The task of the specialist varies from tribe to tribe. Trance, which used to happen, no longer does; it is considered that specialists have access to spiritual powers by virtue of their ability and hence do not need trance for access. The old term *matakite,* "seer," is used for those among these specialists who are known to see things, to foresee and foretell; they may occur within a family. There are usually a range of people who can do things within the tribal group. These specialists are called upon to heal those illnesses known as Maori sicknesses, or "things of the Maori world," such as witchcraft. For Western-type illnesses people seek out Western medicine and doctors. Faith healers, as noted above in the historical account, do karakia rituals in order to heal; it is not usual for them to fall into an altered state of consciousness. People in urban areas who are less connected to the land still use traditional healers and may need the attention of a specialist; they will go to an elder who has practice dealing with these issues. Despite the strong influence of missionizing Christianity and the modernization of life in the twentieth century, Maori traditions have continued, at least within some families.

Eva Jane N. Fridman

See also: Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Andersen, Johannes C. 1977. Reprint. *The Maori Tohunga and His Spirit World.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition 1948.

Binney, Judith. 1997. *Redemption Songs.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Binney, Judith, Gillian Chaplin, and Craig Wallace. 1990. *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua*

Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Campbell, Joseph. 1949. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces.* New York: Bollingen Foundation.

Henare, Manuka. 2001. "*Tapu, Mana, Mauri, Hau, Wairua:* A Mäori Philosophy of Vitalism and Cosmos." Pp. 197–221 in *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology.* Edited by John A. Grim. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Parrinder, Edward Geoffrey. 1967. *A Book of World Religions.* Chester Springs, PA: Dufuor Editions.

———. 1983. *World Religions: From Ancient History to the Present.* New York: Facts on File. Original edition 1971.

Reed, A. W. 1966. *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Life.* Wellington, Auckland, Sydney: A. H. and A. W. Reed. Original edition 1963.

Salmond, Anne. 1976. *HUI, A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings.* Wellington, Sydney, London: A. H. and A. W. Reed.

Shortland, Edward. 1856. *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts.

———. 1882. *Maori Religion and Mythology.* London: Longmans, Green.

Simmons, David R. 1976. *The Great New Zealand Myth.* Wellington, Sydney, London: A. H. and A. W. Reed.

OCEANIA: RITUALS AND PRACTITIONERS

In the widest sense Oceania embraces the region between Asia and the Americas, but this article is concerned only with the religious traditions of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The shamanistic traditions of Australia and New Zealand are discussed in other articles. Micronesia in the northwest, Melanesia in the south, and Polynesia in the east are distinguished from each other partly on geographic and partly on cultural grounds. Inhabitants of Polynesia are thought to derive from a historically interrelated group of communities. Micronesia is more a geographic than a cultural notion and, moreover, has relationships with Asian neighbors. The region named Melanesia, with more than a thousand distinct languages, is even more culturally diverse and ecologically varied.

Despite the great linguistic and cultural variation in these island regions of Oceania, there are common religious themes. Throughout Oceania, people's relationship to the land, attested to in myths and reinforced in rituals, is basic to subsistence and to religious practice. Myth and ritual support social structures that vary considerably—in some cases employing matrilineage and in others patrilineage, in some cases designating castes and hereditary chiefs and in others advocating egalitarian forms of organization. Relationships with numinous beings, including ancestors, are cultivated in order to achieve fruitful outcomes and to avoid possible afflictions. A concern with fertility pervades ritual "work" for gardens and for other economic enterprises. Ritual specialists are engaged to ensure, or to restore, the health and well-being of land and people. Today the large majority of the peoples of Oceania are Christian, and indigenous traditions and Christianity coexist in religious practice. Islam is present in Irian Jaya as a result of the immigration of Muslims from other parts of Indonesia, and Hinduism is represented in Fiji as a result of nineteenth-century British-sponsored immigration of Indians to work in the sugar industry. However, only a small number of the indigenous peoples of Oceania have joined these religions; most have become Christians.

Throughout traditional Oceania people identified with a particular habitat. Even today the relationship to a particular location is strong, although in some places, such as New Caledonia and Irian Jaya, large amounts of land were removed from traditional tenure and assigned to colonists or migrants. The relationship to a particular landscape is reflected in myths and rituals and in ideas concerning gods and spirits. Although some of the peoples of Oceania are today urban dwellers dependent on wage labor and a cash economy, most remain subsistence horticulturalists, supplementing a diet of tubers and green vegetables with game or fish. A minority engage primarily in hunting and gathering. Many raise pigs for ceremonial purposes. Most participate to some extent in the monetary economy through production of cash crops or occasional wage labor.

A concern with the maintenance of life-giving relationships pervades the manner in which people interact with other people, with numinous beings, and with the environment. The desire to ensure health and wealth and good relationships motivates participation in both the rituals of traditional religion and the practices of Christianity. In the contexts of colonialism and modernity, this desire has led to the emergence of new religious movements.

The terms *religion* and *shamanism* are outsider's categories that do not closely match areas of Oceanian life. One definition of religion that would accommodate the cosmologies and rituals of Oceania suggests that religion is the nonempirical part of the total cosmic order (Lawrence and Meggitt 1965, 7). This non-Oceanian working definition is only partly satisfactory and illustrates a common problem in religious studies. It does not say what counts as empirical, and it does not leave room for taking the insider's claims seriously. To the traditionalist Pacific Islander, as to many an adherent of world religions, visions and ghosts, for example, are a real part of human experience. Shamanism, in the sense of a religious tradition centered on practitioners who enter into trances and go on soul journeys in which contact is made with spirits, is not dominant in Oceania. Nevertheless, the region is home to a variety of ritual practitioners who seek to empower life, and some of whom, like classic shamans, enter into trances and communicate with spirits.

Cosmology

Oceanian societies have conceived of the world as consisting of communities of human beings, numinous beings, and animal and plant beings, each community inhabiting its own place but with beings from one community traveling from time to time to the locations of another. In parts of the highlands of Papua New Guinea, for instance, the cosmos includes a distant world of sky people, forests inhabited by various kinds of spirits, settlements where the ghosts of the dead carry on a life similar in many ways to that of the living, and the hamlet or village of the living community. In contrast, in parts of Micronesia the sky world is home not only to celestial beings but also to the spirits of the dead. Like human beings, animal, bird, and fish populations may be described as carrying on their community life in a particular habitat. Each person negotiates relationships with the beings who dwell in the realms into which he or she must venture as a matter of daily life, and ritual specialists interact with the beings who may visit the living, or be visited by them, on ritual occasions.

Writing of numinous beings in traditional Tikopia, a Polynesian society, Raymond Firth noted, "Alongside the highly formal worship of gods and ancestors through the agency of lineage heads as hereditary priests was the operation of a spirit medium cult, with practitioners primarily self-selected for their capacity to enter into trance and serve as mouthpieces of gods or spirits of the dead" (Firth 1996, 157). The variously conceptualized gods and spirits of Oceanian societies are upholders of a morality that is based in relationships to kin, community, and land. Culture heroes and gods are responsible for the creation and regulation of the world. They are said to have given rise to the physical and social world of today, having shaped mountains and planted trees and instituted marriage and exchange relationships. Some gods and heroes are more significant in mythology than in ritual practice. Brother heroes, such as Kilibob and Manup in the myths of the Madang area of New Guinea (Lawrence 1964), typically portray contrasting ways of life and behavior. Land spirits inhabit forests, grasslands, mountains, and swamps. These spirits may be simply imagined as the inhabitants of particular trees or caves, or they may be construed as tricksters, monsters, or ogres, at least capricious and potentially malevolent. People usually perform rituals or observe taboos, or both, when venturing into dangerous and isolated places where spirits are said to shoot arrows of affliction into trespassers and to trip up those who disturb them. Before making a change to their environment, such as felling a tree, people will placate spirits with gifts and politely entreat them to move to another place.

It is considered that the dead dwell in settlements separate from those of the living—under the ground, in the sea, in the sky—to which they travel after death and from which they may from time to time return to visit the settlements of their living relatives. At death, rituals mark the transition from life in the domain of the living to life in the domain of the ghosts.

Traditional mortuary customs vary considerably, from burial in the family house to exposure on platforms in the forest or burial at sea. They are more elaborate for people of high rank, as in traditional Hawaii, where chiefs were considered to become gods after death. Today bodies of the dead are usually buried in cemeteries or at individual burial sites. Further rituals periodically sustain and nourish the relationship between living human beings and the dead. Some rituals are for individual ghosts and others are for the ghosts collectively. These rituals usually involve the killing of animals, most often pigs, and the sharing of food between living and dead. They also include speeches, singing, and dancing. The presence of ghosts invited to festivals is signified by the use of masks, costumes, drums, and flutes. People appeal to dead relatives for assistance in times of need. When ancestors as a group are invited to participate in ceremonies, carved figures and masks may be produced to represent them. In some places temples or cult houses are, or were in the past, built as places in which to entertain gods or ancestors.

Often mentioned in studies of Polynesian religion are the related concepts of mana (power), *tabu* (taboo), and *atua* (god). Analogous notions are also to be found in Melanesia and Micronesia. In fact the first sustained treatment of mana in written accounts came from the work of the Anglican missionary Robert H. Codrington in eastern Melanesia. Mana is understood as the power to effect results in the various enterprises of life and may be acquired through contact with the atua. In the cultures of Polynesia and eastern Melanesia, the chief is considered to possess mana by virtue of his relationship to the atua. Although notions about gods and spirits vary across Oceania, the practice of cultivating relationships with them is universal. Such cultivation includes not only engaging the spirits and gods in pursuit of human ends but also showing due respect for them. Thus each person employs a repertoire of taboos or avoidance behaviors with regard to spirits, just as he or she also exercises taboos in relationships with the living. Oral traditions—in the form of songs, spells, and narratives—tell of the relationship of a community to a particular habitat. Stories narrate the exploits of historical people, of mythic ancestors, and of gods and culture heroes. Traditional narratives of events that took place in particular places serve to transmit a system of land tenure, and they designate places of power where people should perform rituals.

Rituals

Oceanians employ ritual action and spoken words to sustain a fruitful interaction of people with land and with ancestors. The practical work of gardening, hunting, fishing, and animal husbandry is accompanied by ritual work that enacts desired abundant outcomes. There are rituals for weather, gardening, child raising, attracting members of the opposite sex, hunting, fishing, tool manufacture, pig husbandry, trade, warfare, and healing. Most societies do not have full-time ritual officiants but employ a variety of healers, mediums, and other practitioners who devote part of their time to ritual practice. Everyone knows some rituals, such as for gardening and healing, but the specialist has a greater repertoire. Ritual is not a substitute for work but is a kind of work. Gardeners with a good knowledge of plants and soils and seasons are still dependent on the weather and are at the mercy of insect pests. Aware of the precariousness of the human hold on life, they express their desires for their gardens and their commitment to the work of gardening in ritual. Garden spells invite the sun and rain to visit the garden and direct insects and disease to depart. Some communities prohibit sex during a crop's growing period; others expect a couple to have sexual relations in their new garden. Thus, practices of ritual and spoken language magic connect the fertility of the couple with the fertility of the garden.

Rituals are employed to encourage the health and well-being of humans and to send away the forces that inhibit a good life. If a person is sick, a ghost, a land spirit, or a sorcerer or witch is blamed. Healers frequently combine the works of healing and sorcery. They are engaged to divine the causes of illness, to prescribe remedies, which may be herbal or ritual or some combination of the two, and to carry out sorcery and countersorcery. They seek to promote the life of their community and to destroy the forces that threaten it. Some ritual practitioners, who are occasionally described in English as shamans, enter into trances and consult spirits for assistance in divining the cause

Baining Mask, East New Britain, Papua New Guinea, 1994. (Chris Rainier/Corbis)

of illness and in recovering souls that have left their bodies and not found the way back.

Ritual renews and reinforces social structures. For example, in areas with hereditary chiefs, firstfruits ceremonies celebrate the people's relationship to a particular crop such as yams and also summarize the structure of the society. In several societies yams are eaten in turn by priest, chief, men, women, and children, and exchanges of yams take place between individuals and lineages. The pattern of eating and exchanges mirrors the pattern of the society. Similarly, in the highlands of New Guinea, where leadership is not hereditary and is periodically changed, ritual exchange in events such as the large-scale killing of pigs and transactions of pork and shells provides opportunity for renewal of community and cosmos. Rituals mark transitions in the lives of both individuals and communities.

Practitioners

While everyone carries out some rituals, so that we could say that every person is a magician or a ritual practitioner, there are a variety of spe-

cialists who preside over seasonal rituals or are called upon in times of need. Their titles have been represented in English by terms such as *healer, sorcerer, witch, magician, diviner, priest, prophet, cult leader, medium,* and *shaman*. In many cases the roles of specialists overlap, and an individual practitioner may carry out the functions of two or more practitioner types.

Healers, priests, mediums, and prophets are significant types of ritual practitioner in Oceania. Today these traditional practitioners are supplemented, and sometimes usurped, by a variety of Christian officiants, such as pastors, prayer leaders, and catechists, and by modern medical practitioners. The traditional roles are not constrained by tight job descriptions but are responsive to the needs of local communities. Healers who employ a variety of pharmacological, surgical, and ritual cures are found in all Oceanian societies. Most are men, but there are a significant number of women healers. The healer is nearly always a diviner who uses ritual—including in some cases dream and trance—to determine the cause of illness, and also a sorcerer who uses ritual processes not only to heal patients but also to harm enemies. In many cases of illness it is considered that someone—a living person or a ghost—is afflicting the sick person, and through the sick person, punishing the group. Victims' relatives consult a healer-diviner to find out who is responsible for afflictions that have befallen them. The specialist's role is to determine who is causing the illness and to propose a course of action that will cause the person to desist. Such a course of action could, for instance, involve making overdue marriage payments or offering food to an aggrieved ghost. In general traditional healers are not opposed to modern medicine, but they see it as treating the symptoms rather than the causes of illness.

Whereas healers are to be found everywhere in Oceania, the priest is more prominent in hierarchically organized societies. As in Tikopia, the priest may be a lineage head or may be in the service of a chief. Presiding over an established ritual system that emphasizes the continuity of the chiefly families and the prosperity of land and community, he tends to support the political status quo. Hereditary priests receive training, which is usually imparted in stages. The leaders of local cults in societies where leadership is ascribed rather than inherited are akin to priests, in that they preside over established rites directed to the welfare of the community. In the ethnographic literature, specialists who communicate with spirits are usually called mediums and are sometimes referred to as shamans. However, given the large corpus of Oceanian ethnography, the term *shaman* is not common and when used is employed in a broad sense. Mediums who conduct séances facilitate interactions with the spirit inhabitants of Oceania. They may be possessed by spirits or dramatically enact conversations with spirits, obtaining information about what enemies have done, seeking advice on actions clients ought take, and finding and retrieving lost souls. They employ fasting, ingestion of hallucinogenic substances, chanting, drumming, and shaking of rattles to induce trance. Their work is directed to enhancing the situation of individuals and of the local community and is responsive to changing social situations.

Like mediums, prophets are bearers of messages. There may well have been practitioners of the prophet type in traditional Oceania; in modern Oceania prophets have emerged as leaders of the so-called cargo cults and other renewal movements. Modern prophets such as the Solomon Islander Silas Eto, a traditional chief and Methodist pastor who founded the Christian Fellowship Church, and Yali, leader of a movement in the Southern Madang area (Lawrence 1964), have sought to address changing social and religious circumstances and to institute rituals for new communities. Oceanian healers and mediums, to a greater extent, and Oceanian priests and prophets, to a lesser extent, share some of the characteristics of shamans, particularly the shamanic responsiveness to the needs of a local community.

Religious Change

In Oceania both Christianity and indigenous traditions are part of contemporary religious practice. Moreover, religion is constantly changing. It is likely that even prior to colonial and missionary contact considerable change occurred in indigenous religions. Oral traditions from Melanesia tell of cults imported from one area to another, and it is likely that events such as the arrival of pigs from Asia some 5,000 to 6,000 years ago and the introduction of the sweet potato several hundred years ago affected

people's ways of relating to their environment and of conceptualizing the numinous. Similarly, one may speculate that Micronesian and Polynesian migrants who left behind the sacred places of their families adjusted ritually as well as economically to their new habitats.

In the colonial period, Pacific Islanders were recruited for labor in mines, plantations, offices, and factories, and workers from diverse cultures came in contact with traditions that differed from their own. During this period, Christianity in a variety of denominations began to be introduced to the region, beginning in the Marianas in 1668, in Tahiti in 1797, and in Hawaii in 1820, and reaching New Guinea in the late nineteenth century. The colonial powers in the region were Christian nations, which saw missions as their allies in the spread of civilization. Both Protestant and Catholic missions in Oceania became involved in the work of health and education. Studies of Christian conversion indicate that those to whom the first missionaries preached assumed that biblical stories and Christian rituals worked in ways similar to indigenous myth and ritual.

Religious movements drawing on both indigenous traditions and Christianity have developed in the Pacific. In Melanesia, movements in which participants await the arrival of an abundance of goods or anticipate a social utopia, were reported following colonial contact; from the mid-1940s they came to be known as cargo cults. The cults need to be understood in relation to wealth rituals and exchange activities that were part of precolonial Melanesia. These movements, which take elements from both indigenous religions and Christianity, seek to attain a lifestyle characterized by wealth and good relationships. Classic cargo cults, which have generally been understood as a response to colonialism and capitalism, have waned in Melanesia. However, a plethora of religious movements and new churches continue to respond to changing circumstances. Today most Pacific Islanders are Christians, and the style of Christianity varies from place to place depending on the nature of local traditions and the denomination that sent missionaries to the particular area. Indeed, in Oceania the relationship of Christianity and indigenous traditions is a matter of ongoing conversation.

Mary N. MacDonald

See also: Australian Aboriginal Shamanism; Christianity and Shamanism; Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Shamans; Dreams and Shamanism; Indonesian Shamanism; Maori Religion; Murut Shamanism; Semai Shamanism; Taman Shamanism

References and further reading:

Barker, John, ed. 1990. *Christianity in Oceania: Ethnographic Perspectives.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Codrington, R. H. 1891. *The Melanesians: Studies in Their Folklore and Anthropology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Firth, Raymond. 1967. *The Work of the Gods in Tikopia.* London: Athlone.

———. 1996. *Religion: A Humanist Interpretation.* London and New York: Routledge.

Herdt, Gilbert, and Michele Stephen, eds. 1989. *The Religious Imagination in New Guinea.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Katz, Richard. 1999. *The Straight Path of the Spirit: Ancestral Wisdom and Healing Traditions in Fiji.* Rochester, VT: Park Street Press.

Lawrence, Peter. 1964. *Road Belong Cargo.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Lawrence, Peter, and M. J. Meggitt, eds. 1965. *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Leenhardt, Maurice. 1979. *Do Kamo: Person and Myth in the Melanesian World.* Trans. by B. M. Gulati. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lessa, W. A. 1961. *Tales from Ulithi Atoll.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

MacDonald, Mary N. 2002. "The Study of Shamanism: Local and Universal Dimensions." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 16: 2, 88–107.

Mageo, Jeannette M., and Alan Howard, eds. 1996. *Spirits in Culture, History, and Mind.* New York and London: Routledge.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1948. *Magic, Science, and Religion, and Other Essays.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Oliver, Douglas L. 1989. *Oceania: The Native Cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Trompf, Garry W. 1991. *Melanesian Religion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Valeri, Valerio. 1985. *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Shamans building a stone altar for a ritual. (Courtesy of Josiane Cauquelin)

PUYUMA SHAMANISM (TAIWAN)

In Taiwan, shamanism still flourishes among the Austronesian people known as the Puyuma. The author's work among this people provides an interesting picture of a shamanistic tradition that has been transformed by outside influences but has managed to adapt and thrive.

Background

The Puyuma inhabit the Taitung plain in the southeast of the island of Taiwan. They speak an Austronesian language and are divided into two dialectal groups: the group "born of a stone," and the one "born of a bamboo." The first comprises seven villages, the second the single village of Puyuma (Nanwang village). The Nanwang Puyama, the focus of this article, occupies an area five kilometers from the town of Taitung.

Society in Puyuma has undergone violent upheavals, caused first by Japanese colonization in 1895, then by the new Chinese government set up in 1950. Until the Japanese arrived on the island, the Puyuma's lives were entirely directed toward the northern mountains, and the group existed by horticulture, hunting, and gathering. But with the prohibition of hunting, farming became more important for the economy. Men had to take part in the agricultural work, which up till then had been done by women. The foreign administration also made schooling in Japanese compulsory, introduced fatigue duties, harassed female shamans, and forbade hunting, including head-hunting rites.

From 1950 onwards, Chang Kai-shek's government continued the destruction initiated by the Japanese administration. In the 1960s, the Puyuma began to sell their lands in order to acquire consumer goods. Today, there are only a few peasant families left, and young people leave the village to work in the island's big cities. Nevertheless, the old structures have not entirely disappeared. The population of the village is divided into two moities for purposes of ceremony, known as the upper moiety and the lower moiety. Opposition exists between na-

tives and nonnatives, and between religious power and political power. Until the 1930s, each moiety of the village contained three households stocked with provisions, and three men's houses, the latter being attached to three hunting grounds. Each moiety also had an adolescents' house. Today, the village has only one men's house and one adolescents' house.

Social organization is based on residential units resulting from the division of the six founding households. At the beginning of the twentieth century, residence was predominantly with the wife's family, but since the 1930s, the trend has been toward living with the husband's family. The children are attached to the household where the parents resided at the time of their birth. Village endogamy was formerly strictly applied; that is, young people were required to marry within the village.

Puyuma society is characterized by an age system. During their lives, males pass through four well-defined stages: "children," "adolescents awaiting initiation," "virile warriors," and "elders."

Ritual functions are assumed by soothsayers, religious practitioners, and shamans. Soothsayers (all men) consult bamboo splinters. Male religious practitioners are in charge of the sociocosmic unity of the entire society, performing the regular cyclical rites concerning the life of the group. Through their relationship with the mythical founding ancestors of the group, religious practitioners are attached to their territory. In December the practitioners perform all the rites of the yearly ceremonial cycle, *mangayaw,* which ensures the restoration of harmony. The entire society is involved. Shamans (currently all women) intervene on a day-to-day basis. They are concerned with immediate social relations between people, and they play the role of therapist, exorcist, and sometimes soothsayer. Shamanistic ritual is performed according to the needs of the moment, and so an altar is set up at each intervention.

Religion is the key element of Puyuma identity. No Puyuma is insensitive to the manifestations of *birua* (spirits), which are classified in three categories according to the spaces they inhabit: the *kaqisatan,* literally, "On High"; the *kaqaulasan,* literally "the Aulas" (world of the spirits); and the third category, which seems to be "homeless" (Cauquelin 1995, 190). The men and women in charge of religious activities play an important role in the whole of Puyuma society. Shamans, some of whom do not even speak the national language, can be seen getting into planes with their ustensils and their long miscanthus stems, to perform rituals at the homes of Puyuma living in a block of flats in Taipei or Kaoshiung.

All men and shamans, but not ordinary women, can intervene with "homeless" spirits, and the innumerable beings from "On High," but only shamans have access to the kaqaulasan. In the kaqaulasan, another imprecise but completely different place, shamans invoke the hosts of their ancestors, all the dead shamans, and their elector spirits (the spirits who have chosen individual shamans). All these ancestors are the shamans' auxiliary spirits.

Becoming a Shaman

It is impossible for a woman to become a shaman unless she has shaman ancestors, one of whom becomes the elector spirit, the principal birua who will help her in her work. The elected one cannot refuse, but it is she who chooses to reveal the call of the birua that she has experienced. Her charisma is based solely on her heredity and this election. The shaman has no choice, the people say. She cannot avoid being chosen; some try to gain time by making offerings, but the elector spirit never gives up. Her situation is irreversible; she is no freer to abandon the call than she was to choose it. The belief that the shaman must answer the call is deeply rooted in the belief system. Transmission is on the father's or the mother's side, sometimes skipping a generation, but sometimes occurring in two siblings.

As part of her initiation, the candidate undergoes some kind of uncommon experience: visions, dreams, profound and painful internal disorders, accidents, fertility problems (perhaps the death of a child in the womb or of a very young child). There is no average age of investiture, but it tends to happen at two different periods, either around the age of thirty or between forty and fifty.

Investiture introduces the novice into the shaman community. The ceremony lasts five days. On the first day, the soul leaves the body: "The elector spirit has come for me," says the shaman, so it is a kind of death. On the second day the soothsayer designates the place where the

Male practitioners in the house of the founding ancestors. (Courtesy of Josiane Cauquelin)

shaman's shrine will be built; on the third day the shrine is erected. At dawn on the fourth day, the shaman places the protective spirit in the shrine. In the evening the entire shaman community prepares the novice's ritual objects (bag, bell, and the rest), and the same evening the novice's instructor places the bag on the new recruit's left shoulder; the soul which left on the first evening is recalled, and reinstated in the top of the head (this is perceived as a rebirth). The ceremony ends on the fifth day with the ritual of the novice's admission into the group.

The shrine is built by men from the newly elected shaman's household, her father, brothers, and husband; her husband moves into the new building. The bag and all the other accessories are made by the other shamans, so two social categories are concerned: her household and her new colleagues. The shrine is a holy place, not in the sense that it is forbidden but because it is the place where the shaman lives in perfect harmony with her auxiliary spirits and where she keeps her cult objects. The walls are covered with knick-knacks.

The bag "makes" the shaman. The rattle is kept in the bag and enables communication with the birua in the kaqaulasan to take place. This Pierrot-headed object (a white-faced clown) is only taken out of the bag for important ceremonies such as the voyage to the Aulas, or the recall of a soul. It cannot be bought in a shop; it belonged to the electing ancestor, and it is acquired for a considerable sum from his or her descendants. Among the accessories, there is rope braided from banyan root, and a little calabash bottle containing lime for binding restless birua. The young novice becomes a shaman at the precise moment when the instructor places the bag on her left shoulder during the investiture ceremony.

When she leaves her house to perform a rite at a patient's home, the shaman ties the strings of her little apron behind her back, and places a crown of flowers on her head, nothing more.

There is no formal training. The new recruit receives no verbal instruction. Training is of a practical kind: The shaman assists her instructor and imitates her. But she denies this, since

it is held that invocations "fall into the novice's head while she is asleep." The mistress of ceremonies, the shaman who was her instructor during the ceremony, sleeps in the novice's bed for a month after the investiture ceremony. This woman has, for many years, been surrounded by shaman ancestors, and she shows them the way to the new shrine. The new shaman must be gifted and able to memorize and improvise. Learning how to perform rites, and know the arrangement of a ritual, naturally makes it necessary to follow another shaman, to take notes and make sketches.

Changes in Shamanism

Religious practices in Puyuma have been undergoing a dynamic recomposition process for many years. The study of ritual in Puyuma, that is, the study of the distribution of activities, and the analysis of myths, shows an initial change, which took place at about the time when hunting was abandoned for rice-growing, around the end of the nineteenth century, when men left shamanistic practices to women, but continued to perform community rites. Puyuma society was probably once a shamanistic hunting society, whose religious practitioners were men, before becoming a shamanistic society whose religious practitioners are women.

The Puyuma used to hunt any game provided by the mountain. All aspects of hunting were important, and society was of a communal type. The game captured was eaten by all the men in the men's house, and shared among their households. In hunting societies, the primary function of the male shaman is the transaction with the spirit (or spirits) known as the "master of the hunt" in order to obtain luck in hunting during the year (Hamayon 1990a and 1990b). Each year, the men of the upper moiety in Puyuma performed the ritual of "feeding the mountain," also known as the "Takio ritual," to thank the masters of the hunt in hope of obtaining their favors once more. Among the many legends, one tells of the rice cake thief, Takio, who crossed a bridge of creepers to reach an island and hunt game, but who returned empty-handed mounted on an aquatic creature. Takio, a shaman, tried to make the rice cakes vanish, since they would deprive him of his function, which, in a hunting society, is the capture of game. Another legend tells the story of the hunter, a father, who killed his daughter's lover, who, in the form of a stag, was guarding the crops in the field. The transition from one type of society to another, marked during the transition period by an attempt to unite farming and hunting, can only be completed through death—the death of the useless old stag is brought about by the girl's father, a useless old hunter who kills the object of his envy. Takio is the worthless shaman, whose role of empty-handed hunter throws scorn on the shaman's very function. Both the stag and the hunter are useless participants in a farming society.

A second change in practices took place at the time of Japanese colonization. The legend of Samguan, in addition to showing modifications in ritual practices and speeches among the shamans themselves, proves that a change took place as the result of an upheaval, caused by the prohibition of religious practices imposed by the colonial administration. In the legend, Samguan, an effeminate man, is described as the first shaman, whereas in the final chant of the shamanistic journey (*yaulas,* literally "being in the *aulas* world") a woman appears—Udekaw with her favorite son, Tuben—and she is there described as the first "true" shaman. The story of the election of Samguan, aged about twenty-five when the Japanese arrived, tells us that he was working in the fields when the "spirits who loved him" invested him and dropped at his feet a bag full of attributes. This story implies that, after a complete interruption, shamanistic practices resumed in secret, but in a different form. Samguan is supposed to have restored these practices and simultaneously renovated them. He converted the first, uncontrolled appearance of the spirits into ritualized manifestations. The bag used by shamans today is made exactly the same as the bag that fell from the sky at Samguan's feet when his election took place in the fields. Today, shamanistic practices are situated within a shaman–possession cult continuum. Integration into the colonial state set shamanism back. The institutional link between the organization of the household and shamanism was broken and traits considered characteristic of possession cults were acquired.

Josiane Cauquelin

Translated by Caroline Charras-Wheeler

See also: Atayal Shamanism; Dreams and Shamanism; Oceania: Rituals and Practitioners; Siberian Shamanism

References and further reading:

Cauquelin, Josiane. 1992."La ritualité puyuma," *BEFEO* 79, no. 2: 67–101.

———. 1993. "The Impact of Japanese Colonialism on Puyuma (Taiwan) Shamanism." Pp. 97–110 in *Shamans and Cultures.* Edited by M. Mihály Hoppál and K. D. Howard. Los Angeles, CA: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research, ISTOR books.

———. 1995. "The Puyuma's 'Language of the Spirits.'" Pp. 189–196 in *Shamanism in Performing Arts.* Edited by Tae-gon Kim and Mihály Hoppál, with the assistance of Otto J. von Sadovszky. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiaodóo.

———. 2000. "Passage d'une société chamaniste à une société à chamanes, l'exemple des Puyuma de Taiwan" [Passage from a shamanist society to a society of the example of the Puyuma of Taiwan]. Pp. 35–50 in *La politique des esprits, Chamanismes et religions universalistes* [The politics of spirits, shamanisms and universalist religions]. Nanterre: Université de Paris.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1990a. *La chasse à l'âme: Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien.* Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

———. 1990b. "Pragmatisme et ritualisation dans le chamanisme." Pp. 149–169 in *Essais sur le rituel.* Edited by A-M. Blondeau and K. Schipper. Vol. 2. Louvain-Paris: Peeters (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, Sciences religieuses).

Overview

AFRICA

Africa is indeed a big continent, populated by 800 million people—comprising thousands of ethnic and linguistic groups—and second only to Asia in terms of total area. The ecology and geography of Africa vary a great deal. Stretching from the Atlantic in the west to the Red Sea in the east, the Sahara divides Mediterranean North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, which consists of West, East, Central, and southern Africa. In addition to the deserts, rain forests, and grassland savannas for which Africa is known, mountainous regions can be found to the north and east of the continent, as well as in the interior of the Sahara.

Most of the current geopolitical boundaries of African nation-states were either the creation of European powers dominant in Africa in the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century or, alternatively, the result of the decolonization process. Thus the outlines of many African nations do not reflect actual and continued cultural, religious, or historical regions. Historically, migration, circulation, trade, warfare, and social stratification have contributed to the ongoing redefinitions of ethnic groups and what constitutes them.

Africa exhibits markedly differing types of societies, both in terms of scale and organization. Social organizations ranging from large regional empires based on trade, to pastoral nomads, to hunter-gatherer groups living in the forests or deserts can all be found in Africa. Political organization varies as well. Despite overt and increasing attempts on the part of many nations to extend the reach of centralized governmental authority, kinship and religion are still influential idioms. Many of the newer political developments, in fact, are couched in religious, not wholly secular, terms.

Interaction and Systems of Belief in Africa

Africa has been home to a rich variety of indigenous belief systems from before ancient Egypt to the present. Ancient Egyptian religious practices were extremely complicated systems of belief, incorporating animal symbolism, various sorts of ritual specialists, elaborate funerary practices, and above all multiple deities. In most instances at the present time, the systems of beliefs coexist or articulate with scriptural religions, the most widespread of which are Christianity and Islam. Religious pluralism on the African continent is not, however, a new phenomenon. Whereas the spread of Christianity to most parts of Africa is embedded in the colonial project, either as a direct intent or in some cases as an unanticipated end, Christianity existed in North Africa early in the first millennium and spread to Ethiopia soon thereafter.

Islam first moved to North Africa in the seventh century. From this point onward, trade networks spread Islam to interior areas, most notably perhaps West Africa, where towns like Tombouctou became centers of learning in the early middle ages. Mercantile activities along the eastern coast of Africa also played an important role in bringing Islam in from the coastal towns.

Yet Islam did not enter the tropical forests and the East and Central African interiors until recent times.

The increased spread and ensuing influences of Islam and Christianity did not eradicate indigenous religions; rather it brought about changes within them or opened up possibilities of religious conflict. The incorporation of Christian or Islamic symbolic content at times augmented religious life, introducing new syncretic tendencies.

The slave trade represents another significant development in the historiography of African systems of belief. The movements of great numbers of Africans to North America brought African religious practice to the Caribbean and the American South (as well as to northern states) and prompted the creation of new sorts of spiritual practices, as demonstrated in the entry on Voudou in New Orleans, in the North America section. Such syntheses are also seen in Brazil, as seen in the entry "Afro-Brazilian Shamanism," in the Central and South America section.

A common view at present is that indigenous beliefs are represented and defined within "traditional" structures of social organization in Africa. Yet the issue is more complex; the areas where African systems of belief are made manifest at present are not simply rural areas or "traditional" enclaves; rather, ritual practice can be seen in urban areas as well (see entry "Zarma Spirit Mediums" for example) and alongside scriptural religion. Syncretic tendencies—the adoption and incorporation of new religious practices—have been apparent for some time and are becoming more so in various parts of Africa, especially those that are religiously plural (see entries on "Swahili Healers and Spirit Cult" and "Zulu Shamanism").

Noah Butler

African Shamanism

Mircea Eliade defined a shaman strictly as an ecstatic whose soul leaves his body and ascends to the sky or descends to the Underworld. If this trait were not present, said Eliade, the person was not a shaman but a healer or magician (Eliade 1989, 5, 507). This definition excluded African spirit practitioners from the category of shamans and had a delaying effect on the exploration of the spirituality of African healing and ritual. Eliade's criterion was firmly linked to that of a belief of the people in a Supreme Being (507), and he maintained that spirit possession in healing—common in Africa—was developed later in history. However, since the time of his book, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy,* first published (in French) in 1951, new studies of what is clearly shamanic work in Africa, documented in detail and often reported by experiencers, have been added to the literature, and have even outpaced the ethnography of shamanism in Eurasia. African indigenous prophets and prophetesses have indeed been in touch with a Supreme Being. Scholars' understanding of the level of consciousness that gives East African initiates their sense of equiprimordiality—oneness—is developing, as described, for instance, by Stephen Friedson (1996) and Roy Willis et al. (1999) in their studies of African spirit ritual. The sense of oneness is very close to the sense of God.

The question arises frequently in African ethnography. For instance, where were the souls of the Mbuti pygmies as they sang their "making good" songs in the Ituri forest of Congo? The anthropologist Colin Turnbull *knew*, but could not fully put the matter into words. "The bodies [of the singers] were empty"—they were gone (Turnbull 1990, 56). Turnbull said that the Mbuti's songs and their sense of the forest very definitely included whatever is implied by God and Spirit. Furthermore, in a study of the healing dances of the !Kung bushmen of the Kalahari, Richard Katz quoted the words of the healer Kinachau: "During the death of full *kia* [an altered state of consciousness] the soul leaves the healers' body through their head. The soul goes to encounter god and the spirits of the dead ancestors. It pleads for protection for the !Kung back at the dance" (Katz 1982, 100). Back at the dance the singers call out for the soul to return. They too know it has gone. Other examples exist. For many reasons it is time to establish the inclusion of African and African American spirit practitioners in the category of shamans, indeed, that of mystics.

General Characteristics of Shamanism in Africa

From the following overview of the shamanic craft of Africa, something of the richness and deep spirituality of the shamans' work will be recognized. In the understanding of most Africans, God created the world and then gave the most active part of the work of the world to spirits. The spirits are the beings who are most frequently responsive and efficacious. Ancestor spirits are constantly present among the living and are deeply concerned in their doings. At death, a person journeys to the land of the ancestors, and also, after death, the soul may be reborn in a new child. This metempsychosis, the soul's power to migrate, can occur when a tribal king sits on the throne of the ancestor whose death occasioned his succession. He then becomes that ancestor.

For most Africans, illness is caused not only by infections and other medical conditions but by spiritual trouble, brought about by the dissatisfaction of the ancestors (still spiritually alive and active) with the ways of the living, especially when hatreds tear a family, or when the spirits see disrespect in the attitude of the living toward those who have gone before and who gave them life. The other major cause of illness is the action of jealous or inimical persons, witches or sorcerers, who perform occult acts to harm their enemies, "eating" their vitality.

Village Africans frequently hold rituals of healing to counteract these dangers. The rituals draw together descent groups or wider village attendance to carry out the rites, which are led by a spirit doctor, or shaman. The ritual consists of song, drumming, clapping, dance, the use of medicines, and a variety of performances to bring the spirit strongly into the midst of the people so that it is able to help, not harm. These acts insure the necessary connection with the spirit world. The entities, having begun by afflicting a person, when recognized for what they are and are respected, will give good health, good fortune, and, for some individuals, a call to the life of a shaman.

The person destined to be a shaman is sometimes a person with an unusual birth, such as being born a twin, or born in a caul. The first sign of a vocation in the young person may be in the form of a dream about the person's own dead ancestors, often a parent. Thus it is an ancestor or power spirit that takes the initiative in leading a shaman to his or her career. It guides the budding shaman into the spiritual way of life, teaches him or her through dreams, and when the person is initiated gives powers of healing and also of knowing which herbs to gather and how to treat the sick. It enables the shaman to communicate with others from afar, to meet the ancestors through dreams and visions, to tell the future, find lost objects, and help hunters to find animals.

During the first intimations of change the incipient shaman is at first in two worlds, that of the spirits and that of village life. He or she often suffers confusion at this point, runs wild, and may fall in trance. A rite of sacrifice may occur at the height of the initiation when the new shaman is shaken by the intense drumming and laid low by the spirit. The killing of an animal in sacrifice sends a message of power to the spirit—death being the membrane between mortals and spirituality. The blood, the result of the penetration of that membrane, will cool and quiet the perturbation of the novice. This may become the moment of breakthrough when the gift arrives. The spirit is taking control; then, with the aid of full initiation by older practitioners along with music and community help, the shamanic gift is accepted, confirmed, and becomes of use to humans. The shaman's initiation may include a test of his new divinatory powers, sometimes in the form of finding hidden objects. Such a test is a common feature of African shaman initiation. A new shaman sometimes says that the experience was life changing.

A shaman has wisdom, and is able to "tune in" and intuit the nature of an illness and the state of the sick person. The shaman has modesty and does not claim responsibility for cures, but ascribes them to the spirits concerned. Shamans are commonly marginal people in some way in the village. They are rarely headmen or kings.

A shaman often keeps a container in some sacred place—a bag, a basket, a jar, or even a "doctor's black bag"—holding divining objects, various objects of power, medicines possessing homeopathic, contagious, or sympathetic virtue, or maybe a conch shell to serve as a spiritual telephone. The medicines and rituals used by shamans have been shown to them by their spirits. Part of the power of the herbal substances derives from their spiritual quality and part from what the West may recognize as their medicinal value. The two values are blended in one. As for the divining objects, shaman-diviners, who are often specialists, make use of a variety of objects or even random

marks of nature that hook their attention. The objects may be collections of bones, figurines, or palm nuts, the naturally formed footprints of wild animals, or the appearance of the internal organs of a hunter's newly caught quarry. The random pushing of a pole along the ground may also be a divining test. These objects or circumstances tell the diviner the nature of the trouble the sick person is suffering, whether it is from ancestor affliction or from witchcraft, what steps the relatives should take, or whether they should undertake a ritual appealing to the ancestor spirits or an antiwitchcraft ritual or herbal treatment.

In divination, the practitioner feels a shaking or burning, a great sensitiveness to disturbance, and a sense of his or her tutelary spirit taking over. In a state of heightened awareness, the practitioner will put pertinent questions about the trouble in question. The diviner in the sacred state is able to reverse a downward trend in a person's life. In some cases the diviner (or oracle) may not remember anything about the séance afterwards.

The diviners, therefore, are shamans; they perform extractions of harmful intrusions, reconcile a person's ancestor spirit to make him or her a guardian and protector, and may heal with herbs or physical treatments. Above all they have knowledge. As for whether African shamans make spirit journeys, examples of these have been briefly mentioned. Full descriptions are only just becoming available.

Introduction to the Entries

In the entry "Ancient Egyptian Shamanism," many shamanic features are noted, for instance, the spirit qualities of bulls and jackals, the part-human, part-animal nature of gods, and the dismemberment and rebirth theme of the god Osiris. There existed knowledge of multiple souls, along with the practice of trance by priests, which brought them gifts like those of shamans. The spirit journey was well attested. The entry "Igbo Shamanism" notes how the primary spirit entity, Agwü, empowers the "man of knowledge" (*dibïa*) in his craft, and how a deceased dibïa grandfather will teach a new dibïa in his dreams. At present the dibïas (now frequently women) do not treat disease so much as disorders due to lifestyle, corruption, dishonesty, and abuse. "Hausa Shamanistic Practices" describes how Bori spirit doctors in Nigeria owe the efficacy of their healing and wisdom to the spirits. Among the Hausa, Muslim and non-Muslim practices sometimes intermingle and are sometimes in opposition. In the Gungawa section of the Hausa region, shamanic mediums, often benign or trickster figures, are held in high repute, while at the same time displays of power by any of them are frowned on.

The entry "Ndembu Shamanism" points out that the shaman-diviner attains all the typical powers of universal shamanism: healing, interacting with the dead and other spirits, finding lost objects, bringing animals to the hunter, changing the weather, and speaking from insight and foreknowledge. The author of "Ancestor Worship in Africa" notes that African piety toward ancestors was respected by the Greeks of the classical era as a good example to be followed. For the Akan in Ghana, humans are descended from spirits who are descended from God. The priest-mediums of the ancestor cults are called to their work by supernatural agents. In their initiation there occurs a temporary paralysis, like trance. These attributes are noted in the entry "Asante Shamanism"; the *okomfo* or priest is possessed by spirits of nature who impart the knowledge for the okomfo to cure illnesses and assist people in other ways. Similarly, in the entry "Cape Nguni Shamanism," the healer-diviners are described as called to their professions by the ancestors. More women than men become mediums in this region of Africa. Another entry, on the West African shamanism known as the "Mami Wata Religion" (mother of water), focuses on a deity who inhabits bodies of water and is revered, along with water spirits, in the West African coastal area. Initiates are called to the priesthood through signs of being drawn to water. They then set up unique individualistic shrines to Mami Wata, incorporating non-African images and objects that were brought into West Africa by European and Indian trade and cultural contact since the fifteenth century. The entry "Swahili Healers and Spirit Cult" shows the intermingling of Islamic and pre-Islamic ways of understanding healing at all levels of the craft: contacting and treating spirits, divination, astrology, geomancy, and magic. For healing, Qur'anic passages are written on a cup or plate, washed with wa-

ter, and the water given to the patient to drink. Possessing spirits will use humans as their "chair"; the spirits are ambitious and desire fine things.

The entry "Yaka Shamanistic Divination" describes a religious view based on an awareness of the world in which everything is alive and an ecstatic communion can take place between humans, spirits, and the life world. Yaka diviners often operate within the framework of a healing church. In "Zarma Spirit Mediums," the *zima* is described as a holy man who variously combines spirit possession, healing, and magic through ritual in an effort to manipulate spirits. In "Marabouts and Magic," it is noted that the marabout variously combines divination, magic, healing, spirit manipulation, and ecstatic prayer. The entry on "Cape Nguni Shamanism" emphasizes the role of the diviner, who interprets the messages of ancestors in order to heal the patient. Herbalists also have knowledge of magic, but do not possess the occult powers of the diviner. The author notes that certain aspects of Xhosa ecstatic divination may be derived from the cosmology and shamanic practices of the !Kung—such as the ecstatic healing dance. The entry "!Kung Healing, Ritual, and Possession" describes this cosmology as a universe defined in terms of creation and destruction, with important animal and ancestor spirits. Shamans are spiritual specialists—healers who protect people from evil spirits by entering into trance. A major feature of !Kung shamanic practices is the ritual trance dance, also practiced by the Xhosa, a ceremony entered into in order to placate malevolent deities; music is a key factor in the !Kung trance dances.

In the entry "African Traditional Medicine," reference is made to the development of healers' associations such as the Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers' Association, formed to support traditional medical culture. The differences between African healing skills and those of modern medicine are outlined. The entry "Twin Cult of the Akan" gives the sacred cosmology of this Ghanaian people and includes the ritual to draw the deity into twins, showing how the twins are tested, fall into trance, and are finally purified. "Witchcraft in Africa" discusses anthropological theories of witchcraft, including Max Marwick's theory that "witchcraft is a conservative force" (Marwick 1967), meaning that both the complexities of witchcraft and the defenses against it have the function of giving support to the existing social system. Many details of intentional witchcraft and also evils done without the witch's intention are included here.

Edith Turner

References and further reading:

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Friedson, Stephen M. 1996. *Dancing Prophets.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Katz, Richard. 1982. *Boiling Energy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Marwick, Max. 1967. "The Sociology of Sorcery in a Central African Tribe." Pp. 101–126 in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Curing.* Edited by John Middleton. Garden City, NJ: Natural History Press.

Turnbull, Colin. 1990. "Luminosity: A Synthesis of Subjective and Objective Experience." Pp. 50–81 in *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual.* Edited by Richard Chechen and Willa Appel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Willis, Roy, with K. B. S. Chisanga, H. M. K. Sikazwe, Kapembwa B. Sikazwe, and Sylvia Nanyangwe. 1999. *Some Spirits Heal, Others Only Dance: A Journey into Human Selfhood in an African Village.* Oxford: Berg.

!KUNG HEALING, RITUAL, AND POSSESSION

The phenomenon that might be described as shamanism among the !Kung involves healers who, during rituals, enter a trance state and transmit power from the spirits. Despite recent changes in !Kung life, these people still play a central role

Background

Residing along the intersections of the borders of Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola, !Kung have lived historically as hunter-gatherers. For many, the terms *!Kung* and *Bushmen* are synonymous. Indeed, various bodies of literature have used them interchangeably, with *Bushmen*—an Anglicization of the Dutch *bosjesmans* (Lee 2003, 9)—employed as a generic descriptive term for various southern African hunter-gatherer groups.

Use of the term *Bushmen* has been abandoned altogether by the social sciences, as it is vague and obviously outdated, if not blatantly derogatory. Anthropologists, for instance, prefer calling these groups what they call themselves. But sometimes this is no less problematic. The term *San* (viz. !Kung San) frequently used in place of *Bushmen* comes from the Nama word *saan* (plural) or *saa* (singular), which has the same meaning of "bush dweller(s)." *Ju/'hoansi* (pronounced zhut-wasi) is the term by which most !Kung refer to themselves (Lee 2003, x); nonetheless, Ju/'hoansi is seen but rarely in the literature.

One of the most common remarks about the !Kung is that an ethos of egalitarianism pervades most facets of their social life. This is not to say that a division of labor does not exist; quite the contrary; men hunt, and women gather. The products of their efforts, however, are distributed with attention to sharing.

Estimates of the number of !Kung vary from 35,000 to 100,000, depending on whether settled people or only hunter-gatherers are counted. Consisting of thirty or so related individuals, a band is the predominant unit of !Kung hunter-gatherer social organization (Lee 2003, 59ff.). !Kung migrate with the seasons. In the dry season when water is at a premium, larger camps with more substantial shelter spring up around established water holes. During the rainy season, !Kung tend to circulate much more freely since they have no need to stay settled near durable water holes because the rains give birth to numerous new ones (Lee 2003, 33ff.).

Yet not all !Kung live nomadic lives. Indeed, many are settled. In part due to the introduction of reservations in the 1970s, in addition to restrictive policies of land tenure by some nations, !Kung lifestyle, modes of subsistence, and social organization have changed drastically. Sedentary life introduced new sets of concerns, not the least of which was a money economy. Many !Kung, especially men, turned to wage labor, working for their neighbors (the Herero, Tswana, and others) as herders or farmhands. Still other !Kung, men and women alike, migrated to less rural areas, taking various sorts of jobs there.

Adaptations to changing ecology and political economy are not new phenomena to !Kung. Initially, the twelfth-century migration into the area of Bantu-speaking pastoralists and horticulturalists and then the movement of Europeans since the seventeenth century drastically altered !Kung life. Initial efforts to control !Kung territory, compounded with later political maneuvers to limit their access to it, have made it difficult for !Kung to continue hunting and gathering with the same alacrity as in the past (Lee 2003, 168ff.).

!Kung Belief Systems

In contrast to the egalitarian ethic of !Kung social life, !Kung cosmology is hierarchical. !Kung believe that a grand deity created the universe. What they call this deity varies, although coincidentally a good many !Kung call their creator !Kung as well. There were two separate phases of creation. First, the universe was brought into existence. In the beginning, there were no distinctions between animals and people; both were human (cf. Lee 2003, 128–129). During

this stretch of time, the basic structures of !Kung society were established. A second stage of creation differentiated people from animals, leaving them to live together in the same world but as different sorts of beings. The second moment of creation, therefore, established the current natural and social order of things.

!Kung people maintain that presently their creator resides in the eastern sky and has power over another lesser deity, Gauwa the trickster, or death-giver, who lives in the western sky. Thus !Kung cosmology recognizes the nature of the universe in terms of creation and destruction, made manifest by competing deities of life (!Kung) and death (Gauwa). The contrast between life and death, creation and destruction, is hinted at further by the cardinal points: !Kung the creator lives with the rising sun, whereas Gauwa the death-giver resides where the sun sets. !Kung the creator has power not only over Gauwa but also over other malevolent forces aligned with this death-giver.

Animal and ancestral spirits occupy a central place in !Kung cosmology as well. Although they are not nearly so powerful as the !Kung deities, these spirits affect individuals and the community directly. Ancestral spirits may be indifferent, benevolent, or malevolent; in particular they are respected because of their ability to inform human affairs positively or negatively (Lee 2003, 125ff.). While the nature of the afterlife is not clear, it is the ancestors who serve to enforce basic principles of !Kung belief and behavior, since they may cause illness as retribution for violating community norms. Moreover, the fact that ancestors can cause illness suggests that the !Kung believe in the survival of the soul, or spirit.

Healers

Shamans are defined as part-time spiritual specialists; the !Kung refer to such people as healers (*n/um k"ausi,* literally "medicine owners") (Lee 2003, 120). !Kung ritual life is centered on the efficacy of these healers, who enter into trance to heal people and protect them from malevolent spirits responsible for causing illness and misfortune. Additionally, healers have a supernatural potency *(n/um)* within them that enables them to see the future, control the weather, and perform a whole host of other services, including ensuring good hunting and generally looking after the well-being of their group (Lee 2003, 125–140). Among the !Kung, nearly half the men and one-third of the women have acted as healers in trance dances at one time or another (Lee 2003, 13, 82–83).

Ritual and (Trance) Dance

One of the central functions of healers is to organize and participate in trance dances. Such dances may be performed at any time, although they are most commonly staged during the dry season, for several reasons. First, during the dry season the community is most likely to be threatened with food shortage; hence ritual ceremonies are one way of placating malevolent forces and beseeching the spirits for assistance in times of scarcity. Second, because camps are larger in the dry season, since people must move to established water holes and stay there until the rains come, more people are able to participate in the trance dances. Some communities hold trance dances upwards of two or three times a week, while others stage but a few in the course of a season.

Dances begin in the evening and last through the night. There is a clear division of labor in dance. Women sit around a fire at the center of the dance area singing, shaking rattles, and playing other instruments, while men dance (Lee 2003, 132–132). But not all dances incorporate both sexes. Depending on the function of the dance, there may be men's and women's variants. Alternately, some dances invert roles: Men provide the music while women dance to enter trance. Apparently these dances are a newer innovation (Lee 2003, 135–137).

Music is perhaps the most significant factor in all !Kung trance dances. Despite the fact that modern instruments are readily available, !Kung prefer to use traditional instruments such as the thumb piano, mono-chord violin, harp, bow, and rattle to provide rich and complex accompaniments. !Kung weave four or more background melodies together, over which vocals are laid. Songs take various forms: At times singers use wordless streams of vowels in a fashion akin to jazz scat singers; at other times they may imitate animals or each other in song, while the dancers mimic the subject's gait; and, of course, there are songs with established lyrics in addition to ones where the lyrics are created ad hoc.

Possession and Its Functions

Possession and spirit mediumship—qualities made manifest and manipulated through trance—are central concerns of healers. While in a trance (altered state of consciousness), the healer may address a variety of issues affecting either individuals or the community as a whole. Trance dance, then, serves multiple functions, some of the most common of which are (1) healing, (2) choosing future healers, (3) contacting the ancestors, and (4) ensuring subsistence.

Healing

Trance activates healing n/um (medicine). !Kung believe that trance results when a person pleases a spirit or deity and is subsequently (and temporarily) absorbed into that spirit or deity. When people attain spiritual connection in this way, their personal healing n/um can be used to heal others (Lee 2003, 125–130). It is at this point that the actual healing ritual begins. Physical contact between healer and patient enables the healer to feel the sickness. Once a healer has located the problem, he figures out its cause. After discerning the location and nature of the problem, the healer uses ritual paraphernalia (e.g., tortoise-shell rattles, herb bundles, charms, beads, various tradegoods) to fight the illness. Ultimately, by laying hands on the patient, the healer is able to "pull" sickness out (Lee 2003, 96), taking it into his own body and then expelling it (cf. Katz 1982, 1993). If, however, someone in a state of trance fails to find someone to heal, then the would-be healer falls into a swoon.

In trance dances, healers transmit energy to each other (a phenomenon Richard Katz, in his 1982 book, *Boiling Energy,* called *boiling;* see also Katz 1993; Lee 1984; Marshall 1969; 1999). N/um is not confined to men, nor to dancers; women's singing and music may activate their own personal healing energy, setting off screams in lieu of vocals. Their screams are a sign for male healers to begin going around the circle touching the sick people brought to the dance for their attention (Lee 2003, 131). The male healers draw power from the women's songs, relying on hyperventilation and intense concentration as well as the rhythm of dance to enter a state of trance. Therefore, women play an essential role in their efforts to bring on a healer's trance. Even the rhythmic shaking of rattles that accompanies the dancers' steps is said to be a hypnotic action.

Choosing Future Healers

In addition to healing ailing community members, healers also use the trance dance to identify future healers. They look for young people with particular qualities: namely, reliability, responsibility, and an ability and desire to aid the community. Once healers have identified these qualities in young people, they begin to provide them with n/um at trance dances. This transference of power leads to a training period, in which healers train youth in songs and dances appropriate to trance ceremonies. They provide supplementary n/um to them as appropriate to their stage of development in becoming healers. Healers also counsel all youth in appropriate behavior in the community, reminding them (and adults as well!) to remember the ancestors, honor them, and attend to community expectations. In so doing, senior healers teach novices how to tell what is wrong in the community in general, and with certain individuals in particular, and to provide solutions for those wrongs.

Contacting the Ancestors

The ancestors are believed to play a dominant role when it comes to enforcing community ideology and moral standards. They reiterate the importance of !Kung ethics of sharing and modesty by causing sickness in the selfish. For example, if a person kills more than his share of game and distributes it wastefully or avariciously, the ancestors will bring about illness. The healer ought to know the reason for the illness and, furthermore, to make this fact known to the community. After curing the patient, the healer will warn the community that the ancestors are angry and that they have punished the patient because the patient or a relative has killed more animals than the community actually needs. Literally, the healer makes the ancestors' wishes known. Thus, in a sense, healers act as conduits through whom the ancestors communicate.

Subsistence Rituals

Because they are hunter-gatherers, !Kung subsistence is unpredictable. Since they must

demonstrate acute awareness of their means of subsistence, healers are in a prime position to advise people on their interaction with the environment. Although periods of serious scarcity are infrequent, temporary food shortages are a painful reality. Healers are charged with preventing such shortages. Trance dances summon animal spirits so that they may be communicated with and convinced to follow certain courses of action. Acting here as spirit mediums, healers beseech the animal spirits to make the actual animals come closer to the camp. While entranced, the healer undergoes a personal transformation in which he forges spiritual bonds of understanding between himself as hunter qua healer and the types of game that sustain the community. Thus in addition to the latent function of ensuring food stuffs, there are more manifest reasons for holding a trance dance: namely, curing people, rainmaking, controlling and finding animals for the hunt—all of which contribute to !Kung subsistence, some more directly than others.

Change and Continuity

By nature of their geographic location, !Kung are in a somewhat precarious position, compounded further by the nature of the history of their territory. As mentioned above, !Kung reside at the intersections of five different national borders. Predictably, political policies and land access regulations differ between these nations, and by extension, so do lifeways differ between people of the same ethnic group once united by a shared lifestyle and some common sets of ethics. Indeed, for a variety of reasons, many !Kung no longer continue living as hunter-gatherers.

Trance dances are currently used as a means of cultural revitalization in some !Kung communities. They are reminders of the past and the means of reasserting !Kung cultural identity and promoting group solidarity. New dances have emerged in the face of new problems and new ways of living. With their emergence, new practices are performed by new healers aware of the new concerns of their communities and cognizant of some of the pressures generated by the uncertainties in social life. In some communities, healing has emerged as a profession, as a service that is now paid for in cash or kind (cf. Lee 2003, 139–140). Healing has become a livelihood in and of itself; a means to live outside of the requirements of cooperation. Not all healers charge for their services, but some are now profiting as individuals from what was once a distinct community practice.

Noah Butler
Frank Salamone

See also: Ancestor Worship in Africa; Animal Symbolism (Africa); Cape Nguni Shamanism; Entoptic Images; Initiation; Rock Art and Shamanism; Trance Dance

References and further reading:

Gordon, Robert. 1992. *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Guenther, Mathias. 1976. "The San Trance Dance: Ritual and Revitalization among the Farm Bushmen of Ghanzi District, Republic of Botswana." *Journal of South West African Scientific Society* 30: 45–55.

———. 1999. *Tricksters and Trancers: Bushman Religion and Society.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Katz, Richard. 1982. *Boiling Energy: Community Healing among the Kalahari !Kung.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. 1993. "The !Kung Approach to Healing: Spiritual Balance through Dance." *Parabola* 18: 72–81.

Lee, Richard. 1968. "The Sociology of !Kung Bushman Trance Performances." Pp. 35–54 in *Trance and Possession States.* Edited by Raymond Prince. Montreal: Raymond M. Bucke Memorial Society.

———. 1984. *The Dobe !Kung.* Toronto: Wadsworth.

———. 2003. *The Dobe Ju/'hoansi.* 2d ed. of *The Dobe !Kung.* Toronto: Wadsworth.

Lee, Richard, and Irven De Vore, eds. 1984. *Man the Hunter.* New York: Aldine Publishing.

Marshall, Lorna. 1969. "The Medicine Dance of the !Kung Bushmen." *Africa* 39: 347–381.

———. 1999. *Nyae Nyae !Kung Beliefs and Rites.* Boston: Peabody Museum Press.

Shostak, Marjorie. 1981. *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

AFRICAN TRADITIONAL MEDICINE

This entry is compiled from the work of Gloria M. Waite on African traditional medicine, a subject about which she wrote extensively, and which she strongly felt deserves the kind of recognition hitherto reserved for Chinese and Indian traditional medicine. Although she did not specifically discuss the shamanistic elements in this medicine, the reader will find some shamanistic elements, as in most traditional religions. Most obviously, there is the belief in spirit possession and in the power of spirit mediums to heal problems caused by spirits. There are, moreover, other sources that deal with this material; citations of them will be found in Waite's writings listed in the references.

African traditional medical systems, in common with medical systems throughout the world, comprise several interrelated components. These include specialists, techniques for diagnosis and treatment, classification of illness types, and theories that make the system intelligible and weld its component parts together. Unlike modern medicine, traditional medical systems take a holistic approach to health, based as they are on a unity of social and biological forces.

According to many African traditional beliefs, anything that makes a person or community dysfunctional or weak places that individual or community at risk. For example, puberty is likened to physical illness, in that uncircumcised youth represents a weakness or dangerous state in the community. The community is strengthened when young people are circumcised and admitted to adulthood. Menstruation, too, is often regarded as an illness because it is a time during which a woman is not supposed to perform some of her normal activities, such as salting the soup. Her routine has been disrupted, placing her in a socially dysfunctional state: Her condition is believed to make certain other people susceptible to illness. Newborn babies are also believed to be in a state of danger. They, however, are not the ones who cause the danger; rather, they are vulnerable to illness on account of their parents' negligence. People considered at risk are often protected by taboos (Waite 1992).

In the traditional belief system, chronic illness, sudden malaise, and misfortune are often attributed to malevolent forces, which are usually called witchcraft or sorcery. The activities of sorcerers are of medical concern because they are deemed to threaten the health of individuals and, ultimately, entire communities. Moreover, sorcery is detected and eliminated through medical techniques (Waite 1992).

Diseases of metaphysical or social origins are not, of course, the only ones known to African traditional medical systems. But since modern medicine recognizes only biological causation, Westerners (Europeans and North Americans) often exaggerate the metaphysical aspects of African medicine. Yet African medical systems link numerous diseases to biological processes, and historically Africans have recognized a biological basis for any number of maladies, such as sleeping sickness, smallpox, leprosy, and numerous others.

Still, the belief that nonbiological forces are a basis of disease causality is an important difference between traditional medicines, including African traditional medicine, and modern medicine. Modern medicine focuses primarily on microbes to explain illness, giving little or no attention to the social milieu. Yet like their modern medical counterparts, African traditional doctors are not at the mercy of personal forces, any more than modern doctors are at the mercy of impersonal ones. Both groups of practitioners try to control, or at least influence, the course of disease and illness.

African traditional health-care systems, unlike those in the modern Western world, are not monopolized by a professional class. Rather, treatment may be provided by specialists or laypersons. The traditional systems, to be sure, require a limited number of specialists; but these individuals supplement rather than provide all the health care. The choice of whether to rely on a layperson or consult a practitioner depends on the nature of the malaise and how serious it is. Traditionally, most adult villagers knew a good deal about their environment and what plants to use for common ailments and conditions, and many still do (Waite 1992).

Under traditional systems of medicine, most individual health problems were taken care of within the household. In many parts of Africa, however, some medical conditions were considered public and therefore required state intervention or that of ruling elites.

Queen Ntuli, A Zulu sangoma, or traditional healer, points with her divining stick at the shells and bones that she has thrown for a client, April 2000, Durban, South Africa. She is active among traditional healers helping to educate them about HIV and AIDS and believes that they cannot cure AIDS, but can help with many of the symptoms of the disease. She believes that traditional healers are very influential within their communities and need to be taken more seriously by the medical establishment as key people in the fight against the disease. (Gideon Mendel/Corbis)

Such a public sphere of medicine existed in east-central Africa, among other parts of the continent. The societies of east-central Africa—a region that encompasses all or parts of the modern countries of Tanzania, Congo, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe—share a common set of medical traditions, so much so that they may be said to constitute a single medical system. This is especially true of the region's Bantu-speaking people, whose ancestors began settling there some 2,000 years ago. (Bantu refers to a family of languages; most of the languages spoken in the southern third of Africa are Bantu languages.) In the traditional medical history of east-central Africa, there were two medical conditions that required the intervention of ruling elites: those caused by spirits and those caused by sorcery (Waite 1987).

Spirit causation is a significant part of most traditional medical systems. In the traditional system, spirits are believed to bring certain kinds of illnesses and other afflictions to individuals, families, and entire communities. When an illness is of unknown origin or a calamity strikes a whole community, people consult doctors who divine the cause of the problem, using either their own spirits for inspiration or mechanical devices. If the doctor diagnoses the problem as being caused by neglect of ancestral spirits, then people generally undertake propitiation of those spirits by visiting specially selected sites and making gifts of food or goods to the spirits, who are called upon to hear the complaint and minister to the need (Waite 1987).

Sorcery, which involves antisocial, nefarious acts, was the second medical condition that re-

quired the intervention of the state or ruling elites. Generally, sorcery was suspected when people died suddenly or had an illness that was unexplainable or progressed rapidly. Sorcery was not a family or private matter. From the outset, sorcery accusations were usually made in public. Historically, ruling elites, whether priestly or chiefly, intervened and "medicized" conflicts involving sorcery. "Medicized" is an appropriate description because the techniques used to identify sorcerers—such as inspiration from the spirits or poison ordeal—along with the medicines used to counter sorcery, were deployed in strictly medical contexts (Waite 1987).

The authorities who controlled traditional public health institutions were priestly, chiefly, and kingly figures, or they combined both chiefly and priestly roles. These authorities, like the spirits they evoked, were guardians of the land and all that dwelt therein. They derived their power and authority from their ancestral spirits and from their knowledge of medicines. In some instances, there would be competition or even conflict between priests and kings, since both groups claimed the same power and authority. Nevertheless, the control exercised by elites—whether priestly or chiefly—over health-care institutions set them apart, as a group, from the rest of the population (Waite 1987).

Whether in the public sphere or in the more private domain of the family or household, practitioners and consumers of African traditional medicine had access to a vast pharmacopoeia—drugs derived from barks, leaves, roots, mineral springs, and other natural products. Historically, plant knowledge was passed from one generation to another, from older to younger people. (This did not, of course, preclude acquisition of such knowledge from nonfamilial sources.) Some traditional doctors claimed to receive knowledge of plant application through inspiration while sleeping. Most plant knowledge, however, was acquired through apprenticeship, usually to an older family member.

The therapeutic value of a plant is determined in part by the active principle(s) it contains. Principles are compounds that form in a plant that, when used in medicines, act upon the body's structure or functions. New principles are constantly being discovered. There are still thousands of plant species about which little or nothing is known.

Though perhaps unfamiliar with modern scientific terms like "principles," traditional doctors used plants and herbs in ways that indicate considerable knowledge of their pharmacological actions. Through selection, traditional doctors also took their medicines through what is known in modern medicine as clinical trials. Consider the genus called *Albizia,* which is widely used throughout east-central Africa. Scientific studies indicate that it contains a saponin called musennin. Saponins have an expectorant quality, for they cause increased secretion in respiratory passages and loosen mucus. It is no doubt for this action that the species has long been used as a remedy for cough in the region (Waite 1988).

There is also the species *crossopteryx,* which derives its name from an early association with antifever activity. Though its efficacy against fever is disputed, the plant is used as an abortifacient in parts of east-central Africa. Research shows that it contains alkaloids, though the particular kind is debated. Alkaloids, by their nature, promote menstrual discharge. There is thus scientific evidence to confirm, if only tentatively, the value of *crossopteryx* as an abortifacient (Waite 1988).

In sum, medicines played a prominent role in African traditional health care. They were used to restore and disrupt health, to protect households from sorcerers, to safeguard gardens from thieves, and to shield people in their enterprises and help them succeed. Medicines could be taken internally, rubbed into specially made cuts in specific parts of the body, rubbed unto the body itself, inhaled through steam, planted in the garden, or worn around the body. The action required by the medicine determined the method of application.

European colonialism had a marked impact on African traditional medicine. In most of Africa, the colonial powers—Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Spain—imposed their authority in the later nineteenth century through a series of conquests. Colonialism brought new institutions and cultural formations to Africa, including new technologies and new forms of economic, political, and social organization, along with new social relations and ideologies. The colonialists also introduced new health personnel and trained a small number of the colonized people in the new science of biotechnology.

Colonial health policies and programs reflected the economic and political demands of colonialism. The European conquest led to population dislocation and disequilibrium in the disease environment between people and animals. Accordingly, some of the first public health measures put in place by the Europeans were aimed at controlling the epidemics brought on by the conquests.

Colonial health policies and programs were aimed, first and foremost, at increasing worker productivity. The result was the emergence of public health programs to control vector-borne diseases (such as sleeping sickness and malaria), and to provide maternal and infant care, urban sanitation, and public education. It bears emphasizing, however, that these programs were not altogether successful, or even widespread. Indeed, health—like education and social welfare generally—received only small portions of the colonial budgets. The exceptions were those colonies (like South Africa and Zimbabwe) in which Europeans settled in relatively large numbers, in which case the great bulk of the expenditures on items like health were earmarked for the welfare of the settlers rather than that of the colonized Africans.

As the colonialists introduced new medical institutions, they also attempted to suppress the existing ones. The colonialists denounced African medical systems as quackery and superstition, and, in many instances, set out to destroy them. In Zimbabwe, for instance, the colonial authorities sought to suppress sorcery. The Witchcraft Suppression Act of 1899 made it a crime even to accuse someone of practicing sorcery, while "witch-finding" was proscribed. Public control of sorcery thus came to an end, or at least decreased significantly, though popular belief in its existence remained widespread (Waite 2000).

In certain African countries, independence, an end to European colonialism, brought with it a reassessment of traditional medicine. Some independent African governments attempted to revive institutions and traditions that had been suppressed or debased by the colonialists. However, since the African elites who assumed power at independence generally were deeply attached to the European way of doing things, they were uncertain as to what aspects of tradition, including traditional medicine, to revive.

Zimbabwe—which became independent in 1980, some two decades after most African colonies had emerged from under the colonial yoke—went further than most African governments in engaging traditional medicine. Indeed, the connection between anticolonial agitation and traditional medicine was especially close in Zimbabwe. At the dawn of colonial rule in the 1890s, Africans in Zimbabwe (then called Southern Rhodesia) went into revolt against foreign domination, an event in which the spirit mediums played a central role. Some seventy years later, when Zimbabweans again resorted to armed struggle in their fight against colonialism, the spirit mediums once more became involved. Consequently, the independence festivities in 1980 included celebrations of some of the major "spirits of the nation." One particular medium, Mbuya Nehanda, was lauded as "the grandmother of all ancestors." Nehanda had been hanged by the colonialists for her role in the uprising of the 1890s, though not before prophesying that she would return to help drive the Europeans out. The advent of independence was seen by some as fulfillment of that promise (Waite 2000).

There was thus strong symbolic support for traditional medical culture in the new Zimbabwe. Initially, it appeared as if this symbolism would translate into substance. When, three months after independence, 1,500 traditional healers rallied in the capital, they were greeted by the minister of health, Herbert Ushewokunze, who lauded their contribution to the liberation struggle. Within days, the Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers' Association (ZINATHA) was founded at a meeting organized and attended by Ushewokunze.

The founding of ZINATHA was no small matter. The medical establishment, then still dominated by members of the country's small white minority, expressed alarm, as did some Christian churches, especially the Catholic hierarchy. Even the government-run media, now controlled by the triumphant African nationalists, showed far less enthusiasm for traditional medicine than did the minister of health (Waite 2000).

A major issue faced by ZINATHA soon after its founding was that of continuous access to traditional medicines. Already, some practitioners were beginning to travel outside the country in search of medicines, while others were be-

lieved to be hoarding medicines made from species that had become extinct. To address these concerns, ZINATHA instituted a program to grow herbs and trees on a plot at a research center it had established.

ZINATHA and its members also faced financial challenges. Many traditional doctors, for instance, complained that they needed help to build larger facilities for their growing practices. One particular category of practitioners, traditional midwives, wanted the same treatment as that accorded midwives in modern, Western-style clinics, namely government compensation for their services. In support of these demands, ZINATHA pointed to the large number of people—estimated at 80 to 90 percent of the population—who continued to consult traditional practitioners and use traditional medicines. This argument, however, increasingly came to fall on deaf ears, as ZINATHA and traditional medicine more generally lost support within the counsels of government. The most dramatic sign of this diminishing influence was the removal of Ushewokunze from his position as minister of health just over a year after he took office, partly on account of the fallout from his advocacy of traditional medicine (Waite 2000).

Still, others sought to continue the work begun by Ushewokunze and ZINATHA. In Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second city, a new phenomenon emerged. A traditional practitioner established several clinics that attempted to combine the best of both traditional and Western medicines, not to integrate them, but rather to let them complement each other. Even without official support, and often in the face of indifference or even outright hostility in high places, traditional medicine continues to thrive, often in new ways. In the past decade, as ordinary Zimbabweans have been driven into greater poverty, and in the face of the AIDS pandemic that has ravished their country, they have increasingly turned to traditional medicine and its practitioners, not least because of the lower costs in relation to modern medicine. Affordability and accessibility, if nothing else, will likely ensure the continued success and vitality of traditional medicine in Zimbabwe and much of the rest of Africa for a long time to come.

Gloria M. Waite

Compiled by Michael O. West

See also: Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Cape Nguni Shamanism; Igbo Shamanism; Mami Wata Religion; Ndembu Shamanism; Witchcraft in Africa; Zarma Spirit Mediums; Zulu Shamanism

References and further reading:

Waite, Gloria. 1987. "Public Health in Pre-Colonial East-Central Africa." *Social Science Medicine,* 24, no. 3: 197–208.

———. 1988. "Some Useful Plants in East-Central Africa: A Cross-Cultural Ethnobotanical Survey." Pp. 423–428 in *Modern Systematic Studies in African Botany.* Edited by Peter Goldblatt and Porter P. Lowry II. Monographs in Systematic Botany, Missouri Botanical Garden, no. 25. St. Louis: The Garden.

———. 1992. *A History of Traditional Medicine and Health Care in Pre-Colonial East-Central Africa.* Lewiston, ME: Edwin Mellon.

———. 2000. "Traditional Medicine and the Quest for National Identity in Zimbabwe." 2000. *Zambezia* 27, no. 2: 235–268.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP IN AFRICA

Modern Ghana is located on the West African coast. It comprises the Akan kingdoms, including the Asante, and has become well known for its royal stools and other regalia and objects of power. Funerary caskets and statuary were important objects, linking people to their ancestors in the afterlife.

Ancestor worship in Ghana is based on the belief that the human being is a spiritual entity originating in the ancestral world (called *Samanadzi, Asamando,* or *Nsamankyir,* according to the Akan of Ghana), born into the ordinary human world to be morally and ethically concerned with existential and metaphysical issues, and destined to return to the ancestral world after death as an ancestor. Teleologically, therefore, the religion of ancestor worship is concerned with universal salvation for adherents, who must follow culturally defined ritual processes to ensure its efficacy.

Ancestor worship seeks to commemorate the birth, life, death, resurrection, and vindication in the ancestral realm of a remote ancestor by

living descendants, through festivals, sacrifices, rites, and use of symbols and images. These activities are consistent with ancient African religious practices; according to the Greeks not only were Africans "the first of all men," but that they "were the first to be taught to honor the gods and to hold sacrifices and processions and festivals and other rites by which men honor the deity, . . . and it is generally held that the sacrifices practiced among the Ethiopians . . . are those which are the most pleasing to heaven" (Davidson 1991, 61–62). Following their forebears, contemporary Africans still cherish the memories of their loved ones long after their deaths. But, as rightly noted by the ancient authorities, the gods or deities are indispensable to ancestor worship.

The Deities *(Abosom)*

A deity, or what the Akan of Ghana call an *obosom* (singular of *abosom*) is an invisible spiritual agent, power, or force with strange features, endowed with phenomenal capabilities, a force that, when invoked under certain psychological conditions, can take possession of a medium. Ontologically, the deities (abosom) are thought of as the first offspring of God, created in God's own image and endowed with ethereal attributes comparable to God, although they are not God. These attributes enable them to assume human properties during divination rites. Furthermore, their strangely powerful features cause any human who might see them in their natural forms to die immediately, for no human gazes upon the face of a deity and lives to tell it (Rattray 1927, 46). From the spiritual standpoint, therefore, the meaningful way to experience a deity is through the process of divination, when the divine manifests itself in a human subject and brings him or her under its dictates.

The deities were the first to occupy the earth and subsequently controlled the universe and everything in it, including humans. They did so by competing for the best suitable spots—rocks, seas, mountains, rivers, and trees. Aware that nature is imbued with spiritual powers, the Africans developed a special sacred rapport with nature, knowing full well that the environment must be treated reverently in order to win the benevolence of the deities. More is involved than just a symbiotic relationship with nature; humans are indeed the offspring of the deities acting in the ordinary world through human fathers (Ephirim-Donkor 1997, 49–53). Consequently, many African parents seek out the spiritual progenitors of their children in order to bring the children under their aegis.

Obviously, then, ancestor worship is more than a simple commemoration of defunct relatives by the living: It entails the recognition of the hierarchical structure inherent in the religion. That is, God is at the apex, and under him are the deities, then the ancestors, and then the living elders. Moreover, ancestor worship is based on the concept of mediation: The elders intercede with the ancestors on behalf of their posterity, and the ancestors intercede with the deities on behalf of their descendents. As God is not directly involved in the affairs of the world, temporal and metaphysical matters are in the hands of the elders, and through them of the ancestors and deities. Deities may be owned exclusively by lineages or clans, but the same could not be said about God; God is a universal entity claimed collectively, hence the irrelevance of temples or priests in African religious practices. The ancestors and deities do have shrines, priests, and devotees, which often leads to the mistaken assumption that the objects in which the ancestors and deities are manifested are in themselves the focus of worship (Sarpong 1974, 14). On the contrary, worshipers clearly understand the difference between those inanimate objects and mediums who are possessed during divination.

The Ruler

On earth the king is the eldest among elders, a member of a royal family who has been duly nominated and elected to the highest sociopolitical and spiritual office. The queen mother was the symbolic mother and sister of the king and the primary kingmaker. She could become ruler-in-residence upon the absence of the king. The ruler's authority and sanctity is invested in him by installation rites, culminating in the act of seating the ruler on the throne of the ancestors (Ephirim-Donkor 2000). Transformed thus, the ruler embodies his predecessors, entrusted with sacred traditions, which he must preserve and protect for posterity. As the personification of the ancestral rulers, the king

is a living ancestor, on the threshold between the world of the ancestors and the world of the living, and therefore accorded the same praise and worship as his predecessors.

Deriving his divine and temporal authority from a long continuum of rulers, the king exercises religiopolitical and psychological control over his people, his pronouncements having powerful effect on them. Accordingly he addresses his subjects indirectly through mediators, and he observes many taboos and prohibitions, which he must follow in order to preserve his divinity. The mediators mitigate the potency of the king's pronouncements, and they also attest to the veracity of words emanating from him, verifying that the king never errs.

Cross-culturally, this royal discourse has been contextualized in the Black diaspora, taking on a unique life of its own in the form of call and response during Black religious ceremonies. In the absence of the king in the diaspora, the clergy usurped the role of the divine king and continued the call and response mediation, when an address or sermon is authenticated through a rhythmic congregational response. Paradigmatically, the Black diaspora perceives their clergy as "kings" and above reproach. Yet another vivid diasporic manifestation of ancestor religion is found in the *Candomblé* and Voudou practices of South and Central America. During these religious expressions, the diaspora is clearly linked up with the African religious rapture displayed in the original practices.

Cosmically, ancestor worship has the greatest effect when the king leads the community periodically in sacrifices designed to propitiate the ancestors and deities and to insure existential and metaphysical balance. Either walking or carried in a palanquin in a procession of his people, the king dances to martial or royal music during festivities marking the founding of the state by his ancestors. Summoned home, the ancestors and deities partake of the ambrosia of fruits and vegetables, meals, wine, and animal sacrifices offered to them by their representative on earth, the king. Socially, the festivities serve a didactic function when the history and heroism of the ancestors are dramatically recalled. In their exuberance, the people affirm their faith in the ancestors and gain greater hope for the future, believing that the nation has been purified and brought into the right homeostatic relationship with the ancestors.

The Medium *(Okomfo)*

Assisting the king ritually are members of the clergy—priests, doctors, and prophets—in their role as mediums. They perform purification rites, sacrifices, and preparation of sacred meals *(to),* which are scattered at sacred sites on behalf of the king. But most importantly, the mediums are possessed by the spirits of ancestors, dead kings, and deities, who through them commend the ruler, or even admonish the ruler or the community for not properly carrying out a ritual process. Among the Akan, the *akomfo* (prophets) in particular feature prominently during these periodic celebrations because they receive specialized training as mediums. These prophets are tied to the kingship, in that every ruler has his own group of prophets, who, as instruments of the ancestors *(nsamanfo;* also *asamanfo)* and deities, make known divine pronouncements to the king.

To be a medium one must be a twin or be born into a family of priests, both of which are felt to convey unique, even divine, status. The process begins with a call, which James Christensen (1959) describes as the "supreme religious experience," when an individual is periodically visited by a supernatural agent of some sort, who alters the psychological profile of the individual in order to bring the subject under its influence. An interview is subsequently sought with an adept to ascertain the authenticity of the phenomenon and, most importantly, the name of the deity seeking a medium (Rattray 1927, 40–41). The next step is becoming a novice *(okomfoba)* for a number of years, during which time the novice is clad in red cloth, with hair in locks, and walks barefooted.

The novice is taught many esoterica, including how to perceive his or her deity and the ancestors, study of archaic languages and songs, public dancing, breathing techniques when possessed, herbal discernment and application, diagnostic and healing techniques, and above all, divination rites *(ebisadzi).* Often the difficult period of training is compensated for by the graduation. The ceremonies commence at night, when all members of the clergy converge for the final sacred rites for admission into this ancient clerical vocation. Now clad in white

Ancestor wood fetish from Mossi Tribe. (Burstein Collection/Corbis)

clothes or raffia skirt the medium-to-be is led into the forest for the final rites pertaining to the order. Finally the medium-to-be jumps three times over a huge bonfire, each time being caught on the other end by a family member to prevent falling. The rest of the night is devoted to drumming and dancing by the new medium and the assembled clergy to celebrate one of their own.

At about midmorning the new medium is escorted to his or her community to put on a public display of spiritual prowess. From a king's perspective a medium is an indispensable part of the kingship as s/he is the direct line of communications between the ruler and his predecessors and deities. In the wider social context, however, anyone may engage the services of a medium.

Although many symbols are used as objects in which the sacred is manifested, water is the most common element used, collected in a specially made earthen pot, calabash, or small brass tray for hierophany. R. S. Rattray described the process in 1927 as follows: after water was drawn from a river, the pot was placed on special vines, and prayers were offered as some form of alcoholic beverage was poured into the "energized" water. Then the medium began to ring a bell or bring into play some other communicative symbol recognized by the ancestors (the bell serving as a telepathic line to the ancestors). The most anxious and certainly the most spectacular moment during rites of divination was when an ancestor or deity was making its entry into the medium. As it approached, the ringing of the bell became faster and louder, and suddenly the medium was possessed. Every hierophany is unique and may engender a momentary disorientation for the medium.

Invariably the first words spoken by a deity or ancestor are "My peace to you," followed by "How are you." Following the greetings, the cause of the summons is then ascertained. Some ancestors not summoned may intermittently intervene to deliver messages to their loved ones, while others may appear in the water for the chance to speak to the living. There are those deities who merely pass on messages to their loved ones without actually possessing the medium. To receive these messages, a medium continues to ring the bell intermittently. But unlike the faces of the deities, the faces of ancestors in the water can be looked at by the medium without incurring any adverse effects. While all these communications may take place in private, occasionally a medium may be possessed at a public forum in order to convey a message to the public. Often a medium will dance until s/he enters into a trance and becomes possessed.

Equally dramatic is the departure of the ancestors and deities. After bidding farewell to a seeker they leave suddenly, and there is a sense of the seeker traveling into deep space with the ancestors or deities until the echo disappears after them. Free of possession, the medium drops the bell, unless another ancestor or deity possesses the medium again. The phenomenon is very exhausting, as the medium literally carries each ancestor or deity during the entire period of divination, causing the medium momentary loss of consciousness. After regaining consciousness mediums ascertain from a seeker what messages were communicated. Based on that information they are able to determine if follow-up rites are necessary.

Non–Medium-Assisted Worship

Ancestor worship does not always involve mediums; members of a lineage or a clan meeting as a group or kings and their councils of elders invoke the ancestors whenever they convene meetings. An individual or a family may offer prayers and offerings of money, cola nuts, and eggs to the ancestors anywhere. Furthermore, anyone may put food to be eaten on the ground or in a plate and set it aside in a house for an ancestor. The practice may also be repeated outside a home for both benign and malign ancestors (or spirits).

Among the Effutu, a Guan subgroup in Ghana, memorial services for the dead are held annually during the harvest festival in August. At dawn women in the female households wail and sing dirges and then proceed to their respective *pramma,* the agnatic and spiritual households of the various lineages, to awaken their male counterparts. Thus awakened, the elders offer libations with wine brought along for that purpose, imploring the dead to return home and feast. In the afternoon the women return again with sumptuous meals, which, once they have been offered to the dead, are feasted upon by the residents.

The most common expression of ancestor worship among the Akan is the practice of pouring a drink of wine on the ground and then inviting the ancestors to share in it. Customarily, after arriving from a journey a visitor is first offered cola nut fruit or water to drink, but not before the visitor has poured some libation to the ground for the ancestors who accompanied the visitor safely on the journey.

When elders formally convene a meeting, invariably prayers are said before proceedings begin. These prayers are in acknowledgment of God, the deities, and the ancestors. The hierarchy of God's creativity and sovereignty are acknowledged by simply raising the cup of wine toward the sky. Moreover, priests may sometimes throw a remainder of the wine into the sky after prayers. Then local deities are acknowledged by name. Finally the elders invoke the ancestors—some by name—imploring them to take their honored place among the living. Symbolically, when two or more elders are brought together, the ancestors are thought to be in their midst, authorizing the elders to proceed with their earthly jurisprudence.

To show utmost reverence before the ancestors an intercessor lowers his cloth to the shoulder or waist level with either both or one sandal removed. Accompanying the intercessor is an assistant who attests to the truthfulness of the prayers. Before commencing, however, the intercessor seeks permission from the elders to invoke the ancestors, to which they respond in the affirmative if there are no dissenting voices. Attention is thus drawn to the prayers about to be offered.

The assistant opens a bottle of wine and pours three drops of the wine to the ground. Or he may gently touch the tip of the intercessor's cup with the bottle of wine three times, pour some into the cup and drink it first, then refill the cup partially and hand it over to the intercessor. The assistant then fills the cup to the brim. At this juncture the intercessor may again call for order by saying "Agoo!" Usually the response to this expression is "Amen," but since at this point it is directed toward the ancestors, silence follows.

The intercessor pours an equal amount of wine into an earthen pot or tray containing medicated water or directly on the ground as s/he prays to the ancestors. In a style reminiscent of a king and his orator, whenever the intercessor utters a word, the assistant responds affirmatively by saying "Yes, true, let it flow, go on," while still holding on to the bottle of wine for intermittent refills. The intercessor first implores the ancestors for their continued blessings and protection of the community. Then the reason for their invocation is offered, fol-

lowed by prayers for the success and well-being of the elders and their endeavors, and finally the agenda to be adjudicated or deliberated upon is summarized for them.

Immediately after prayers, the intercessor is congratulated by the elders, after which the assistant fills a cup with wine, drinks from it, and pours the rest on the ground for the ancestors. The assistant then proceeds to share the wine with all present, and even if one does not wish to drink, one must taste it or pour it on the ground. In this way, all the elders partake of the same wine as the ancestors. The exceptions, however, are rulers, whose wine is poured in front of their feet because they do not drink in public, and, moreover, are living ancestors. Finally, the remainder of the wine is set down for those who may arrive later and for closure. The ancestors at this point are believed to have emerged from the ground, figuratively speaking, to dwell among the living.

When finally the meeting is over, the remainder of the wine from the opening of adjudication is now used in closure. First, the ancestors are dismissed in the same way as they were invoked by offering them another libation. Next, if there were rulers among the elders, then they rise first before the assistant adjourns the meeting.

The symbolic participation of the ancestors reinforces a sense of social responsibility and accountability in the elders about the decisions they render. Collectively the elders do not err, since they derive their mandate from the ancestors to adjudicate and preserve their memory. Consequently, what is legal on earth is also binding in the ancestral world, because the ancestors took part in the affairs of their posterity.

The Ancestors

Theoretically, a king never dies, according to African socioreligious and political thought, because he is a living ancestor. But the existential reality is that all living things die, and when a king finally dies, the corpse is given the same ritual preparation as his predecessors, aimed at transforming the defunct ruler into an ultimate ancestor and deity.

An ancestor must have first been an elder, led an ideal existence, mastered the art of living, and bequeathed to succeeding generations wisdom about life's vicissitudes; after death, that elder becomes one of the eternal saints.

After the corpse is ritually bathed, it is adorned in the most expensive and finest apparel and jewelry and then laid in state for viewing. Traditionally, the final ritual preparation is interpreted as the ultimate homecoming, the homecoming to the ancestral world, therefore the deceased must put on the opulence of that world. In the same way as a baby is given a shower after it is born, among the Akan and their kindred peoples, the children and daughters-in-law of the deceased give a shower *(eguradzi)* for the deceased. Gifts given at the shower may include the most expensive apparel and cosmetics used to adorn the corpse.

The most important element in the deceased's ostentatious journey to the ancestral world is the coffin. Among the Akan, the question often asked is how aesthetically beautiful, expensive, and unusual or unique the coffin was. These qualities are meant to convey to the larger community the dead person's sociopolitical, religious, or economic standing in society. The irony is that many old people die from neglect and poverty, and even ignominiously, in spite of their accomplishments in life. The point, however, is not necessarily how one died, but what one bequeaths to his or her lineage, including, of course, children. In the coffin is put evidence of the dead person's earthly possessions: various gifts of money, clothing, and items of sentimental value.

Wailing and dirges are an integral part of ancestor worship, especially during funerals. On such an important journey society offers its final farewell address through dirges and gesticulations, occasionally hiring professional mourners to dramatize the poignancy of social grief. First, mourners express their repugnance toward death by directing their dirge to the corpse and demanding answers about the enigma of death. Next, they show their deep sense of communal loss by affirming death's inevitability. And finally, after the initial shock and denial of death and then acceptance of death as an existential reality, a central component of the obsequies commences. Waves of dirges known as *nkra* (message/s) are recited to the corpse. As God bestows *nkrabea* (destiny) on every soul before it embarks on its mundane existence, so too the deceased is about to embark upon the final idealized existence and is therefore given messages by the living about its

destiny as an ancestor. These messages tell of God's accompaniment of the spiritual personality *(osaman)* on its journey, of perpetual bliss and peace, omniscience and ubiquity, and the ability to bestow blessings on the living from the panoramic vantage point of the ancestral world.

After burial the spiritual personality lingers in the earthly world for a transitional period of up to forty days, during which time apparitions are believed to be common. On the fortieth day the deceased is again mourned and remembered, thus setting the stage for the spiritual personality to depart from this human plane, taking along personalized nkra from the living. Just as no human being can alter an individual's destiny (nkrabea), so the spiritual personality cannot alter the messages that it carries into the world of the ancestors. And, in the same way as the soul is the bearer of destiny from God, the spiritual personality is the bearer of earthly messages that shape its destiny in the world of the ancestors.

The journey to the ancestral world is an arduous one. The spiritual personality must cross a huge river by paying the ferryman some of the money in its possession. Next, the spiritual personality climbs a ladder. The traffic on this ladder is so voluminous that it gives rise to the saying among the Akan that the ladder of death is ascended by many. When the spiritual personality finally reaches the ancestral world it is welcomed in accordance with tradition.

Where then is the ideal world of the ancestors? In the first place, the ancestral world is thought of as beneath and below, for the simple reason that the dead are buried in the ground. Consequently, the ground becomes the focal point during libations or prayers, which are aimed at offering sacrifices and drinks to the ancestors.

Secondly, the ancestral world is above and beyond, because everything tangible is below and beneath, while intangibles are above and beyond human perception, and now that the ancestors are believed to be spirits, they are thought to reside in a world above and beyond the temporal. The Akan names for the ancestral world, Samanadzi, Nsamankyir, and Asamando, clearly point to a definite place, kingdom, sky, or heaven that is above and beyond and different from the tangible world. But far from being different, it is the same as the tangible world except that in the ancestral world the impermanence of the human plane is nonexistent, and it is where all spiritual personalities ultimately return. From this place, the ancestors watch over their descendants, and what better place to have a panoramic view than from above.

Finally, the ancestral world is both within and without. It is an inner phenomenon that exists wherever an individual is found. In other words, people carry their worldviews along with them wherever they reside. In the same way, when an individual offers a libation or prays, the efficacy of the ritual is immutable regardless of where it is performed. At the same time, it is never simply inner; rather the ancestral world is a shared belief and conveys clearly defined meaning for those who share ancestor worship.

Distinguished in jurisprudence as elders, the ancestors are sages, intercessors, mediators, and ultimately judges, as they judge all spiritual personalities upon their arrival in the ancestral world. However, these attributes undergo an etherealization that is consistent with their new idealized existence. Having lived, died, and been resurrected and vindicated in the ancestral world, the ancestors have achieved something that no human being has—immortality. At the same time, they continue to influence affairs of the world because they have achieved immortal existence after first achieving perfection as elders, but they now constitute a pristine community of eternal saints whose lives are commemorated periodically. Yet immortality should not be construed as final or as a state of stagnation; rather, the ancestors serve to replenish the human plane through the phenomenon of reincarnation.

Anthony Ephirim-Donkor

See also: !Kung Healing, Ritual, and Possession; African Traditional Medicine; Afro-Brazilian Shamanism; Asante Shamananism; Cape Nguni Shamanism; Divination; Igbo Shamanism; Ndembu Shamanism; Santería; Spirit Possession; Trance Dance; Twin Cult of the Akan; New Orleans Voudou; Yaka Shamanistic Divination; Zulu Shamanism

References and further reading:

Bastide, Roger. 1978. *The African Religions of Brazil.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Budge, E. A. Wallis. 1967. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead.* New York: Dover.
Christensen, James Boyd. 1959. "The Adaptive Functions of Fanti Priesthood." Pp. 257–278 in *Continuity and Change in African Culture.* Edited by William Bascom and Melville Herskovitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Davidson, Basil. 1991. *African Civilizations Revisited: From Antiquity to Modern Times.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
Ephirim-Donkor, Anthony. 1997. *African Spirituality: On Becoming Ancestors.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
————. 2000. *The Making of an African King: Patrilineal & Matrilineal Struggle among the Effutu of Ghana.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
Geest, Sjaak van der. 2000. "Funerals for the Living: Conversations with Elderly People in Kwahu, Ghana." *African Studies Review* 43, no. 3: 103–129.
Nketia, J. H. 1955. *Funeral Dirges of the Akan.* Ghana: Achimota.
Rattray, R. S. 1927. *Religion and Art in Ashanti.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Sarpong, Peter. 1974. *Ghana in Retrospect: Some Aspects of Ghanaian Culture.* Tema: Ghana Publishing.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SHAMANISM

Ancient Egyptian mythology, concepts of multiple souls, and some functions of the various priests and healers show clear shamanistic elements. Spirit possession, ritual dance performance, some healing practices, and initiation ceremonies all provide additional evidence of these elements.

Ancient Egypt refers here to the dynastic era from the time of the first king, Narmer (Menes) (ca. 3000 B.C.E.) to the conquest of Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.E. However, even before the dynastic era, indeed as early as 4000 B.C.E., early animal worship can be traced in the burials of bulls, jackals, and other animals. Egyptian religion existed for several millennia; the last temple of the Goddess Auset (Isis) was closed on the island of Philae in the mid-sixth century C.E. Most of the evidence for the shamanistic beliefs and practices of the ancient Egyptians derives from various texts and inscriptions found in the tombs and temples, and is thus funerary in character. The oldest of such texts are the Pyramid Texts, which were hieroglyphic writings dealing with the king's afterlife. Egyptian theology, rituals, and mythology can be deduced from such texts. The earliest examples are the inscribed texts on the interior walls of King Wenis's pyramid at Saqqara, dated 2350 B.C.E. The Coffin Texts, found in tombs, were written on sarcophagi and rolls of papyrus and date roughly from the Middle Kingdom (2050–1786 B.C.E.). *The Book of the Dead,* written on papyrus with color illustrations, tells of both royal and nonroyal religion. Temple inscriptions, many of which were inscribed on stelae, contain hymns to the gods and mythological tales of the later period.

Egyptian Religion

Each region of Egypt had its own god(s), manifested in the form of particular animals. These totemic animal figures symbolized particular tribal groups, and members of the ruling elite tended to pay special homage to them. In addition to zoomorphic deities, cosmic elements such as the moon, storm, wind, and, especially, the sun were later included in the Egyptian pantheon. During the dynastic periods, animal gods began to have more anthropomorphic forms, such as ram-headed Amun, lion-headed Sakhment, and Hathor (cow goddess). In the myths of that time, these gods had human emotions and lived and died like human beings.

A creation myth recorded in a text found in Heliopolis explains how the creator god Atum separated air (Shu), the sky (Nut), and the earth (Geb) from the darkness of the primordial chaos of waters. From the union of the sky and the earth four children were born: Osiris (Ausares), Auset (Isis), Seth, and Nephtys. Of them, Osiris and Auset became the central figures of the Osiris worship that spread all over the Egyptian kingdom in the late Old Kingdom in relation to funerary mythology and rituals.

The myth of Osiris includes shamanic transformations of both Osiris and Auset. According to the myth, Osiris was a living king of Egypt killed by his brother, Seth, who was jealous of his power. Seth cut Osiris's body into pieces

and scattered them throughout Egypt. Auset transformed herself to a bird and collected the pieces of Osiris's body, which she revived by magic spells. This motif of death and resurrection resembles elements of shamanic initiation in North Asia and elsewhere: ritual dismemberment of the initiate's body and subsequent rebirth as a fully initiated shaman. Osiris eventually became a ruler over the dead, and the dead pharaoh was always identified with Osiris.

Wallis Budge argued that the ancient Egyptians had both polytheistic and monotheistic tendencies coexisting from the Archaic period (Budge 1969, 1: 353). *Kheper tchesef* (self-produced being) is equivalent to the Judeo-Christian concept of God, the Creator of all beings. Nevertheless, multiple gods of all functions and shapes called *neteru* were the more prominent in Egyptian religion. Neteru could appear on earth as men, women, animals, birds, reptiles, trees, plants, and the like. They were more powerful and more intelligent than men but had emotions and suffered like common mortals, often marrying and having offspring.

The Egyptian Concept of Multiple Souls

Ancient Egyptians developed complicated ideas of multiple souls and spirits, identifying three kinds of souls relating to the body of each person: a *Ka,* "double," *Sāḥu,* "spirit body," and *Khaibit,* "shadow." Every normal Egyptian was born with a Ka, which dwelt in the figure of the dead person after death. The Ka might go wherever it wished but preferred to enter the figure and reside there (Budge 1911, 2: 118). The Ka required food offerings from family members to survive. Through repeated ceremonies and offerings the Ka could be elevated into the Sāḥu, which was held to be incorruptible and everlasting. This spirit body could also travel everywhere in heaven or on earth. When the Sāḥu was ready for resurrection, the body needed the shadow, the Khaibit, which functioned like a soul, in that it could harm other fellow shadows and go anywhere it wished.

In addition to these body-related souls, there were at least two more spirit-oriented souls. They were the *Ba,* the spirit soul, and the *Khu,* which can be translated simply as "spirit." The Ba, whose hieroglyphic character represents a bird with a bearded human head, is close to "soul" in the modern Western sense. The Ba could take any form and was also free to travel throughout heaven and socialize with other Ba there. Due to the influence of evil spirits, a Ba might be prevented from rejoining its Ka and physical body. The Ba and Ka were to be rejoined in Heliopolis, where the soul of Osiris rejoined itself to the body of the god. King Unȧs ruled all Khu, spirits of both humans and gods in heaven. The Khu lived somewhere in the body, but its nature was unchangeable, incorruptible, and immortal (Budge 1911, 1: 134). As part of funerary rituals, priests uttered spells so that the Khu could rise and reside in the elevated spirit body, which could then ascend to heaven to live with Osiris.

Various texts and inscriptions indicate different ideas about where the dead go. According to some texts, spirits of the dead went to live in the bodies of animals and birds. Other texts indicate that they entered the stars or lived in the Boat of the Sun (Budge 1911, 1: 155). The more common Egyptian belief about the afterlife was that the dead went to the land of Ṭuat, which is almost a duplicate of Egypt in its geographical features, but without the sun. People could reach this spirit world by climbing to the top of high mountains or using ladders.

Dance and Music

Budge provides some evidence that spiritual dance was performed in front of a god, possibly Osiris, as an act of worship. An ebony plaque in the British Museum depicts King Semti (Ḥesepti), a king of the first dynasty, dancing before a god (Budge 1911, 1: 232). The king wore the Crown of the South and North and held a whip in his right hand and a paddle in his left—items that might relate to certain ceremonial functions. Pygmy dancers from Punt and other regions, "the Lands of the Spirits," were particularly welcomed by these kings, according to the text in the Pyramid of Pepi I, which mentions the pygmy dancers of the god who "rejoice the heart of the god before the god's great throne" (cited in Budge 1911, 1: 233). Another text extract shows that a king should dance in front of Osiris in the other world like a pygmy to cheer and strengthen the deity. Many illustrations of kings dancing in front of Osiris and other gods are found in the Egyptian bas-reliefs of all periods. It would

therefore appear that the ancient Egyptians incorporated the "spirit dance" of other parts of Africa into Osiris worship.

Both men and women could participate in ceremonies as singers of sacred music at the temples. The singers' roles became more and more important with time, and they maintained high status as religious officials. Women entered the temple as singers and eventually managed to become priestesses from the time of the Old Kingdom. The rank of priesthood was sometimes passed down from father to daughter (Sauneron 1960, 67).

The Priests and Trance

The priests, *Kher ḥeb* or *Kheru hebet,* were called servants of the god. According to Nunn, Kher ḥeb means literally those in charge of the festival rolls and is usually translated as "lector priests," low-ranking priests (1996, 98). At first they were appointed by the king, but in the New Kingdom, a priestly caste based on hereditary succession became the dominant office. There were many subdivisions according to function, but in general they performed rituals for the kings and the welfare of the people. Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writings show a wide range of shamanistic functions of the Kher ḥeb as the official director of religious and magic ceremonies. The Kher ḥeb knew how and when to recite spells, were able to draft incantations and magical formulae, could foretell the future, interpret dreams, reveal the causes of illnesses, and declare the name of the spirit of the dead who caused an illness (Budge 1911, 2: 170). These priestly figures had knowledge of the secret names of the gods and so knew how to cause death and to bring the dead to life. They could also dispense powerful medicines and transform themselves into animal shapes. Most priests wore linen clothes, but specialized priests and the high priests wore a panther skin (Sauneron 1960, 40), a practice like that of some shamans in other parts of Africa and South Asia who wear the hide of a wildcat.

On some ritual occasions the Kher ḥeb used possession to deliver the god's divine words. In such a ritual, the spirits of the gods resided in the priest's body temporarily, and all that the priest said on such occasions was inspired by divine beings and had divine authority (Budge 1911, 2: 171). Some examples of the spells to deliver the gods' divine words according to *The Book of the Dead,* as quoted by Budge (1911, 2: 171–174).

"My mouth hath power over the *ḥeka* (magic power)" (Chapter XXXI).

"I am Osiris, I am Horus, I am Ȧnpu. I am the priest in heaven" (Chapter XXXI).

"I command the spirits . . . I recite his commands and announce his words" (Chapter XXXVIII).

"My tongue is the tongue of *ptaḥ* [the creator god of Memphis]" (Chapter LXXXII).

"I am the chosen one of millions of years, who cometh out of the Ṭuat, whose name is unknown" (In magical papyrus—British Museum No. 10042) (Budge 1911, 2: 171–174).

The words of spells were particularly important for the Egyptian priests. To make spells and magic rituals effective, the Kher ḥeb had to be ritually pure: They had to wash and refrain from sex and eating meat or fish. Using the power of the words, the priests held various ceremonies to make the soul of the dead (the spirit soul) ascend into heaven in the form of Osiris or Rā and to resurrect the spirit body. The Kher ḥeb used his powers to effect the preservation of bodies and souls and united the spirit soul with the spirit body (Ka). Accordingly, the Kher ḥeb, like a shaman, mediated between the spirits of the gods and the living.

According to a report by the Roman monk Apulin (Sauneron 1960, 50), inducing trance was an important element in the initiation of young Egyptian monks. During the initiation ceremony, the monk Lucius was purified in a nearby pond after ten days of fasting. He was led to the most secluded part of the sanctuary and received revelations while in a trancelike state. Lucius was "carried beyond all the elements" and saw "the sun shine with a brilliant light in the middle of the night" after he "approached the limits of the dead." Apulin explained that Lucius "approached the gods from below and from high and saw them face to face." Lucius's revelation showed his ritual death in this world and subsequent rebirth as a priest through mystical experience under trance.

Serge Sauneron also described the use of trance by ascetic monks who had long hair and were half-naked, clothed in rags and chains. Due to their rigorous abstinence and practices of spiritual perfection, their bodies were emaci-

ated, and they pronounced oracles to visitors and pilgrims at sacred sites in a state of "divine madness" (Sauneron 1960, 75).

Egyptians could also use magical power to harm people by bringing sickness or misfortune. For this purpose, a wax figure was created to harm the enemy of the sorcerer's client. Some Greek writers of the Greco-Roman period reported that Egyptian sorcerers could send terrifying dreams to people to cause illicit love affairs, sickness, and death. These sorcerers could transform themselves into animals, birds, reptiles, and other beings, and control the powers of heaven and earth.

Healing in Egyptian Medicine

There are various extant medical texts available to illuminate Egyptian healing practices. These medical papyrus texts include both magical cures and the "conventional medicine" of the day—that is, treatment without religious associations. John Nunn (1996, 25) listed a dozen such texts, including the Edwin Smith Papyri, the Ebers Papyri, and the Kahan Papyri. These were mostly written in hieratic (a cursive hieroglyphic writing system) and date from 1550 B.C.E. to 250 C.E. The content of these papyri books includes general medicine, gynecology, pediatrics, ophthalmology, and the treatment of rectal diseases and snakebite.

According to these texts and other evidence, there were at least five different healing professions in ancient Egypt. There were doctors (*swnw,* pronounced *sewnew*), magicians (*sau*), lector priests (Kher ḥeb), the priests of Serqet, and the *wab* priests of Sekhmet, the lion-headed goddess. Swnw were to some extent like Western allopathic physicians. They examined patients, diagnosed sickness, prepared a sacred herbal remedy, and performed surgery when necessary. Some doctors, however, carried priestly titles, or double titles as both doctor and magician. For example, Hery-shef-nakht of the Middle Kingdom was both a swnw and a wab priest of Sekhmet, and he was also an overseer of magicians. The title of the doctor was usually passed down from father to son; the son learned medicine from his father using these medical texts, which were transmitted through the family and were buried with the doctor when he died. These medical texts included many magical incantations, as doctors regularly practiced magic together with conventional medicine.

Magicians (sau) practiced medicine independently of conventional medicine (Nunn 1996, 99). In the Middle Kingdom, the word *hekay* (from Heka, the god of magic) was also used for magicians. The lector priests were also known for using magic for healing. According to the Ebers Papyri (855u), lector priests could use their magic in malignant ways to cause evil actions such as a failing heart. The priests of Serqet were also magicians and healers who prevented and treated attacks by poisonous snakes and scorpions, and wab priests of Sekhmet had roles as veterinary surgeons.

Treatment and Incantations

Sickness was considered by the ancient Egyptians to be caused by demonic forces that entered the body from the outside. These sickness demons, *wekhedu,* were to be driven out by various remedies prescribed in the medical papyri (Nunn 1996, 104). As the medical texts indicate, the great varieties of incantations used for healing involved gods, disease demons, and drugs. The following is an example of an incantation against wekhedu.

> An incantation [against] wekhedu: . . . I trample Busiris; I throw down Mendes; I ascend to the sky to see what is done therein. Nothing will be done in Abydos until the driving out of the [evil] influence of a god, a goddess, male wekhedu, female wekhedut, and so on, and the influence and all evil things that are in this my body, in this my flesh and in these my limbs. . . . Words to be said four times and spat out over the site of the disease. Really effective: a million times. (cited in Nunn 1996, 105)

The Metternich stela also provides an example of a spell to be used when a deity is to be invoked for the treatment of snakebite: "Flow out, poison. Come forth. Go forth on to the ground. Horus will exorcise you. He will punish you. He will spit you out" (cited in Nunn 1996, 105). In addition to Horus, benevolent gods and goddesses such as Osiris, Nekhet, Auset (Isis), and Nephtys were to be addressed in the incantation. According to the spells, these deities would protect the patient. These

incantations were given at the time of drinking a remedy to reinforce its effects. *The Book of the Dead* also includes many incantations to avoid dangerous creatures in the other world such as crocodiles.

The interpretation of dreams was also performed by priests as therapy. A patient slept in a temple or sacred dormitory and upon awakening next morning was asked to describe the dream to the priests. Amulets were also a popular means to protect a person in life and after death. These amulets were usually small figures depicting parts of the human body, deities, or animals that one desired to avoid.

Gloria Emeagwali
Mariko Namba Walter

References and further reading:

Budge, Wallis. 1911. *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection.* 2 vols. London and New York: P. L. Warner and G. P. Putnam's Sons.

———. 1969. Reprint. *The Gods of the Egyptians.* Vol. 1. New York: Dover. Original edition, Chicago: Open Court, 1904.

Bryan, Cyril P., trans. 1930. *The Papyrus Ebers.* London: G. Bles.

Hornung, Eric, and Betsy Bryan, eds. 2002. *The Quest for Immortality: Treasures of Ancient Egypt.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art.

Nunn, John. 1996. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Sauneron, Serge. 1960. Reprint. *The Priests of Ancient Egypt.* Translated by Ann Morrissett. New York: Grove Press. Distributed by Random House.

Shaw, Ian. 2000. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Watterson, Barbara. 1997. *The Peoples of Africa: The Egyptians.* Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

ASANTE SHAMANISM (GHANA)

Although shamanism in the classic sense is not practiced among the Asante, what is practiced is close enough that it should be considered essentially the same phenomenon. Moreover, it has much in common with the practices of other indigenous religions in Africa as a whole.

The Asante are part of the Akan people, the dominant ethnic group in Ghana. The word *Akan* is both a linguistic and cultural description of a group of people speaking distinct dialects of the same language and bound together by the same social structure. The unity of the group is manifested in similar clan names, in similar religious beliefs and practices, in matrilineal social organization *(ebusua)* that reckons descent and succession along female lines, and in political organization based on kinship. Other Akan people include the Fante, Akyem, Akuapem, Kwahu, Bono-Ahafo, Agona, Wassa, Sewfi (in southern Ghana), and Baule and Anyi (in the southeast corner of the Ivory Coast).

The Akan migrated from the northern part of present-day Ghana, settling first in Takyiman in the Brong-Ahafo region, from where parts of the larger Akan people broke away to found new communities further south. The Asante settled in the forest belt, where they founded the town of Kumasi, their capital, in 1665 (Busia 1954). Occupationally, the Asante are generally farmers, producing the bulk of the cocoa that is Ghana's main export commodity. They are also weavers, potters, and gold- and blacksmiths. They are famous for their Kente (woven) and Adinkra (stamped) cloths.

The essential unifying factor among the Asante is the Golden Stool *(Sikadwa),* which is believed to have descended from heaven through the agency of the royal priest or shaman, called Okomfo Anokye. The Golden Stool contains the souls of all living Asante.

Akom, or Shamanism: Belief System and Practices

Asante religion is based on belief in a spiritual world and a material world that are distinct yet constantly interacting. The interpenetration of these two worlds is understood as a venture in which the efforts of human beings and God are joined in a common enterprise (Rigby 1981, 106). Briefly, the Asante believe in a Supreme God called Onyame, or Onyankopon, creator and sustainer of all creation. They believe in a multitude of male and female spirits called *abosom* (singular, *obosom*), "deities"; in ever-vigilant ancestor spirits; and in good and evil spirits that can be exploited by human beings.

Shamanic duties in Asante religion are embodied in the office and functions of the priesthood, *akom,* which is associated with the abosom and the ancestors. The abosom are localized in natural phenomena such as trees, rocks, stones, hills, rivers, the sea, and some animals. The very essence and power of the deities originate from God. "They come from him and are part of him" (Busia 1954, 193). The mythological sources tell that God, or Onyankopon, whose abode is the sky, used to live closer to human beings. The sky was so close to earth then that whenever Aberewa, an old woman, pounded *fufu* (a staple meal of yam, cassava, or plantain) with mortar and pestle, the pestle hit God. After several unheeded complaints to the woman, God withdrew, with the sky, farther and farther upwards to the sky's present position. When human attempts to reach God by piling all the mortars at their disposal failed, God sent his children, the abosom, to attend to human needs. Thus, most acts of religious devotion revolve around the abosom, who are also custodians of the moral order, rewarding good conduct and punishing wrong behavior. Among the most important deities in Asante are the spirits of the rivers Tano and Bea, and the spirit of Lake Bosomtwe.

The abosom are approached by priests and priestesses called *akomfo* (singular, *okomfo*). The okomfo is outwardly distinguished from other people not only by name but also by official attire. Professed priests and priestesses wear white clothes on ritual days, and smear their bodies with white clay. On ceremonial occasions they may wear skirts made of raffia or cotton material and carry a short broom (Brookman-Amissah 1975, 5). Priests are also adorned with special black and white beads as insignia of their office and to distinguish them from ordinary people.

Functions of Akomfo as Shamans

The akomfo are primarily intermediaries between divinity and human beings, transmitting divine revelations on to human beings and submitting human supplications to the deity (Sackey 1989, 19). The obosom possesses the okomfo, bringing him or her into the spirit world and imparting to her or him knowledge to cure a disease, find solutions to pressing human problems, restructure broken human relationships, recover lost articles, and interpret dreams. The okomfo also consults the dead on behalf of family members, intercedes on behalf of humans in times of calamity or danger such as famine, drought, epidemics, and presides over festivals for the deities and ancestors. Among the Asante and Akan, when a person becomes ill his *okra* (soul) is said to have run away, as reflected in the saying *ne kra eguane* (his soul has run away). The object of healing by the okomfo, therefore, is to find and restore the fugitive soul. Kofi Appiah-Kubi described the okomfo as "at once a friend, priestess, doctor, social worker, advisory bureau, psychologist, psychiatrist, and philanthropist" (1981, 30)

Eliade described shamanism as "preeminently a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Inner Asia," a restrictive application of the term based on an emphasis on ecstatic soul travel to the world of spirits (1987, 991). According to this definition, the shaman is distinguished by being able to control his helping spirits; he does not become their instrument, in contrast to mediums, who obtain access to the spirit world through possession. Although the modus operandi in some respects differs, there are more similarities than differences between the duties, call, and status of akomfo in Asante and those of shamans in Alaska, Siberia, and Asia. Even among these northern shamanistic societies there are differences; and the religious phenomenon occurs in different cultural matrixes so that terminologies vary. What is most important in both shamanism and akom is the goal of the shaman or okomfo—which is to solicit spiritual help to solve human problems in the physical world—rather than the mode of transmission to the spirit world, or the kind of agency.

The Call to Shamanism (Akom)

As in shamanism, the ascension to the office of priesthood in Asante may be hereditary or by means of a calling, or vocation. In the case of the private hereditary office, there appears to be no specific "call," and the most suitable member of the family succeeds the family okomfo who has died. The selection is made during the funeral of the deceased okomfo, whose spirit indicates which family member is most suitable to succeed him or her. A call into public service may be manifested by possession. A possessed

candidate goes through a series of mental and physical crises expressed apparently in paranoid behavior and sudden illness, which for a time may defy therapeutic treatment. In other words, the person behaves strangely, but this strangeness is regarded as normal because its symptoms are evidence of the call (Brookman-Amissah 1975, 7; Sackey 1989, 19). Sometimes a person may go to the forest and discover a flaming stone charged with power, the temporary dwelling place of a spirit. The discoverer becomes the priest of the deity that has thus revealed itself. He remains in the forest for several days, and when found, behaves strangely. Other symptoms of a call include intermittent fits, seizures, and convulsions similar to epilepsy. When a person is under such attack, he may tear off his clothes and cast them off, roll on the ground, groan, and moan. These symptoms may persist until the person consults a senior priest, who may interpret this condition as a sign that a deity would like to "marry" the person.

Even though the call to the Asante priesthood is a divine obligation, some people reject it. For example, the parents and relatives of the possessed person may plead with the deity through the senior okomfo for her release. The deity may accept the plea, having been pacified by sacrifices from the supplicants. On the other hand, the deity may reject the plea, and then the person has no choice but to comply or face repercussions from the deity, which may include afflictions such as sterility, infertility, mental diseases, successive and inexplicable deaths in the person's family, and even the person's own death. Sometimes, a deity may not kill but will "spoil" the person; that is, from time to time the person may go into fits and experience some form of dementia (Sackey 2000).

Whether selected by succession or a call, the candidate must undergo three years of training under stern discipline, observing certain taboos. According to Robert Rattray (1927, 40), the novitiate and training undergone by an Asante priest is a long, trying, and very serious business, and even when a person is fully qualified, the profession of priesthood is no sinecure.

Initiation

The initiation into priesthood as a rite of passage has three distinct phases: separation, transition, and reincorporation. The separation phase involves initiates leaving their homes and going to reside with their instructors. If an initiate is married, he or she must leave his or her spouse, with whom he or she may no longer cohabit until the three years' training has ended; if an initiate is unmarried, he or she must stay chaste for the three years. If the initiate is already married and his or her spouse does not wish to wait for three years, the initiate may obtain a divorce. An unmarried person may enter into marriage after the training. Virtues such as obedience and reliability are the hallmark of the initiate. The initiate is ritually cleansed and given a special hairstyle (braids, which are not shaved during the whole period of training). Clad in a red piece of cloth, the initiate is confined in a room for eight days. The training or transitional period begins after the eighth day.

The first year of training of the new priests consists of ceremonial ablutions, or "bathing with medicine," intended to strengthen them in akom techniques. Most importantly, some of the herbal medicines are meant to introduce the initiates to the spiritual world. The instructing priest will collect leaves from plants growing over some grave in the *samanpow* (thicket of the ghosts) and bring them to the shrine, where they are placed in a pot. Eggs and a fowl are then sacrificed upon them, and the pot is placed upon the grave from which the leaves were taken. The initiate is then ordered to go alone, in the middle of the night, to the thicket of the ghosts and bathe with the medicine for three successive nights, amidst beatings and harassment from the ghosts. The medicine in the pot on the grave is changed, and the initiate must wash with it for seven successive weeks (Rattray 1927, 41).

In the second year the laws and taboos of the deity and social conduct are stressed. Some of the taboos, apart from celibacy, forbid drinking alcohol, eating sweet things or pork, and putting on footwear. The initiate must refrain from quarreling or any disgraceful acts. Initiates are taught drumming, singing, dancing, offering libation, and the like.

During the third and final year, the initiate is taught water-gazing, healing, divination, necromancy, and witchcraft detection. The initiate learns how to impregnate charms *(asuman)* with various spirits, how to hear the voices of the trees, the streams, and other forest spirits,

and how to identify and know the secrets of herbs. The initiate studies psychology, theology, and dedication to service to the spirits and human worlds (Damuah n.d., 39–40, Appiah-Kubi 1981, 37–39).

Graduation

The training ends with a private and public graduation in which the initiate is tested for proficiency. On the eve of the public ceremony, he or she is taken to a thick forest and left alone to undergo a spiritual test of endurance necessary to face the challenges of the spiritual world, which is part of the initiate's *akom* duties. In a case study, an initiate reported that she encountered many deities, including the one that possessed her, spirits of some of the ancestors, and other ghosts. For the public graduation ceremony, she was shaved and dressed in a white cloth, besmeared with white clay, adorned with beads and charms, and seated before the *akor,* a pot containing water for the purposes of water-gazing, to test all she had learnt. As she gazed into the water, she could recognize all the spirits she had encountered the previous night.

The final rite involved "fire dancing." A bonfire was set up, and she danced through the fire without getting hurt. Only candidates who had broken some taboos during their training, especially sexual taboos, would get burnt. Going through the fire three times marked the end of her initiation, after which she was reincorporated into her family, not only as mother and wife but also as a full-fledged priestess in her community. Some of the cases she had treated include healing sick adults and children, curing infertility problems, restoring lost items, and training priestesses into the priesthood. She had trained over seventy priestesses. Later, she was elevated to become the chief priestess in her hometown. At the time of this writing, she is retired, and though she does not work she is possessed from time to time (Sackey 2000).

Coexistence with Other Religious Specialists and Religious Traditions

In Asante, medical practitioners include the okomfo, the *edurnsifo* (herbalist), and the *sumankwafo* (expert in the production and control of protective charms). Unlike the okomfo, the last two practitioners are always men. The work of the okomfo includes that of the other two; that is, he or she is at the same time herbalist and expert in charms, while the work of the edurnsifo and sumankwafo is limited to a specific expertise.

Like all other people in Ghana, the Asante have been affected by social, political, economic, and religious changes. In the religious realm, the modern Asante state exhibits a religious pluralism, within which their ethnic-based indigenous religion exists in relative harmony with other religious traditions, including Islam, Christianity, and variants of new African religious movements such as African Independent Churches, Spiritual, Pentecostal, and Charismatic churches (Sackey 2001). Despite a relatively peaceful coexistence among the religions in Asante and Ghana generally, the concept of deities and akom, or shamanic, functions have always been a paramount cause of conflict between Christianity and indigenous African religions. Whereas Christianity sees worship of many deities as a violation of the first two of the Ten Commandments, indigenous religions regard the deities as an integral part of their religious system, without which the religions would be incomplete and meaningless (Sackey 1998). These differences notwithstanding, Christians generally seek the help of the akomfo when the afflictions of life, especially health, social, and financial problems, become insurmountable.

Brigid M. Sackey

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Spirit Possession

References and further reading:

Appiah-Kubi, Kofi. 1981. *Man Cures, God Heals: Religion and Medical Practice Among the Akans of Ghana.* New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun Publishers.

Busia, Kofi A. 1954. "The Ashanti of the Gold Coast." Pp. 190–200 in *African Worlds.* Edited by Daryll Forde. London: Oxford University Press.

Brookman-Amissah, J. 1975. "The Traditional Education of Indigenous Priesthood in Ghana." Occasional Paper. Faculty of Education, University of Cape Coast.

Damuah, Osofo Okomfo. n.d. *Miracle at the Shrine: Religious and Revolutionary Miracle in Ghana.* n.p.

Eliade, Mircea. 1987. "Shamanism." Pp. 991–992 in *World Religions.* Selections from the 16th Volume, Macmillan Compendium. New York: Simon and Schuster, Macmillan.
Opoku, Kofi A. 1978. *West African Traditional Religion.* Jurong: FEP International Private Ltd.
Rattray, Robert S. 1927. *Religion and Art in Ashanti.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.
Rigby, Peter. 1981. "Pastors and Pastoralists: The Differential Penetration of Christianity among East African Cattle Herders." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23: 96–129.
Sackey, Brigid M. 1989. "Aspects of Continuity in the Religious Roles of Women in Spiritual Churches of Ghana." *Research Review* 5, no. 2: 18–33. Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.
———.1998. "Asafo and Christianity: Conflicts and Prospects." *Transactions of the Historical Society* 1, no. 2.
———.2000. Interview with Maame Aba Tum, a okomfo in Enyan Abaasa, a Fante town in the Central Region of Ghana. October.
———.2001 "Charismatics, Independents, and Missions: Church Proliferation in Ghana." *Culture and Religion* 2(1): 41–59.

CAPE NGUNI SHAMANISM (SOUTH AFRICA)

The role of the diviner-healer among the Cape Nguni of South Africa is still a central one. It is filled by both women and men, though women are definitely in the majority.

Background

The Xhosa-speaking peoples of the Eastern Cape of South Africa, together with the Zulu, make up the ethnic group commonly known as the Nguni. Oral evidence suggests that they were originally one people, at some period before they settled on the eastern seaboard of the southern part of Africa, the Zulu occupying that part of the continent between the Drakensberg Mountains and the Indian Ocean, while the Xhosa settled further south. In the course of time, the Xhosa people came to dominate and incorporate the Mpondo, the Mpondomise, and the Bharca as well as the Hlubi, Zizi, Tolo, and Bhele peoples who migrated into the area in the nineteenth century. The latter immigrants subsequently became known as the Mfengu (Hirst 1990, 12). Collectively, the Xhosa-speaking peoples are known as the Cape Nguni. The Xhosa-speaking peoples, as a result of incorporation, are the dominant ethnic group in South Africa.

Cape Nguni Healer-Diviners

The figure of the shaman is roughly equivalent to what is known among the Cape Nguni as the *amagqira* (a healer-diviner), or, to a lesser extent, the *amaxhwele* (essentially an herbalist). Although the generic terms *igqirha* and *amaxhwele* are the most commonly employed by the Cape Nguni, the media in South Africa typically use the Zulu designation *izangoma* to refer to both diviners and herbalists. The fully qualified diviner (amagqira) and the initiate *(twasa)* who is being trained to become an amagqira are distinct from the herbalist, the amaxhwele.

The Cape Nguni herbalist shares with other herbalists worldwide a comprehensive knowledge of local plants and their properties, which can be learned by anyone who is interested. The herbalists are ordinary people who have acquired extensive knowledge of magical techniques, ritual artifacts, and botanical preparations, and who do not typically possess occult powers (Hammond-Tooke 1989). Nevertheless, their instruction and training, like that of the diviner, begins with a call from the ancestral spirits to undergo the necessary rites of passage under a practicing herbalist. Another kind of practitioner is the *nolugxana,* "the doctor of the medicine digging-stick"; these practitioners are uninitiated novice diviners *(abakhwetha)* who employ their acquired skills and knowledge as healers (Hirst 1990, 24).

Cape Nguni specialist diviners include the *izanuse* (omniscient diviners), *awemilozi* (ventriloquists), *ambululayo* (revealers), *awomhlahlo* (appeal diviners), *awamathambo* (bone diviners), *aqubulayo* (extractors), and *awezipili* (mirror diviners) who exist for a variety of ailments and predicaments. Finally, witch finders, or witch smellers *(igqirha elinukayo)* specialize in scrutinizing a client's social, business, or neighborhood associates for malign intent. The

awemvula, or *igqirha levula,* are rainmakers, and the *amatola* (or *itola*), war diviners. The itola were active during the Frontier Wars of 1846–1878, in which the English Empire and its colonial administration opposed the Xhosa peoples.

Within these various forms of healing, then, methods, materials, and ritual are so interrelated that disputes in regards to clientele occasionally arise among practitioners. The development of charismatic Christianity among the Cape Nguni has also given rise to Zionist prophets *(amaprofeti),* "women of prayer" *(abathandazeli),* and ministers *(abafundisi)* of the established Christian churches in the predominantly Black townships. Though the healer-diviners of these newer groups owe their primary allegiance to the Christian churches, most also observe and accommodate reverential and placatory rituals directed to the shades of the ancestors and employ dreams, trance, and ecstatic healing methods.

The Cape Nguni Worldview

Traditionally, the Cape Nguni worship a supreme being known as uThixo, Qamata, or uDali, who is seen as remote from the world of everyday life; thus they turn to the ancestral shades to intercede for them. These shades are known among the Xhosa proper as *iminyanya,* and as *amathongo* among the Mpondo and the Xesibe. The shades pervade almost every aspect of traditional Cape Nguni life and social space, supplying prosperity and protection, and withholding their blessings when angered. Occasionally, they afflict the disobedient with illnesses and other misfortunes (Kuckertz 1990), the most significant being pain, infertility, loss of property, and death (Lawuyi n.d.). Through dreams and omens, they communicate with and influence the lives of their descendants. Transitional life phases and instances of prosperity or crisis see the shades invoked and appeased as necessary.

The Cape Nguni consider the dead *(elemimoya)* as spirit beings in the process of becoming spirit ancestors (*moya:* wind). The dead are buried in their own cattle byre, cattle being considered a vital medium of spiritual communication. (Not all ancestors, however, are equally revered.) The typical room is built to face the east, a tradition probably related to the San belief that the power of good derives from the east. Rivers are also considered dwelling places of the ancestor spirits and sources of divine inspiration. Rivers are seen as possessing the potential for renewal and destruction (Lawuyi n.d., 8); thus their connection with the communal ancestor spirits called "*abantu bomlambo*" (People of the River).

Pollution beliefs among the Cape Nguni attest to the existence of mystical forces that create conditions inimical to life. These forces emanate not from the ancestors or society, but from an individual's "own contaminated position" resulting from "ritual impurity" (De Wet 1998, 92). In the more traditional areas, one finds a belief in the existence of witches *(ubugqwirha),* who use their innate psychic power for antisocial ends. Witches are considered to interact with familiars, variously symbolized in peculiar creatures. Lastly, there is a belief in bogeymen *(ubuthakatha),* who employ their unusual psychic power to create free-floating fear in the minds of others (Hirst 1990, 237).

The Cape Nguni do recognize disease and illness due to "natural biological causes" and those that result from "natural degradation of bodily systems or environmental or genetic predisposition" (Hammond-Tooke 1989, 56–57). But their notion of illness and disease also incorporates whatever brings misfortune, creates imbalance in society, or poses an environmental threat (Hammond-Tooke 1989). The intermediaries between the spirit ancestors (or the supernatural realm) and the living are the healer-diviners, who are seen as having moral authority in the world of the shades, and thus the competence to initiate the restoration of order.

The Role of Cape Nguni Healer-Diviners in Society

Cape Nguni diviners focus on diagnosing the inexplicable in society, which for the most part has to do with illness, misfortune, and social, physical, or spiritual imbalance. As servants of the ancestors, they analyze, through divination, the causes or origins of specific events and interpret their messages. Though their function is chiefly that of divination, they also provide medication for many of the problems they diagnose.

The clients who consult healer-diviners come from socially diverse backgrounds; they include

educated Christians, elite professionals, and minimally educated traditionalists. Most nonliterate folk typically depend on the advice of diviners. Manton Hirst noted that white clients coming from diverse social, economic, and religious backgrounds occasionally consult healer-diviners (Hirst 1990, 70). Practitioners do not seem to exclude clients on the basis of social and racial background, nor do the religious beliefs of most clients interfere with their seeking a suitable and effective therapy for their ills from one of the many kinds of practitioners.

The problems for which most clients would consult the range of herbalists, diviners, and faith healers, are often psychic, psychosomatic, or psychosocial. Conditions for which Western biomedical treatment offers no treatment, such as witchcraft, spirit possession, lineage sorcery, pollution, madness, hysteria, and fainting fits are susceptible to intervention by the healer-diviner. Reproductive dysfunctions such as impotence and sterility are quite commonly brought to the healer-diviner, as well as problems of uncertainty, fear of misfortune, addictive smoking, alcoholism, and unrestrained promiscuity. Through their practices, healer-diviners help in reintegrating families or social relations with the use of ritual, and in so doing, they resolve social conflicts and promote group cohesion and a sense of community. In this way, they bolster not only the client's physical health, but also the psychological and social health of the patient. It is their aim to heal the broader kinship and community networks by means of their rituals and practices.

Besides these intangible ills, some Cape Nguni healer-diviners treat a wide range of common physical illnesses and diseases, including for example colds, pneumonia, asthma, bronchitis, sprains, rheumatism, premenstrual pains, sexually transmitted diseases, blood poisoning, anemia, migraines, epilepsy, parasitic infections, skin problems, angina, and high blood pressure. Some also claim to treat tuberculosis, miners' lung diseases, and AIDS.

Herbalists and diviners also offer magical medicines, potions, or charms to clients, who desire them for various purposes: charms to traders to attract customers in a competitive trade; medicines to promote wealth, to ensure easy success in an election, or to win in commercial contests; charms or love portions; concoctions to help a criminal escape a policeman, or to cause a magistrate to become confused in court; medicines to avert the need to pay bills, to render an enemy powerless, to make a person lose prestige, or to enhance the client's social standing; magical medicines to ensure the faithfulness of a partner, to enable the unemployed to find employment, to protect oneself against witchcraft, to make oneself immaterial or invisible, and to enable urbanites to maintain contact with their lineage ancestors.

The Healer-Diviner's Ritual Paraphernalia

The contents of the healer-diviner's medicinal bags vary from one region to another, as South Africa is made up of varying ecological areas supporting different kinds of plant and animal life. Typically, however, a Cape Nguni diviner's paraphernalia consists of ritual goatskin bags containing herbs, barks, roots, leafy fronds, powders, horns, ivory tusks, teeth, claws, quills, and wild animal skins. Healing is effected through the use of otter and mongoose skins; hippo-hide switches, and preserved body parts of wild animals, all of which are imbued with medicinal or magical potency. Masilo Lamla (n.d.) observed healers making use of a number of plants: *talinum caffrum (impunyu), alepidea amatymbica (amaqwili), crimum bulbispermum (inqwebeba), acokanthera,* or cape aloes *(isihlungu senamba), aconkanthera venenata (intlungunyembe), artemisia (um-honganye), obliquus (umuthunga), helichrysum appendiculatum (indlebe yemvu), bowiea volubilis (isicwe ugqogqa),* and *knowltonia cordata (isichwe),* among others. Also available to healers and diviners are asbestos flint, washing soda, cloudy ammonium, permanganate of potash, and powdered cape aloes. Psychoactive plant substances contribute to healing rituals; sorghum beer, the foam *(ubalawu)* of which produces plentiful dreams (Hirst 1990, 64–66), constitutes perhaps the most common agent diviners use to alter consciousness.

Herbalists and diviners often collect their medicinal products themselves; otherwise, they procure items from hunters or rely on one another to supplement their stores or replenish finished stocks. Those in the large urban centers obtain their products from the rural areas and the open countryside.

In addition to their goatskin bags, the apparel of healer-diviners makes their vocation

visible to the community. This consists of a white headdress *(umyekho)* that falls to the shoulder blades. Besides this, the male healer-diviner typically wears a headdress made of white bird plumage. White beads symbolic of clarity decorate the diviner's hair, which neither male nor female healer-diviners are allowed to cut. Beads also ring both hands just above and below the wrists. Goatskin shoulder bands *(iminqwamba)* and wristlets, as well as the diviner's fly whisk *(ishoba),* said to be under the influence of ancestral spirits, complete the garb. Female novice diviners commonly walk the streets of the urban areas bare-footed, faces striped with white clay, adorned with beads, and dressed in white skirts.

"Go-Twasa": The Initiation of a Xhosa Diviner

The initiation of a Cape Nguni diviner (as reported in Hirst 1990) begins with *intwaso,* a state akin to spirit possession. The individual is afflicted by personal problems or troubles *(inkatazo)* or somatic emotional states, such as various aches and pains, a sinking sensation in the solar plexus, palpitation of the heart, and fainting fits. The patient is overwhelmed by dreams *(amathonga, amaphupha)* and visions *(imibono)* featuring wild animals. He then develops healing powers *(ubugqirha),* occasionally deserts the homestead for the bush, and feels an impulse to physically immerse himself in a river or pool. Healer-diviners interpret these symptoms as the individual being "called under the river" by the ancestors.

Go-twasa, the process of initiation, calls for the intervention of a diviner, who examines the patient, probes the patient's life history and social situation, and scrutinizes the symptoms and recurrent nature of the patient's troubles *(inkatazo)* in an attempt to determine his or her vocation. Many patients are known to have a history of intwaso from childhood (O'Connel n.d., 17), the symptoms often becoming more severe after puberty. Some psychiatrists have suggested that foreign spirit possession is involved, but research has now made it clear that the Nguni differentiate spirit possession from *ukutwasa* (ancestral dream communication). Refusal to accept the call often results in madness.

Social maturity is a necessary condition for becoming a novice diviner. The male initiate, twasa, must have undergone the *ukwaluka* circumcision rites, and the female, the *intonjane* puberty rites (Hirst 1990, 92). Ultimately, for an individual to enter a diviner's school, the spirit ancestors must commit to resolving that person's difficulties, and the individual must be willing to accept the "calling." In the diviner's school *(umgongo),* the initiate is given a new name and dance wands and is taught the practice and discipline of silence and how to hold the body (Fossback 1996, 48–51). The initiate is trained to search out the truth by questions (O'Connel n.d., 29–30), much as Western medical doctors interview patients to discover an array of symptoms pointing to an appropriate diagnosis.

Initiates abstain from certain foods or drinks, sexual intercourse, and oversocialization with the rest of the community. They fraternize with one another and with other schools or networks. Learning to dream as well as to understand and interpret dreams (Fossback 1996, 82–90) is crucial to their development. Visionary dreaming is preceded by drinking vision-inducing "entheogens" (psychotropic or psychoactive substances), which help the initiates to dream lucidly and to recollect their dreams in detail. They develop a repertoire of dreams and dream interpretation skills.

Novice diviners accompany the tutelary diviner on trips, during which the tutelary diviner imparts to them practical knowledge of divination, healing, and training in herbal treatment. Central to their training is the observation of an official ecstatic ritual song and dance (the *intlombe*), which invokes the presence of the spirit ancestors, a sense of community, and thus healing therapy (Fossback 1996; Hirst 1990, 143, 148). To accommodate a patient (or initiate's) troubling spirit, they dance in a hut until a trancelike state is reached (Hammond-Tooke 1998). Dancers go round the hearth *(iziko)* at the hut's center, accompanied by hand clapping, during which the patient confesses.

The induction of the twasa calls for the instructing diviner to officiate over the initiation ritual, which includes the mobilization of the candidate's social network, offerings to the People of the River, and an announcement of the candidate's readiness. The initiate is immersed in a river, physically or symbolically, followed by the diviner priest narrating to the

initiate in his divination hut the "timeless river's myth" (Hirst 1990). Where the myth is not narrated to the initiate, it is implicit in the rite of immersion.

The success of the initiation rite (known through propitious omens) breaks the general fasting that commenced before the rite. A white goat is ritually slaughtered and a thong *(imtambo)*—a symbol of restraint and sacrifice—is made for the fasting novice. The now purged novice shares in eating the meat. An intlombe dance ensues, during which the candidate narrates his or her troubles. This completes the rite. At the end, the ritual "takes home" the candidate diviner, while an ox or a bull is immolated. In the "feast of the multitudes," the candidate "walks out" from the "neophyte" state, dressed in full diviner's regalia of wild animal skins, with goatskin shoulder bands and wristlets, and armed with a hippohide switch, a black rod, and a spear. He or she performs a dance *umhlahlo* (associated in the past with witch finding) to the clapping of family, kinsmen, and friends assembled at the person's own homestead (Hirst 1990, 150). All these rituals entreat and encourage the spirit ancestors to abide with the candidate, while drawing on the candidate's network to make durable her newfound strength.

The Zionist prophets and women of prayer also experience, through mystical dreams, a call to heal and to prophesy. Though their calls are said to come directly from God, they necessarily involve the shades. The calls often come with an illness, for which competent diviner-herbalists are consulted. However, only another prophet can successfully treat the illness (Hirst 1990, 24) and officially baptize those that are called in a river.

Gender and Healing

The balance is in favor of women in recruitment to healing and divination in Southern Africa, a development that for theoretical and practical purposes is worth investigating. In the 1930s, Monica Hunter pointed out the dominance of female diviners by a three to one ratio among the amaMpondo (Hunter 1979, 320). In the 1970s, David Hammond-Tooke noted that among the Bharca "it is almost invariably the maternal ancestors who summon the novice" (Hammond-Tooke 1974, 335). He later observed male initiates among the Xhosa who adopted female dress and sometimes spoke in high-pitched voices (31). Hirst also reported that among the Xhosa diviners of Grahamstown the ratio of women to men was two to one (Hirst 1990, 26).

Although this transvestite phenomena is mostly reported among amaZulu practitioners, more women appear to be recruited into both traditional and charismatic Christian healing in South Africa. As social phenomena occurring in societies that for the most part have male-dominated institutions, these gender (and cross-gender) dynamics are signifying processes that shape contemporary consciousness through illness interpretation and knowledge production. The voices of these female healer-diviners therefore merit close study.

Contemporary Shamans

The amagqira shamans enjoyed much power in the past for their ability to communicate with and interpret the will of the ancestors. They were very relevant to their communities, where the bonds of kinship were still strong and the influence of Western urban cultures not yet dominant. With the recent waves of massive urban migration, population explosion, and socioeconomic change, the status of the Cape Nguni healer-diviner has also shifted to accommodate new social contentions and economic patterns. Competition between healer-diviners can be fierce. More healer-diviners have moved to urban areas and attend to the health of the displaced urban populations. Globalization and the growing interest in ethnic or indigenous cultures, along with the end of apartheid, have led to a boom in popular interest in healing traditions. Because foreign tourists are interested in experiencing the magical aspects of traditional healing which many consider exotic, a number of township healer-diviners have turned to tourist visits for an income. Accordingly one finds divination chambers in the townships that have also become traditional museums, where tourists flock to have a feel of the healer-diviner's ritual paraphernalia or to experience divination. Some argue that this development has rendered the practice voyeuristic.

Healing and divination thrives in both the traditionally rural and urban areas of Southern Africa. As prophets and spirit healers, the Zion-

ist ministers and women of prayer perform a much needed role in healing, as well as reinforcing positive and healthy social relations among their populations. The increase in living costs resulting in social tensions, the rise of new diseases both of a psychosomatic and biomedical order—coupled with the limitations of the modern medical service—mean that the populations that require alternative and traditional forms of therapy can only increase.

The drawbacks to divination and healing have to do with the want of proper regulation and control that would hold healers and diviners legally accountable for malpractice and would draw a line between trained healers and diviners on one side versus quacks and charlatans on the other. The impact has been evident in the past few years, with the rise in South African HIV/AIDS statistics. The highly reported cases of rape of female infants by HIV/AIDS patients, purportedly as a diagnostic treatment suggested by some healer-diviners, is a worrying development. A case can be made that the sources of this occurrence lie in the many false healers and diviners who have swelled the numbers in the profession. There has also been criticism of the stripping of the natural habitat of medicinal herbs and visionary plants on an extensive scale for the huge urban markets. The provincial authorities for nature and conservation, as well as the press, are quick to blame the "witch doctors"; healers and diviners place the responsibility on unscrupulous traders. Certainly, the multiplicity of modern health problems and social conflict calling for inexpensive holistic knowledge from healers and diviners, the want of recognition for their medical and therapeutic efforts, and the drive for money and profit on the part of opportunists are all factors likely to complicate the growth and legitimization of these endeavors.

San Influences On Cape Nguni Divination

Taken as a complex group of practitioners, Nguni healer-diviners constitute an important class of alternative medical and spirit practitioners in today's South Africa. Many aspects of Cape Nguni practice have been traced to the much earlier San (/Xam) language and culture. The cosmology and some practices of healing and divination are shared, according to Hammond-Tooke and other scholars. The Xhosa language contains words, such as the term for the healer, *gi:xa* (medicine man, or holder of power) borrowed from the San (!Kung) language. The healing dance, the intlombe, which is a crucial element in the training of Nguni neophyte diviners, is thought to have originated with the San and has been incorporated into Nguni shamanistic practice. Finally, the association of wild animals with altered states of consciousness in Cape Nguni divination is an aspect central to the San (!Kung) (as it is, of course, to other hunter-gatherer spirit practices). Mircea Elaide's definition of a "shaman" in the strict sense of the word excluded African spirit practitioners with the exception of the !Kung. However, it is now possible to find a connection between certain aspects of Xhosa ecstatic divination and San (!Kung) cosmology and shamanic practice. It is probable that the Xhosa not only borrowed the clicks of the San language (through contact) but also the ecstatic healing dance, the intlombe, which is part of the healing and initaitory ritual of Xhosa diviners. Another aspect the Xhosa incorporated into their cosmology is the linking of wild animals with altered states of consciousness. Hammond-Tooke (1999) recalls that shamanism is essentially the religion of hunter-gatherer societies, and the Xhosa's relations with the San explain the strong differences between the Xhosa and other Southern Bantu divination systems. These differences illustrate Cape Nguni healing and divination as a complex amalgam of hunter-gatherer and traditionalist pastoral worldviews. It is also likely that the /Xam (San) term for shaman, *gi:xa,* was borrowed by the Xhosa to designate their diviners, igqirha.

Ismaël Achirri Chi-Bikom

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Transvestism in Shamanism

References and further reading:

De Wet, Thea. 1998. "Doepa after Dark: Protective Medicines for Infants in Soweto in South Africa." Ph.D. diss.

Fossback, Ole-Bjorn. 1996. "Thwasa! Aspects of the Recruitment and Training of Sangoma Traditional Diviner-Healers in Mondoland, South Africa: An Embodied Approach." Cand. Polit. Degree thesis, University of Tromso.

Hammond-Tooke, W. D. 1974. *The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa.* London, Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

———. 1989. *Rituals and Medicines. Indigenous Healing in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Ad Donker.

———. 1998. "Selective Borrowing? The Possibility of San Shamanistic Influence in Southern Bantu Divination and Healing Practices." *Southern African Archeological Bulletin* 53: 9–15.

———. 1999. "Divinatory Animals: Further Evidence of San/Nguni Borrowing?" *Southern African Archeological Bulletin* 54: 128–132.

Hirst, Manton. 1990. *The Healer's Art: Cape Nguni Diviners in the Township of Grahamstown.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in Anthropology. Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Hunter, Monica. 1979. *Reaction to Conquest: Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa.* Cape Town: David Philip. Originally published 1936.

Kuckertz, Heinz. 1990. *Creating Order: the Image of the Homestead in Mpondo Social Life.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Lamla, Masilo. n.d. "The Knowledge (Stock-in-Trade) of a Traditional Healer." Unpublished paper.

Lawuyi, O. B. n.d. "The Healing Ancestors of Isinuka, South Africa." Unpublished paper.

O'Connel, M. D. n.d. "Spirit Possession and Role Stress among the Xesibe of the Eastern Transkei." Unpublished paper.

HAUSA SHAMANISTIC PRACTICES (NIGERIA AND NIGER)

There are about fifty million Hausa speakers in West Africa, primarily in northern Nigeria and southern Niger. Despite tribal variations within the Hausa, the present-day Hausa share a common culture and language; Hausa is a branch of the Chad group of the Afro-Asiatic language family, and it serves as a lingua franca in West Africa. Originally, the name Hausa referred only to the language of the Habe people of northern Nigeria. In the early nineteenth century, various Habe tribal states were conquered by the Fulani, who established the Islamic Sokoto Caliphate. The Fulani, a pastoral people, were eventually "Hausaized" and became sedentary. Islam has been part of Hausa life since the sixteenth century, but the Fulani jihad gave it predominance in Hausa life. Thus Islam permeates the Hausa culture at every level, but there is a group of non-Muslim Hausa, the Maguzawa, who have retained the pre-Islamic religions of the indigenous people. These early religions include belief in spirits, or *bori,* and shamanic Bori doctors and diviners. The Maguzawa continue to follow traditional Hausa religious practices, oriented around a variety of good and bad spirits and involving sacrificial offerings to the spirits and spirit possession. These Bori cults are centered on the family rituals and healing practices, in which women and members of the lower strata of marginalized people participate. Muslim Hausa also take part in spirit possession cults, which though not identical seem to be related.

The Socioeconomic Background of the Hausa

Muslim Hausa raise livestock, including horses, donkeys, goats, sheep, and poultry, but farming is not their main means of subsistence. Non-Muslim Hausa, the Maguzawa, however, are full-time farmers, who grow millet, maize, Guinea corn, and rice during the May-October rainy season. The contrast between Muslim Hausa and the Maguzawa is apparent in many ways, such as social organization, marriage, and kin relations. Muslim Hausa society is based on a stratified social network of tight hierarchical relationships, dependent on occupation, wealth, birth, and patron-client ties. The Maguzawa are less stratified; they reside in small villages, comprised of exogamous patrilineal kin. As among the Muslims, each Maguzawa male may have four wives and as many concubines as he can support. The Maguzawa also prefer cousin marriage, on both the father's side and the mother's side.

The Interplay of Traditional Beliefs and Islam

Faulkingham (1975) noted that the Muslim and "pagan" Hausa in the southern Niger village he studied believed in the same spirits. Both be-

lieved in the same origin myth for these spirits as well. According to the myth, Allah called Adama, "the woman," and Adamu, "the man," to Him and bade them to bring all their children. They hid some of their children. Allah asked them where their children were. They said that they had brought all their children to Him. He then told them that the hidden children would belong to the spirit world. Faulkingham stated that these spirits explain everything; the primary efficacy belongs to spirits. What Faulkingham noted for the Hausa in southern Niger and Murray Last (1991) for the Maguzawa is true of many other ethnic groups who live in what is now termed Hausa territory.

The Hausa, therefore, share in the common Nigerian practice of maintaining systems of belief with ancient roots in the area alongside the universal religions of Islam or Christianity. These beliefs combine family spirits with relations to the primordial spirits of a particular site, providing supernatural sanction to claims on resources. Indigenous theology link dead ancestors to the spirits of place in a union that protects claims and relationships to the land. Spirits of place include trees, rock outcroppings, a river, snakes, and other animals and objects. Rituals celebrated for and prayers to the spirits of family and place reinforce loyalty to communal virtues and the authority of the elders in defending ancient beliefs and practices. In return for these prayers and rituals, the spirits offer their adherents protection from misfortune, adjudication, and divination through seers, or shamans. Evil is appropriately punished. Shamans, or diviners, work with the spirits to ensure good and counteract evil.

Among the Hausa, individual participation in Islam varies according to a number of variables, including wealth and power. The more wealth and power one has, the stricter the adherence to Islam. The majority of Muslim Hausa who participate in the spirit possession cult, or Bori cult, are women and members of the lower classes.

Guy Nicolas (1966) stated that most members of the spirit possession cult are women and prostitutes. In other words, they are socially marginal people. Michael Onwuejeogwu (1969) argued that Bori cults have homogeneity of organization and meaning throughout Hausaland. Moreover, they are, in his opinion, vestiges of Habe religion. Faulkingham (1975) disagreed with these findings, noting that there is more diversity in Hausaland than Nicolas and Onwuejeogwu grant. Muslims and *arna* (pagans) believe in the same spirits, but Muslims claim that they do not need to perform rituals to these spirits. In fact, many do perform them, depending on the occasion, and consult the Bori doctor for aid.

Faulkingham has given a list of the spirits in hierarchical order (1975, 13), from which the following is adapted:

1. Allah
2. Mala'iku, angels
3. Annabawa, prophets
4. Rafani, the bookkeepers
5. Aljanu, close spirits
6. Directional spirits
7. Specifically evil spirits
   a. Local
   b. Elsewhere
8. Mushe spirits, soldiers
9. Bori, inheritable spirits

It should be said that the participation of women in the Bori cult among the Muslim Hausa is not necessarily a sign of their lack of power. Zainab Sa'id Kabir (n.d.) stated that the status of women in early Hausa society was rather high. In his words, they were "not confined." They interacted freely with men, marrying at a later age than is now common among the Muslim Hausa. They were able to own their own farms. They were also important members of the Bori cult. Furthermore, they had a significant role in domestic and clan religious rituals. Interestingly, some Hausa groups had matrilineal inheritance, and it was not uncommon for elite women to be queens or titleholders. The famous warrior queen Amina was but one of many famous Hausa queens. The Hausa even had a title for women in charge of the Bori, *Bori Magadjiya.*

The Bori Doctor among the Gungawa

Just as Faulkingham and Last shed light on the Hausa expression of the Bori cult through examining its practice in related groups with ties to earlier pre-Islamic Hausa religion, so too the author wishes to shed light on Hausa practice by examining a shaman among the Gungawa, a people who have traditionally been seen as hav-

ing "become Hausa" over time (Salamone 1975). The uneasy relationship between the Bori doctor of the Gungawa and the official Islamic power structure, including those *mallams* (Hausa religious practitioners) who practice medicine and also deal with spirits, finds echoes in the writings of others who have studied the Bori cult. Some hint of the "original" Bori can be found among these minority people among the Hausa, as well as insight into the process of adaptation that marks Bori among the Hausa.

Among the Gungawa, real power is masked in modesty, for the naked display of power is culturally condemned. Those people who possess power among the Gungawa are those who least appear to do so. Moreover, they must deny their influence. The truly powerful tend to make the least display of their power, dressing more simply than other Gungawa and living more modestly than those who seem to have power do. There is, additionally, a gentleness and benign humor among the truly powerful. This gentle quality is true of religious as well as political leaders.

Medicine and those who practice it are held in high repute among Gungawa. Indeed, people from other ethnic groups come great distances to receive care from Gungawa doctors. The Gungawa are also noted for the skill of their Bori practitioners. Just as people confuse the Bori of the Maguzawa and rural Hausa who may be non-Muslims with the Hausa spirit possession cult, so, too, do people confuse the Bori of the Gungawa with that of surrounding Hausa. Interestingly, many, if not most, of the surrounding "Hausa" have Gungawa and other "pagan" ancestors.

Gungawa doctors do not cause any spirits to possess people. They do, however, talk to the spirits on behalf of their clients and convey their responses. It is also important to note that spirits do not possess them and that the spirits do not speak through them. The client can hear the spirits just as the Bori shaman can, although perhaps more faintly. The spirits do tend to speak in an oracular fashion, demanding interpretation.

The Gungawa Bori doctor is a benign trickster. Jugun Hella, whom the author knew well, was a man who emphasized his large belly, making it appear larger to draw laughs. Jugun Hella enjoyed making people laugh and wore his green robe, a sign of office, loosely draped and purposely "sloppy." At the same time he displayed his wrestling scars, a reminder of his early athletic prowess. Jugun Hella sought to draw people to him, cloaking his religious potency behind a shield of humor. He perceived his role as drawing all people to him, not simply Gungawa, but also Christians, Muslims, and people of all ethnic groups.

There is deep significance in Jugun Hella's statement that he never talked to Allah because Allah was too far away. He said he believed in him, but that Allah was too far away for the everyday problems of people. Belief in a god who has no effect on everyday life is naturally relatively emotionless, bloodless, and abstract. The spirit intermediaries, on the other hand, are seen as playful creatures who aid people in their approach to the sacred or whose bedevilment of people through adversity causes them to seek refuge in the sacred.

Jugun Hella was open to all religions and quite knowledgeable about them. However, he was a threat to the Muslim power in the area. The mallams, who saw him as a competitor, were delighted when someone poisoned him in a fashion reserved for witches. At the time, people were reluctant to discuss his death. However, the finger of suspicion pointed to the ruling powers as being behind his murder. It is a situation that underscores the tension between Bori practitioners of any kind and the mallam healers (see Abdalla 1991.)

Careful study of current Hausa Islamic practice and of Bori priests reveals significant insights into earlier Hausa religion and spirit possession practices. Certainly, earlier practices were more inclusive of women than current ones. They were also more community oriented, specific to what was happening locally. Families, as units, were more involved in the practice of religion. As the Hausa people became Muslims they had to accommodate traditional religious practices to a universal religion. Much that was particular to local customs and specific situations had to be given up or played down in light of the fervor of Muslim reformers. This provides but one example of what happens when local religions come into contact with the religion of fervent conquerors.

Other Aspects of Shamanism in Hausaland

Diviners, functioning as shamans like other Bori practitioners, foretell the future and deal with personal problems. They fit into the scheme of religious specialists, a scheme that includes priests and magicians. The boundary among the categories is a shifting one at best. Diviners continue to play an important part in determining the causes of luck, in the shape of both good and bad fortune, including the nature and cause of disease. Among the Hausa it is necessary to point out that many of the Muslim holy men are themselves diviners of a sort; they make amulets, which include decoctions of the ink in which pious texts have been written. They also manipulate sand patterns or use the stars to tell the future.

Some scholars have discussed the widespread perception that males who attend Bori rituals tend to be homosexuals. The Bori rituals among the Hausa appear to be rituals of inversion, and among the Hausa homosexuality is considered an inversion of appropriate male heterosexuality. The Bori cult is widely understood as being a refuge from the strongly patriarchal ideal of Hausa Islam. Thus it seems natural that both women and effeminate males would find some respite there.

It is important to remember that although the Bori cult may be a "survival" from pre-Islamic Hausa religion, it differs among the Muslim Hausa from that which is practiced among related peoples, such as the Gungawa, or among non-Muslim Hausa, such as the Maguzawa. It has a different meaning for these Hausa. Thus, Fremont Besmer's point that the spirit rides the possessed and that this is somehow a symbol of homosexuality (1983) does not necessarily apply to the Maguzawa, Gungawa, or other non-Muslim groups who have the Bori cult. Among the Muslim Hausa, homosexual transvestites, or *Yan Dauda,* play a prominent role. *Dauda,* a praise name for any *Galadima,* or person of rank, here specifically refers to the Prince, a Bori who is a handsome young man.

These Yan Dauda sell various foods at ceremonies, mainly luxury foods such as fried chicken, and serve as pimps for prostitutes. Women who attend Hausa Bori rituals are deemed to be prostitutes. Renee Pittin (1979) listed three activities for Yan Dauda: procuring, cooking, and prostitution. She argued that there was a close tie between prostitutes and Yan Dauda. Moreover, the Yan Dauda in combining male and female roles mediate between men and women, occupying an ambiguous category. Living among the prostitutes further provides a disguise for men seeking homosexual activity. Protection and discretion are provided through this arrangement.

Certainly, the Bori cult provides a niche open to marginal people of all kinds, not simply women or homosexuals. Butchers, nightsoil workers, musicians, and poor farmers are welcome there. Mentally disturbed people of all classes similarly seek refuge among the Bori devotees.

Murray Last (1991) noted that among the group of rural Hausa non-Muslims, whom he studied, there was an inherited obligation to appease particular spirits. For some, this obligation was to become a member of what is called the Yan Bori. Certain physical ailments may plague the chosen person. A headache is a common ailment. The diviner whose aid the beleaguered individual seeks will interpret the sign as a call to the Yan Bori. This group is headed by a shaman who is invested in that position by the younger sister of the *sarki* (emir).

There is a great deal of continuity between traditional Habe religion and "folk" religion among the Muslim Hausa. In many ways, the mallams and the various Bori leaders are in a kind of complementary opposition. Although the mallams see "pagan" Bori doctors and Bori cult leaders, male and female, as threats to their position, they also appear generally powerless to stop them and profess belief in the same spirits as those honored by Bori devotees. Their interpretation, certainly, is at least subtly different but the mallams know that many Muslim Hausa consult these shamanic healers when their own magical practices fail.

Jugun Hella, the Bori doctor whom the author knew best, stated that he was more powerful than all the other healers in Nigeria, for their people came to him to consult his spirits. He was ecumenical in his practice, turning no one in need away and asking no money in return for the use of his gift. Today, when the Bori has often become cheap TV entertainment, as Faulkingham indicated (1975), there is still behind all the versions of the Bori this

simple humanistic boast and ethos of Jugun Hella. The power to heal is given by a higher power and is sacred in itself.

No matter how much current Bori practice has changed to survive in an increasingly fundamentalist Muslim Hausa world, it still provides glimpses into the powerful source from which it came. It is a link with other forms of Bori, which I. M. Lewis and his colleagues have shown stretch throughout a wide swath of Africa and the New World, and now even into Arabia, with the ease of travel for the pilgrimage to Mecca. The pull of old spirits whose existence is rooted in the nature of the people themselves is compelling, and it is a pull people often find irresistible.

Frank A. Salamone

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Ancestor Worship in Africa; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Marabouts and Magic

References and further reading:

Abdalla, Ismail H. 1991. "Neither Friend nor Foe: The *Malam* Practitioner–Yan Bori Relationship in Hausaland." Pp. 37–48 in *Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond.* Edited by I. M. Lewis, Ahmed Al-Safi, and Sayyid Hurreiz. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Besmer, Fremont E. 1983. *Horses, Musicians & Gods: The Hausa Cult of Possession-Trance.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Echerd, Nicole. 1991a. "Gender Relationships and Religion. Women in the Hausa Bori in Ader, Niger." Pp. 207–220 in *Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century.* Edited by Catherine Coles and Beverly Mack. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

———. 1991b. "The Hausa *Bori* Possession Cult in the Ader Region of Niger: Its Origins and Present-Day Function." Pp. 64–80 in *Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond.* Edited by I. M. Lewis, Ahmed Al-Safi, and Sayyid Hurreiz. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Erlmann, Veit. 1982. "Trance and Music." *Ethno-Musicology* 26, no. 1: 49–58.

Faulkingham, Ralph N. 1975. "The Sprits and Their Cousins: Some Aspects of Belief, Ritual, and Social Organization in a Rural Hausa Village in Niger." Research Report Number 15. Department of Anthropology. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, October.

Kabir, Zainab Sa'id. n.d. *Triple Heritage: The Dilemma of the African Muslim Woman.* HausaNet Article. http://biafranigeriaworld.com/ (accessed 30 October 2003).

Last, Murray. 1991. "Spirit Possession as Therapy: *Bori* among Non-Muslims in Nigeria." Pp. 49–63 in *Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond.* Edited by I. M. Lewis, Ahmed Al-Safi, and Sayyid Hurreiz. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Lewis, Ioan M., Ahmed Al-Safi, and Sayyid Hurreiz. 1991. *Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Masquelier, Adeline. 2001. *Prayer Has Spoiled Everything: Possession, Power, and Identity in an Islamic Town in Niger.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Nicolas, Guy. 1966. "Essai sur les structures fondamentalle de l'espace dous la cosmologie Hausa." *Journal de la Societés des Africanistes* 36, no. 1.

Onwuejeogwu, Michael. 1969. "The Cult of the Bori Spirits among the Hausa." In *Man in Africa.* Edited by M. Douglas and P. H. Raberry. London: Tavistock.

Oppong, Christine, ed. 1983. *Male and Female in West Africa.* London: Allen and Unwin. (Includes Enid Schildkrout, "Dependence and Autonomy: The Economic Activities of Secluded Hausa Women in Kano"; Renee Pittin, "Houses of Women: A Focus in Alternative Life-Styles in Katsina City.")

Pittin, Renee. 1979. "Marriage and Alternative Strategies: Career Patterns of Hausa Women in Katsina City." Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Salamone, Frank A. 1975. Becoming Hausa—Contributions to a Theory of Cultural Pluralism." *Africa* 45: 401–424.

———. 1977. "Religion as Play: Bori—A Friendly 'Witchdoctor.'" Pp. 158–167 in *The Study of Play: Problems and Prospects.* Edited by David Lancy and B. Allan Tindall. West Point, NY: Leisure Press.

IGBO SHAMANISM (NIGERIA)

The Igbo people are well known to scholars of African ritual and religion because of their spectacular masquerade performances and their religious and philosophical traditions, made famous by Chinua Achebe and other Igbo writers. Over 20 million Nigerians share Igbo culture and language (sometimes spelled Ibo in older literature). Igbo is classified as one of the eight major languages in the Benue-Congo group (Echeruo 1998, ix). The homeland of the Igbo people is in the tropical rainforests of southeastern Nigeria, where they farm using traditional techniques of shifting agriculture. Igbo social organization is characterized by politically autonomous village groups made up of many patrilineal descent groups. The practice of the Igbo shaman, or *dibïa,* is an occupational specialty inherited through certain of these patrilineal groups. Therefore, although there are exceptions, dibïa are born to the profession and learn the practice through apprenticeship with their father or some other patrilineal relative. Traditionally dibïa have been predominantly male, but female dibïa are becoming increasingly common. Historically, Igbo people played a role in the transatlantic slave trade, both as traders and as slaves. For this reason, practices similar to those of Igbo dibïa can be found among peoples of African descent living in the Caribbean.

A dibïa ceremony called Ikoro Agwu, 1989. This festival celebrates the practical attainments of the celebrant, recognizing him as a seasoned professional. The dibïa in the photograph is wearing a knit cap adorned with clusters of cowry shells. This is typical attire for the Igbo dibïa. (Courtesy of John McCall)

In general, scholars do not use the term *shaman* to refer to indigenous healers or ritual specialists in African societies; indigenous African medicine and divination rituals are often quite distinct from the complex of practices found in Central Asia and the Americas. Eliade's (1989) discussion of the "techniques of ecstasy" central to his classic definition of shamanism suggests that those techniques have little in common with the practices of Igbo dibïa. The fundamental characteristics identified by Eliade, such as initiation by spirits through sickness and dreams (110) and the centrality of trance or possession states in the healing process, are not typical of dibïa practice. Igbo dibïa inherit their profession and utilize mechanical divinatory devices for communication with the spirit world rather than trance. For the sake of consistency with the literature on Igbo culture and West Africa in general, this entry uses the term *dibïa* rather than *shaman* to refer to Igbo practitioners.

The term *dibïa* has no English equivalent. Attempts to gloss it as "herbalist" or "diviner" fail to do it justice (Umeh 1997, 76). A literal translation might be "master of knowledge." In spite of their distinctive character, however, dibïa practices fall within the broader definition of shamanism employed for the purposes of this encyclopedia. For example, although the dibïa profession is inherited, and specialized knowledge of herbs and divination techniques are held within particular family lines, family members who choose not to practice sometimes fall ill or experience misfortune. Upon consulting a dibïa, they may learn that their misfortune can only be remedied by initiation

into their father's profession. Such a call to vocation through illness is characteristic of shamanic practices worldwide.

Any discussion of dibïa must begin with Agwü, the spiritual entity that empowers dibïa to see the spirit world, perform divination, conduct effective sacrifice, and make productive use of herbal knowledge. Communication with Agwü is established through initiation and maintained through divination and sacrifice. Many of the items in a dibïa's toolkit can be understood to function in one manner or another as a means of interacting with Agwü or the dibïa's ancestors. Because the profession is inherited, ancestors in the paternal line are important allies to the dibïa. These dibïa grandfathers continue to provide teaching long after their death by visiting their descendants in dreams. Every dibïa maintains a shrine to Agwü. The dibïa's Agwü shrine is understood as a construction of human artifice that establishes a visible face for Agwü in the world of the living. Although every dibïa maintains an Agwü shrine somewhere in the paternal compound, dibïa descent groups also maintain shared shrines located outside residential space in the bush. These are used during important ceremonial events such as initiation ceremonies.

Children in dibïa families who exhibit an interest in dibïa work are often initiated at an early age so that they can begin apprenticeship as a helper to the dibïa who will train them. Others are called later in life, alerted by misfortune or illness that Agwü desires their service. The initiation ceremony varies from region to region, but most last several days, culminating in the sacrifice of a dog, and a test to confirm divinatory ability. The initiation of a dibïa is said to open the initiate's eyes, meaning that the process enables the dibïa to see things noninitiates cannot see. The author witnessed such a ceremony in the village of Akanu, Ohafia. When the dog had been killed, its eyes were removed and taken into the quarters where the initiate was sequestered. After a short time he was carried out, apparently unconscious, with blood-soaked leaves covering his face. It was explained that his eyes had been replaced by those of the dog so that "he will be able to see spirits just as dogs are able to see spirits." The young initiate eventually ran back into the compound pursued by his initiators. After calming him, they tested the boy by requiring him to guess the contents of a bundle of leaves. When he succeeded, the ritual was declared a success, and the feasting began (McCall 1993, 58–59).

Initiation is only the beginning of a long period of apprenticeship, most often with the father or an uncle in the paternal line. Every dibïa family holds certain specialized knowledge that is passed on within the family, though such training can sometimes be acquired by dibïa from other families for a fee. When apprentices demonstrate adequate mastery of these specialized practices and knowledge they are allowed to practice independently. These novice practitioners are required, or at least strongly encouraged, to leave their natal villages and take their skills to other regions. At present, they often travel from the rural areas of their birth to any of various urban centers.

A consultation with a dibïa is likely to begin with *ïgba aja* (divination). Most dibïa are skilled in several different methods of divination. Most methods involve specific divinatory devices such as chains of seed shells *(afa)* or divination tokens *(okwe Agwu)* (Cole and Aniakor 1984, 73). Though divination involves communication with the spirit world, trance or possession is not typically part of the procedure. Instead, the dibïa interrogates the divinatory device to discover the nature of the problem in question and, ultimately, its cause. Possible etiologies of maladies and misfortune might include the failure of the questioner to recognize and pursue his or her destiny, the maleficent machinations of another, or a fate negotiated prior to birth in the spirit world. Each of these would suggest different courses of action (McCall 2000, 145–147). Dreams are also considered important diagnostic tools. Some dibïa specialize in the interpretation of the dreams of patients and utilize a codified system of symbolic interpretation. Whether they are dream specialists or not, however, nearly all dibïa interpret some of their own dreams as communications from the spirit world and use them to make decisions in their own practice.

Sacrifice *(ïcü aja)* is a fundamental practice in Igbo spiritual life, not only in the rites of dibïa but also those of shrine priests, lineage heads, and other ritual functionaries. Goats, roosters, chicks, yams, eggs, palm wine, and kola nuts are among the many things ritually

offered in various contexts. Offerings of kola nuts and palm wine to ancestors are everyday occurrences, always accompanied by requests for good fortune. But more precious sacrifices are required for the powerful spiritual entities interacted with by dibïa. Victor Uchendu noted that sacrifice must follow from any revelation of the divine will through divination (1965, 102). Thus, part of the diviner's task is to identify the appropriate sacrifice. This frequently involves not only an offering by the questioner but mobilization of whole households or descent groups to rectify matters as instructed by the dibïa.

A key component of dibïa practice is the manufacture and use of *ögwü.* Although ögwü can mean herbal medicine, the actual significance is broader. A literal translation might be "means to an end." The dibïa's production and use of ögwü is integrated within an esoteric technology that also involves indigenous psychology, social manipulations, and cosmological negotiation through sacrificial ritual and other means. The process operates on several fronts simultaneously to harmonize the physiological, psychological, social, and cosmological dimensions of the lifeworld of the person being treated.

Some observers predicted that the spread of Christianity in Igboland, coupled with the ready availability of Western biomedicine, would lead to the extinction of dibïa practices. This has not been the case. The Igbo attitude toward change has traditionally been one of embrace rather than resistance. They have embraced change, however, by appropriating and adapting foreign influences. This led Simon Ottenberg to observe that of all Nigerian people the Igbo "have probably changed the least while changing the most" (1959, 142). Igbo dibïa have always maintained an open system of knowledge, and the acquisition of new and exotic practices increases the stature of a practitioner.

Dibïa are flourishing in the social environment of modern Nigeria. Most are officially registered with the Nigerian government, and they maintain a national professional organization and various regional ones. Dibïa have largely abandoned treatment of infectious and parasitic diseases, which they readily acknowledge are more effectively treated by biomedical methods. Most now focus almost exclusively on what the author has called "existential disorders" (McCall 2000, 152)—conditions such as excessive consumerism, corruption and dishonesty, substance abuse, neglect of family, and various forms of "madness"—serious problems that medical doctors cannot address. Healers argue that these disorders result primarily from the weakening of family and community structures under the economic and social pressures that constrain the lives of modern Nigerians.

Like most Africans, Igbo people find themselves torn between the strictures of their cultural heritage and the pressures of an increasingly globalized culture and economy. In this environment, dibïa position themselves as mediators of modernity. They confront the pressures of consumerism, changing sexual mores, shifting paradigms of family and gender roles, and widespread corruption. Through the transformative power of ritual they reframe these potentially destabilizing forces in ways that make them intelligible in terms of a distinctly Igbo ethical view. A new generation of Igbo dibïa is now taking on leadership roles in the profession. These young practitioners are more cosmopolitan than their predecessors were. Their practices borrow from a global repertoire of shamanic and occult traditions. But close analysis reveals that they walk solidly in the footsteps of the forebears, addressing the needs of their communities by drawing on a rich cultural inheritance.

John C. McCall

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Healing and Shamanism; Mami Wata Religion; Witchcraft in Africa

References and further reading:

Achebe, Chinua. 1958. *Things Fall Apart.* London: Heinemann.

———. 1975. *Morning Yet on Creation Day: Essays.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Cole, Herbert, and Chike Aniakor. 1984. *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos.* Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California at Los Angeles.

Echeruo, Michael J. C. 1998. *Igbo-English Dictionary.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Eliade, Mircea. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

McCall, John C. 1993. "Making Peace with Agwü." *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly* 18, no. 2: 56–66.

———. 2000. *Dancing Histories: Heuristic Ethnography with the Ohafia Igbo.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Ottenberg, Simon. 1959. "Ibo Receptivity to Change." Pp. 130–143 in *Continuity and Change in African Cultures.* Edited by William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Uchendu, Victor C. 1965. *The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Umeh, John A. 1997. *After God is Dibïa.* London: Karnak House.

ISLAM AND SHAMANISM

See South Asian Shamanism; Tajik Shamanism; Zarma Spirit Mediums

MAMI WATA RELIGION (WEST AFRICA)

Mami Wata, a pidgin English term meaning "Mother of Water," refers to a popular West African deity who inhabits local lakes, streams, and rivers, as well as the sea. Mami Wata is also sometimes used as a generic term to describe a host of beliefs and practices associated with water spirits. The Mami Wata shaman, or priest(ess), can be found all along the West African coast from Senegal to Zaire, particularly among groups whose cosmologies emphasize the centrality of water spirits and their ability to influence people's everyday lives. These specialists are consulted by both men and women in the hopes that Mami Wata will bring them wealth, success, and children.

Although Mami Wata practitioners can inherit their specialized knowledge from priests and priestesses who may or may not be family members, all have been "called," or chosen by Mami Wata. This calling usually manifests itself in the form of an illness or affliction. A number of signs begin to emerge during a person's childhood indicating affinity with Mami Wata. The most common of these signs include being drawn to areas of water and swimming in one's dreams. If an individual grows to adulthood without recognizing this calling, he or she may experience a number of misfortunes, including serious illness, infertility, the loss of a child, marital problems, and financial hardship. It is usually a diviner or Mami Wata specialist who determines whether a person has been chosen to serve the deity.

Upon diagnosis the individual is instructed to make sacrifices to Mami Wata and to set up a personal shrine. This often requires an elaborate ceremony involving several days of sacrifices accompanied by ritual and musical performance and feasting. Depending on the region and ethnic group, the animals commonly used for sacrifice include horses, bulls, goats and chickens. The initiate, dressed in white, is escorted to a local river, stream, or the ocean carrying these sacrifices, along with food and other items, on his or her head. Upon reaching the waterside, the items are thrown directly into the water as offerings to the spirit. Once the ceremony is complete, the individual is said to be "married" to Mami Wata and must therefore continue to make periodic sacrifices and uphold certain vows to maintain a harmonious and reciprocal relationship with the spirit. Although Mami Wata can be very demanding, requiring her "spouses" to be celibate certain days of the week, along with various other rules and taboos, she also brings her devotees wealth, fertility, and overall success.

Mami Wata shrine sculptures, pictures, and signboard paintings commonly depict her as an Indian snake charmer, a woman with long flowing hair and a large python coiled around her waist and neck. On other occasions she appears as a fair-skinned mermaid or as a Hindu deity. The predominance of non-African images in Mami Wata religious practices reflects the long history of cultural contact between West Africans and foreign explorers, traders, and missionaries beginning in the fifteenth century. These images, along with the variety of Western goods used in Mami Wata rituals, led Henry Drewal (1988) to argue that Mami Wata is a foreign deity who arose out of the need for West Africans to both mediate and represent their relationships with foreigners. Because Europeans and Indians brought wealth

from overseas, some Africans perceived them as belonging to the realm of water spirits and their riches. Yet, though it is true that images of mermaids and snake charmers have traditionally been associated with foreign wealth and power, they also resonated well with indigenous beliefs and practices surrounding water spirits. In many areas of the Niger Delta, for example, pythons and certain types of fish were once thought to be physical manifestations of water spirits and were therefore not killed.

Mami Wata shrines are as unique as the individuals who create them. Some are located outside in close proximity to bodies of water; others are set up in a room within an individual's compound. Many contain a table covered with white cloth and a host of items that are thought to attract Mami Wata. These include candles, incense, talcum powder, perfumes or fragrant oils, white chalk, bells, cowry shells, coins, mirrors, wooden and plastic dolls, eggs and foods considered to be sweet like biscuits, groundnuts, and bananas. Many of the items were introduced to West Africa by means of trade with Westerners. Cowry shells were brought from the Indian coast by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century and were used as a local form of currency in many parts of West Africa. In Nigeria, plastic dolls, mirrors, and perfumes were among the many trade goods introduced by British merchants and colonial officers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It is also not uncommon for shrines to contain Christian iconography, including the crucifix and pictures of Jesus and Mary. In southern Togo and the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, shrines may also include clay mounds with a small hole on the top that serves as the "mouth" of the spirit, into which libations are poured. The pouring of libations and animal sacrifice are crucial in keeping the shrine active. Libations usually consist of locally distilled gin and Coke or orange Fanta, all of which are considered to be Mami Wata's favorite drinks. A white chicken is usually the animal of preference for sacrificing to one's shrine. White is an important color in Mami Wata worship. It symbolizes the coolness of the water and the delicate boundary between the world of humans and the world of spirits. It is commonly juxtaposed with red, the color of blood, which is used to signify life force and virility (Jell-Bahlsen 1997, 113). Strips of red and white cloth are often tied to the top of wooden poles, which are set up just outside the shrine area to publicize Mami Wata's presence (Jenkins 1984, 75).

Whereas some Mami Wata devotees are content with simply maintaining their own shrines, others may choose to carry their worship a step further by becoming priests or priestesses. Initiation into priesthood is a long process; it begins with apprenticeship, usually to the very priest or priestess who first detected Mami Wata's influence over the person. During this time, the initiate learns the techniques and practices associated with spirit mediumship, divination, and healing. Upon completion of the training, the initiate will have the ability to communicate with the spirit directly through dreams, visions, and possession trance. It is through these mediums that Mami Wata provides the priest(ess) with healing knowledge, which is then used in curing patients. After consulting Mami Wata, the healer may receive dreams or visions of certain herbs and roots, which are then collected and administered according to the instructions given. In other cases, Mami Wata may aid the healer in divining the cause of a particular patient's illness. Mirrors are sometimes used during the divination process to help the healer see into the spirit world. Communication with Mami Wata through dreams and visions and occasionally during trance entails a journey to the spirit world, which is characteristic of all shamanic practices.

Although many Mami Wata healers work independently as diviners and herbalists, others are members of local healing societies, which often meet once a week to collect membership dues and to honor Mami Wata through ritual, song, and dance. These groups are common in the riverine areas of southeastern Nigeria, particularly among women. Among the Cross River Igbo, for instance, women have their own Mami Wata healing society, known as Owummiri. This group is made up of priestesses and other initiates, all of whom were called and cured by Mami Wata. Although Owummiri priestesses treat and cure a variety of afflictions, they specialize in the treatment of sexually transmitted diseases, infertility, and a condition known as *ogbanje. Ogbanje* is an Igbo term meaning "one who comes and goes." It is used to describe a group of children who choose to die at an early age and re-

turn to the spirit world, where they are continuously reincarnated into the wombs of mothers. Ogbanje is a spiritual affliction that can be caused and cured by Mami Wata.

During Owummiri meetings, the members dance to tranquilizing drum rhythms and perform motions of paddling and swimming. These movements help to invoke the spirit of Mami Wata by creating an aquatic atmosphere. In Igbo cosmology, the spirit world and the physical world are separated by a large body of water. Thus, this collective ritual is meant to evoke a journey to the spirit world, and possession trance is a common feature during these performances. When a member becomes possessed, her body stiffens, and she extends her arms forward, closes her eyes, and begins to flail about with little or no control. She is restrained and attended to by one of the priestesses, who proceeds to rub chalk on her face, sprinkle powder on her feet, and throw eggs on the ground in order to calm the spirit. Mami Wata healing societies such as Owummiri are centered around fertility and the protection and maintenance of human life. For this reason, they serve an important function, both for the individual and the community.

In those areas of West Africa where Christianity is well established, Mami Wata healers have increasingly become the targets of negative representations and witchcraft accusations. The demonization of Mami Wata practices by Pentecostal churches, in particular, has had a profound impact on the way they are perceived in the Christian community. Rather than denying the existence and influence of Mami Wata, these churches have instead relegated her to the realm of evil spirits and use deliverance ceremonies to exorcise her from the host's body. Other religions, however, have tended to be more accommodative. Among the Ewe and other groups of southern Togo and southeast Ghana, for instance, Mami Wata practices have been firmly integrated into the earlier traditions of *Vodu* in Africa (from which have come the various forms of "Voodoo," especially Haitian Vodou and the Voudou of French Louisiana) (Kramer 1993, 235). And in Islam, Mami Wata has been incorporated into the category of jinn, a host of spirits created to serve Allah. It is perhaps the flexibility and adaptability of Mami Wata religious practices that has contributed to their growth and spread beyond West Africa. Indeed, through the processes of transmigration, Mami Wata religion is becoming increasingly popular in other parts of the world, including the United States.

Christey Carwile

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Igbo Shamanism; New Orleans Voudou; Swahili Healers and Spirit Cult

References and further reading:

Drewal, Henry. 1988. "Performing the Other: Mami Wata Worship in Africa." *Drama Review* 32, no. 2: 160–185.

Gore, Charles, and Joseph Nevadomsky. 1997. "Practice and Agency in Mammy Wata Worship in Southern Nigeria." *African Arts* 30, no. 3: 60–69, 95.

Jell-Bahlsen, Sabine. 1997. "Eze Mmiri Di Egwu, The Water Monarch is Awesome: Reconsidering the Mammy Water Myths." Pp.103–134 in *Queens, Queen Mothers, Priestesses and Power: Case Studies in African Gender.* Edited by Flora Kaplan. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Jenkins, Della. 1984. "Mamy Wata." Pp. 75–77 in *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos.* Edited by Herbert Cole and Chike Aniakor. Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California.

Kramer, Fritz. 1993. *The Red Fez: Art and Spirit Possession in Africa.* Translated from the German by Malcolm Green. London and New York: Verso.

Wicker, Kathleen O'Brien. 2000. "Mami Water in African Religion and Spirituality." Pp. 198–222 in *African Spirituality: Forms, Meanings, and Expressions.* Edited by Jacob Olupona. New York: Crossroad Publishing Company.

MARABOUTS AND MAGIC (WEST AFRICA)

Marabouts are virtually an institution in Islamic West Africa. *Marabout*—a French rendering of the Arabic *murabit,* from the root *rabat* (to tie) (Geertz 1968, 43)—is a broad, inclusive term referring to Islamic holy men (and women) who specialize variously in teaching, counseling, scholarship and Qur'anic exegesis, jurisprudence, manipulation of spirits (*djinn*), healing,

ritual, divination, and magic. Of course not all marabouts combine all these practices, and some in fact are quite hostile to anything other than teaching, counseling, and scholarship. Muslims in West Africa tend to use specific Arabic terms to describe someone who does what shamans do: Such a person is termed a scholar, magician, mystic, ascetic, healer, and so forth. There is no broad term in Arabic (such as the word *shaman*) for someone who combines all these attributes. Yet the word *marabout* does refer to people who, like shamans, incorporate overlapping sets of practices.

A majority of Muslims in West Africa are members of various Sufi "orders" (*turoq,* plural; *tariqa,* singular), among which the Tijaniyya, Qadiriyya, and Mouridyya are the most prevalent (see Trimingham 1959 for an overview). And all marabouts are Sufis. At a colloquial level, however, and especially recently, the term *marabout* has been increasingly popularized to refer to any person of learning (not always even Muslim). What follows focuses exclusively on Islamic magic and the means by which those marabouts who are specialists in Islamic magic ply their trade.

Published accounts of marabouts in West Africa date to fifteenth-century European travel literature. For the most part these early works contained only obvious descriptions; remarks tended to be sketchy, superficial, or sensationalized, depicting marabouts as no more than magicians (cf. O'Brien 1971, 24). Portuguese explorer Diego Gomes's summary of his voyage up the Gambia river, published in 1456, mentioned *marabutu,* and in so doing was perhaps the earliest European reference to marabouts (Monteil 1964, 122–125). Jobson's 1623 account of his travels in West Africa was one of the first English sources that described the magical occupations of marabouts. He noted the importance of the talismans called "Gregories" (a certain derivation of *gris-gris,* "talismans"), which "Mary-buckes" manufacture. As he pointed out, the wearers believed that no harm could befall them as long as they wore one (as cited in Sanneh 1989, 208).

Baraka: Grace, Force, Power, Charisma, and Divine Blessing

One of the reasons marabouts are esteemed is that they are believed to embody *baraka.* The term *baraka* is commonly (and narrowly) defined as divine blessing (cf. Geertz 1968, 44). Muslims, however, use the term much more broadly to refer to qualities of spiritual grace, personal force, unique power, charisma, luck and success, all of which are subsumed within divine blessing. In many instances, magical ability is a sign of the possession of baraka; and conversely, those thought to have much baraka are expected to have at least some rudimentary supernatural abilities.

Ironically, even denials of possession of baraka may be considered evidence that one does indeed have it, precisely because baraka is unintentional and not self-ascribed. That is, baraka is not a virtue to be refined or a habit to be practiced; rather it is attributed to a marabout by those around him, and that attribution is not necessarily permanent. Only actions and the effectiveness of these actions convince others that a marabout has baraka; possession of baraka must be demonstrated continually. Thus baraka is thought of as a supernatural power that must be practiced in the natural world.

Marabouts

Because Islam lacks a central corporate body like the various Christian churches, marabouts are religious figures neither dependent on nor orchestrated into any type of clerical order. Practically, though, marabouts are viewed as closer to God (especially in tight situations) than ordinary human beings, due to their position in the community. Quite simply, marabouts are distinguishable from and appreciated by the populace due to their body of (esoteric) knowledge, and more importantly their uses of it.

Like shamans, most marabouts are not full-time practitioners of magic. Rather, they divide their time between work and religious specialization. Not all marabouts work, but this does not mean that they devote all their time to spiritual matters either. Students work for marabouts in exchange for schooling. Thus marabouts of particular renown with quite a few students have large labor forces at their disposal (cf. O'Brien 1971 Coulon 1981; Sanneh 1997).

Particular esoteric abilities of marabouts include spirit manipulation, dream interpreta-

tion, clairvoyance, divination, and meditation. In parts of West Africa, the marabouts with the strongest reputations as practitioners of magic are those who control spirits (djinn). Since such an ability is thought to be rare, difficult, and dangerous, the capacity to safely control djinn demonstrates the baraka of the marabouts.

In Islamic West Africa, dream interpretation is an ordinary task, especially in societies where dreams are believed to be portents of the future or channels of communication with ancestors. The interpretive process is a simple one: People describe their dreams, and marabouts interpret them, sometimes using various paraphernalia (e.g., tablets, texts, numerology charts, and especially the Qur'an). Clairvoyance and divination follow similar procedures, and marabouts employ the same types of paraphernalia. One of the most common ways to predict the future is by the esoteric interpretation of verses from the Qur'an. Because of their esoteric knowledge, marabouts are believed to be able to uncover the true meanings behind words and verses as they apply to a specific person's life and future.

Meditation *(khalwa)* is another maraboutic practice. Meditation takes place in solitude and serves one of two purposes. First, it leads to spiritual enlightenment and an increased connection with one's own spiritual nature and, by extension, God. Thus meditation leads to the personal spiritual growth that marks one as a reputable marabout. Alternatively, marabouts may meditate on behalf of someone. That is, a client may make a request for a magic talisman, and meditation is often one of the steps in performing this task for the client. As with shamanic trance, it is through meditation that marabouts summon spirits (djinn), and this is the reason that meditation may serve magical ends.

Marabouts assume leadership roles as well, directing members of Sufi *turoq* (brotherhood) in group recitation *(dhikr).* Dhikr is staged for various reasons, including religious holidays and to combat natural disasters (e.g., drought, flood, poor harvest) or social troubles (moral crisis, political instability, economic calamity). The marabout provides the litany *(wird)* in cases when it is not commonly known or when a special wird is called for (Monteil 1964, 138), and then supervises the dhikr. The participants sit in a circle, with the litany vocalized or silent. In some areas, the vocalization of the wird takes the form of a chant accompanied by loud rhythmic drumming. In these situations, ecstatic trances may result, thus, say some Sufis, bringing one into closer union with God.

Magic, Talismans, and the Power of Words

Talismans are one of the predominant forms of magic common throughout the world, and in Islamic West Africa their manufacture is sometimes the major occupation of a marabout. The general forms vary little; most are encased in leather, fabric, or metal. The interior contains texts (usually verses from the Qur'an), numbers considered significant in numerology, or a combination of the two. Texts tend to be handwritten, but increasingly printed versions are used when the rendition is an exceedingly complex one. Because Muslims believe that Arabic is the language spoken in heaven by Allah and the angels, Arabic words are thought to have unique and divine power in and of themselves. Marabouts, by way of their esoteric knowledge, manipulate words to release their inherent power, then direct the power toward certain ends. Usually this involves transcribing words into numbers or vice versa; and there are, as may be imagined, extremely intricate systems whereby the magical power of words is activated.

The way people carry talismans on their persons varies, and there is no one rule whether they should be seen or unseen. Some are displayed around the neck or worn as bracelets or anklets. Others are kept secret, worn about the waist or strung diagonally across the chest hidden beneath clothes. The location of a talisman may also indicate a particular belief about secrecy: It may indicate that the wearer believes that talismans are things that ought to be displayed in public, revealing that one visits marabouts for magical purposes, or it may indicate the wearer's belief that one's relationship with marabouts and the services they provide is ultimately a personal matter that ought not to be made apparent in public at all. Both beliefs about objects are present throughout Africa and the world. Even though shamans assume public roles and personas, many of their dealings are conducted in private, cloaked in secrecy.

Occasionally talismans incorporate decidedly non-Islamic local traditions. Natural ingredi-

ents, some marabouts explain, are needed in conjunction with the power of Arabic as a holy script in order to activate the words in the text. In addition, some talismans are constructed around natural things and as such look very different from the standard leather-bound varieties. Animal skulls, heads, horns, and other durable parts are stuffed with texts, sometimes partially wrapped in leather, sometimes left completely open. Such types of talismans, due to their ungainliness, are not mobile; they are not worn and tend to be used for the protection of things. (Generally, not even all ordinary talismans are worn; many protect one's possessions, not one's person.) The use of supplementary ingredients is not widely accepted; it is frequently contested on the grounds that the practice is not entirely Islamic and that words have power enough by themselves.

Prohibitions about the use of talismans are strict. Marabouts explain that talismans must be removed in various situations, for example during bathing, premarital sex, and sometimes prayer. Failure to follow the prohibitions "dirties" a talisman and drastically reduces its power, if it does not destroy its capacity to function altogether. Because various prohibitions go along with talismans, some people prefer more durable, less maintenance-intensive forms of magic. Ingesting magical formulas, for example, is a permanent way to keep magic in one's body. Marabouts write formulas on wooden tablets with vegetable-based ink; they then wash off the ink into a bowl and add various flavorings (e.g., honey, rose water, herbs), at which point, after a brief invocation, clients drink the water, washing their faces with the leftovers. Formulas written on chalkboards are popular for this as well, though people will wash their faces with this water rather than drink it.

Magical formulas can also be incorporated into food in any number of ways. During the preparation of the meal, water from washed tablets may be used as an ingredient. More commonly, though, ashes of formulas that have been written on paper and then burned are added. Meat and poultry dishes are common, because the animal can be ritually killed—the same is not true of vegetables.

Lastly, ordinary and inconspicuous material objects may be imbued with power by the marabout. Although this method is not nearly as widespread as the others, some marabouts will bless jewelry, clothes, and other things with which the person is in constant contact. Ordinary by-products of marabouts such as spit, sweat, previously worn clothing, and the like are venerated by followers (in the Mouride order in Senegal, for instance), who consider these things holy due to the baraka inherent in them since they came from the marabout (cf. O'Brien 1971). These practices are at once unusual and happen when the marabouts are perceived as exceptionally holy.

The Present: Competition and Contest

At the initial stages of the spread of Islam in parts of West Africa, it seems obvious that marabouts were esteemed due to their grasp of a new technology—writing. Indeed, where literacy is not the norm, to be literate is to be esteemed, powerful, or at least different. The fact that writing simplified and codified communication introduced pivotal considerations, not the least of which was that it represented a new, superior medium of magic (see Launay 1992; Sanneh 1997).

At present, however, marabouts have increasingly come under fire by various anti-Sufi movements for acting as practitioners of magic. In West Africa, so-called Wahhabis—members of a reformist movement known as the Wahhabiyya that originated in Arabia and gained popularity in sub-Saharan Africa after World War II—are the most vocal critics of marabouts and their practices. Sufis and Wahhabis differ not only in terms of theology but also in terms of their conceptions of religious hierarchy. One of the ways these disagreements play out is around marabouts and their practices. Wahhabis argue that the only one capable of the miraculous is Allah, and accordingly marabouts' claims to have supernatural abilities are a form of polytheism. Further, they contend that marabouts' manipulation of the Arabic script is a sacrilege because the script itself is sacred. Wahhabis use terms such as *sorcery* and *witchcraft* to imply that maraboutic practice is non-Islamic and moreover that it is a residue of local "animist" systems of belief. The beliefs and practices that Wahhabis label "animist" are ostensibly related to African shamanism, which is extenively discussed in other entries within this regional section.

Of course, behind Wahhabi dissatisfaction with maraboutism lies extensive ideological problems with Sufism in general. Indeed, in the West African context, the intra-Islamic disagreement apparent between Wahhabis and Sufis involves larger and more pronounced doctrinal and exegetical differences; magic is by no means the central locus of debate. But the fact remains that whether their services are contested or lauded, whether they are criticized or frequented, marabouts are still an integral part of life for Muslims in West Africa.

Noah Butler

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Hausa Shamanistic Practices; "Magic," Power, and Ritual in Shamanism; Sufism and Shamanism; Zarma Spirit Mediums

References and further reading:

Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis. 1970. *Amulets and Talismans.* New York: Collier Books. Originally published 1930.

Coulon, Christian. 1981. *Le marabout et le prince (Islam et pouvoir au Sénégal).* Paris: A. Pedone.

Geertz, Clifford. 1968. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 1968. *Saints of the Atlas.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Khaldūn, Ibn. 1967. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History.* 2d ed. Translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal. London: Routledge and K. Paul.

Launay, Robert. 1992. *Beyond the Stream: Islam and Society in a West African Town.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Monteil, Vincent. 1964. *L'Islam noir.* Paris: Seuil.

O'Brien, Donal Cruise. 1971. *The Mourides of Senegal: The Political and Economic Organization of an Islamic Brotherhood.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Sanneh, Lamin. 1989. *The Jahanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia.* Lanham, MD, and London: University Press of America.

———. 1997. *The Crown and the Turban: Muslims and West African Pluralism.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. 1959. *Islam in West Africa.* London: Oxford University Press.

NDEMBU SHAMANISM (ZAMBIA)

The Ndembu people inhabit the western portion of Mwinilunga District in the northwestern province of Zambia, eleven degrees south of the equator. The name *Ndembu* refers to the people of the Kanongesha chiefdom within a much larger group, the Lunda. The Ndembu are sometimes called the Lunda-Ndembu. The Ndembu speak Lunda, which belongs to the Bantu language group. In the 1950s the Lunda-Ndembu group numbered 17,000. By 1985 the figure had nearly tripled.

The Ndembu originated in the southern Congo; they were part of the Lunda peoples there. In the mid-seventeenth century, led by the chief who inherited the title "Kanongesha," they migrated further south and settled in lands that are today divided by the international frontiers of Angola, Zambia, and the Congo. In the process they lost some of the centralized character of their political system and became a people of small villages, each with barely a dozen huts, surrounded by gardens producing cassava, the staple crop, a diet that was supplemented by bush meat. Strings of these villages and smallholdings are now dotted over areas of the Zambian bush, connected by trails and dirt roads. Women are the main food providers; accordingly the descent system has tended to be matrilineal, changing somewhat to patrilineal descent in the modern era. The area has suffered from Zambia's economic troubles, which followed the large increase of population after independence in 1964.

The religion has partly shifted in the direction of Christianity. By the 1950s 5 percent of the Ndembu were Christians, and in 1985 the figure was 40 percent (Turner 1992, 210). However, the shamanic nature of the prevailing types of divination and ritual has remained the same as in the Congo days. The people have a sense of an inactive creator god, Nzambe. The main feature of their religion is a close relationship with ancestor spirits, who call upon them to perform complex rituals in which the people approach the spirits and are able to engage their help. Altered states of consciousness are a familiar phenomenon, and it is possible that in earlier times reality was not seen as dualistic; rather, everything was imbued with spirit.

Up to the present, scholars have rarely if ever used the term *shaman* for African medicine per-

A witch doctor from the Tonga, Zambia, sits in his grass hut, ca. 1950–1980. Various gourds, boxes, and other items are spread before him. (Paul Almasy/Corbis)

sons, but in fact the term is appropriate for those who do much the same work and have the same powers as the shamans where the term originated, among the Tungus of Siberia. Shamans' powers consist of (1) healing, (2) interacting with the dead and other spirits, (3) finding lost objects and people, (4) bringing animals to the hunter, (5) changing the weather, (6) insight and foreknowledge, and (7) a sense of joy. Among the Ndembu in the 1950s there existed healers with shamanic characteristics called *ayimbuki* (doctors), and diviners with their own shamanic powers who were called *tutepa* or *mahong'u.* The diviners were specialized for insight, prediction, or "reading" or "seeing" the right path to take. They were in touch with a personal spirit who enabled these powers to develop. Healers, under the direction of the diviners, would put the diviners' message into action and engage with the spirits of the sick to heal or set to rights the troubles of afflicted people. Among the Ndembu three

decades later the roles of diviner and healer had roughly become one: It was the healer's own tutelary spirit who both divined and healed. That situation has continued into the early twenty-first century.

Ndembu medicine people in the 1950s tended to be marginal persons. Not being central members of any particular group, their loyalties were not narrowly partisan; their sympathies were broader, and their experience was richer and more varied than that of most Ndembu. In professional action they were likely to be aware, agile, and full of prescience and élan, with needle-sharp minds, sometimes with a smile of unusual sweetness and charm, sometimes with a streak of buffoonery, or with an outstanding gift of extrasensory perception (here was the power of insight and foreknowledge, the sixth power of the shaman).

The compassionate side of medicine people was shown by the respect they gave to the luckless spirits whom Ndembu called *ayikodjikodji,* "mischief-makers." These spirits were not neglected but were offered libations of food and beer like other spirits.

The vocation of diviners began by their being afflicted by a spirit in what might be called "the mode of Kayong'u." *Kayong'u* was the name of the illness peculiar to the shamanic gift, the name of the spirit that afflicts the aspirant, and the name of the curing ritual. The spirit was that of a person who had been a medicine person in this life. The Kayong'u spirit took the initiative and chose a person to be an African doctor. Women suffering from a sickness at the beginning of their divining careers might either be treated in the mode of Kayong'u, or in that of a similar ritual, Tukuka, in which the spirit involved might be an ancestor, a white person, or a bird such as an osprey.

The initiatory ritual had two purposes: one to cure the illness and the other to prepare the patient to be a diviner. The initial affliction was painful, involving a heavy sickness in the body; persons chosen by the spirit found it hard to breathe. They described it as like being pricked by needles in the chest, and sometimes a person's chest felt as though it has been blown up by a bicycle pump (Turner 1967, 142). The person could only mutter the exclamation "Boyi, boyi." The ears of incipient diviners might be completely blocked up. They were like drunken people and might slip to the ground in a fit (as in the break-up of the personality, *sparagmos,* in classic shamanism). They might be afflicted by a whole battery of spirits—not merely a single ancestor—singling them out for this arduous and dangerous profession. The experience would change a person's life, and the process was remarkably similar to that of incipient shamans worldwide.

The initiation when it occurred was complex. The afflicted person received treatment all night, sitting beside a ritual fire of green wood outside the huts with drumming in progress, while being attended by a Kayong'u member who washed the patient with medicine and administered herbal drinks. The medicine had a faint mind-altering power, but its focused spiritual power, which was strong and not well understood, predominated over any drug effect. The patient shuddered convulsively to the drum rhythm, now being open to the spirits. At the first faint light, the senior officiant, a hunter-diviner, brought a red rooster to the sacred site and held it up before the patient by its beak and legs. Kayong'u, like the hunting cults, was a "red" ritual, with the power of witchcraft in it. The initiate in a sudden spasm leaped on the rooster and bit through its neck, severing the head. Blood spouted out, and the initiate beat the bloody head on the heart to quiet the mind. This was done because a rooster awoke people from sleep. The Kayong'u spirit too awakened people it had caught. It made them emit a hoarse breathing, like a rooster or a goat. This also happened when an initiated diviner was about to shake the basket full of divining objects: The person's voice changed and the person no longer used the Lunda language but spoke hoarsely in another tongue. Diviners might also make a deep wheezing noise in the course of ordinary conversation. This was the voice of the Kayong'u spirit inside them.

When the Kayong'u spirit made a person kill a rooster by biting it, it made that person a little mad. When the initiate shuddered, it was like being drunk or epileptic, struck suddenly in the liver as if by lightning, as if beaten by a hoe-handle, stopped up. But all was opened when the rooster was killed. From the killed animal the diviner obtained wakefulness and heightened sensitivity, necessary for one who would seek out hidden things.

At sunrise, the doctor took a hoe, a cupful of goat's blood, the heart of the rooster, and vari-

ous sharp objects, and led a procession of the doctors from the village into the bush. They went to a fork in the path and kept straight on instead of following either path. They found the principal medicine tree of the ritual, a *kapwipu* tree, which stood in this context for initial misfortune followed by success. They prayed to the afflicting spirits and then heaped up a mound of earth at the foot of the tree roughly in the shape of a crocodile, with legs and tail. Next they concealed the various small objects, such as a knife, a razor, needles, a bracelet, and a string of beads, under the mound, at the head, tail, and sides. Before concealing the razor and needle, the big doctor pricked the rooster's heart with them. When the new diviner started to divine, the sense of that pricking would return. It was the thing that told the diviner how to see—in the objects tossed in a basket—the cause of the client's illness or bad luck, or how someone's death was brought about by a witch or sorcerer. The diviner had to be sharp like the needle, cutting like the knife or like sharp teeth. The diviner went straight to the point in hidden matters. It was said that sharpness and the divining objects helped one another.

Then the participants brought the drums and beat out the Kayong'u rhythm. The initiate was led out of the village to the crocodile image and seated upon it. The initiate had to divine where each of the objects had been concealed. The spirit guided the hand, and the initiate was completely successful, seeming to know just where everything was hidden. The new diviner now had this power to use whenever necessary. (Here the third shamanic power was shown, that of finding lost objects.) Meanwhile the accompanying adepts trilled their praises aloud, and the new diviner became extraordinarily happy. Everyone danced home. (This was the seventh attribute, the sense of joy.) Furthermore the new shaman had been cured of the malady, which had immediately disappeared. The spirits that once caused affliction henceforth helped the new diviner and gave protection from evil (the second shamanic power, communication with the spirits). Shortly after the performance, the initiate was apprenticed to an experienced diviner and learned the difficult manipulative and interpretive techniques of that profession.

As for medicine people, usually male, they were the ones called on to conduct a drum ritual for the healing of a sick village member (the first shamanic power, that of healing). The ritual required the help of neighbors to sing, clap their hands rhythmically, play instruments such as drums, rattles, rasps, and ax irons, sometimes go into trance with the patient, and come to a unity through the music. Under these circumstances the spirit effected the cure.

To begin the ritual the doctor's first act was to take a small party into the bush to collect herbal medicines. These plant objects were more than simple ingested remedies, for the first herb-bearing tree, one that was called the mother tree, was itself a shrine through which the doctor could communicate with his tutelary spirit and bring it to his aid. Thenceforth, during the ritual the doctor, though not in trance, was directed by the tutelary spirit as to his course of action. It had given him secret knowledge. It was said that just as hunters seek out hidden animals in the bush, the same insight and sensitivity were needed for both communicating with spirits and for the healing itself.

For instance, in the highly shamanic curing ritual of Ihamba, the aim was to make the patient shake and fall in trance, thereby releasing the afflicting spirit, which would then become an ally. The medicine person was a willing catalyst in such a ritual. The Ndembu medicine man moved and acted under the instruction of his tutelary spirit during the ritual, sometimes verbally communicating with the spirit afflicting the patient, though he was not prone on the ground as was the patient at the climax. The medicine man became a kind of conduit or catalyst in the village to transmute dire effects into good fortune. Social matters were also resolved, for until they were, the harmful intrusion that had been the cause of the trouble could not be removed, and no cure can be effected. The people had the sense of an intervention of caring spirits, which required the cooperation of the villagers, the frankness and sincerity of the participants, and good neighborliness and peaceful relations. The resolution of conflict and the cure of poor morale were necessities in order to bring about the much desired physical healing and improved relations with the spirit concerned. The result of such village rituals was that morale and happiness vastly improved.

A further notable shamanic feature of Ndembu life concerned hunters and was seen

in the hunter's relationship to spirits. As in Kayong'u, the hunter was first afflicted before gaining help. In this case the trouble was lack of game. The hunter dreamed of a bush spirit called Mukaala, a hunter figure, spotted in appearance, with ridged fur. The afflicted one could also hear Mukaala in the bush, whistling and driving away the game. To win the spirit to his side the hunter purified a site in the village, then planted in the ground a forked stake with a stone at its foot, which was his shrine to Mukaala. He marked the stone, the ground, and himself with white clay, thus becoming connected with the spirit. He called on the spirit, asking for the gift of invisibility so that he might catch animals. He whistled, marking his identification with Mukaala, then went to the bush to hunt. On catching an animal he marked his shrine and the stone with the blood of the animal, and placed the animal's head on the point of the forked stake (this was the fourth shamanic power, the power of catching animals). Thus in this type of shamanism the hunter did not have communication with the animal but with the animal-like human-helping spirit, which brought him good hunting.

Invasive spirits, harmful intrusions, or witchcraft entities and poisons were dealt with by shamanistic medicine men in a ritual called Kaneng'a. The medicine man had to obtain from the graveyard the powerful substances needed to combat the entity, such as a spirit snake, created by a sorcerer. This entity could eat the life-substance of a villager. If the medicine man used the tibia of a dead person as a gun, he could shoot the spirit snake and restore the sufferer to health. The journey down to the graveyard and the land of spirits was a terrible thing that only a Kaneng'a doctor could do.

A final capacity, which used to be exercised by Ndembu chiefs, was rainmaking (the fifth shaman power, changing the weather). This ritual, which the chief himself had to perform in time of drought, was called Musolu, and consisted of closing the two shells of a fruit amid appeals to the demigod Mweni.

Edith L. B. Turner

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Divination; Hausa Shamanistic Practices; Siberian Shamanism; Spirits and Souls

References and further reading:

Turner, Edith. 1987. "The Fish Eagle." Pp. 88–108 in *The Spirit and the Drum: A Memoir of Africa.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Turner, Edith, with William Blodgett. 1992. *Experiencing Ritual: A New Interpretation of African Healing.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Turner, Victor. 1967. "Muchona the Hornet, Interpreter of Religion." In *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

———. 1968. *The Drums of Affliction: The Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

———. 1975. "Ritual as Communication and Potency." Pp. 58–81 in *Symbols and Society: Essays on Belief Systems in Action."* Edited by Carole E. Hill. Athens, GA: Southern Anthropological Society.

SWAHILI HEALERS AND SPIRIT CULT (EAST AFRICA)

The Swahili have their own distinctive form of healing, in which some of the healers function in a way that could be described as shamanistic. Their tradition draws on various sources, Islamic and non-Islamic, and is still very much alive despite recent changes in their society.

Background

The term *Swahili* comes from the Arabic word *sawahil,* "coasts." It refers to the narrow East African coastal strip from southern Somalia to northern Mozambique, where a distinctive language and culture developed as a dynamic synthesis of indigenous African and foreign elements. This synthesis resulted from a long history of maritime trade and urban settlement in prolonged contact with the wider world of the Indian Ocean, especially the Persian Gulf and later the southern Arabian Peninsula (Nurse and Spear 1985). Whereas some scholars restrict the term *Swahili* to the geographic area and language, it is also used for the distinctive coastal Islamic culture of the indigenous Swahili-speaking peoples. Although there has been much debate about whether the coastal

people themselves should be called Swahili, and if so how they should be defined, the Swahili people are best described as the various groups from the East African coast and nearby islands who speak Swahili as a first language and share the distinctive Muslim syncretic culture of the area (Eastman 1971).

Today Swahili are mostly found in the nation-states of Kenya and Tanzania, where they are minorities. They are Sunni Muslims and live in rural villages as well as towns and cities of the coast, interspersed with other ethnic groups and religions. Neighboring African groups have often been heavily influenced by the Swahili, and many of their members have been incorporated into Swahili society through marriage and cultural assimilation.

Supernatural Beliefs and Ritual Specialists

As in many Muslim African societies, the sources of Swahili beliefs about the supernatural include Islamic sources as well as pre-Islamic and non-Islamic sources in both the Middle East and Africa. These components are intertwined, and often not clearly distinguished. Middle Eastern practices of healing, contacting and treating spirits, divination, astrology, geomancy, and magic are found together with, and sometimes merged with, indigenous African practices (Pouwels 1987, 73–92 and 120–123)

There are several different kinds of Swahili ritual specialists. Some are Islamic *walimu* (sing, *mwalimu*), literally "teachers," although perhaps a better translation is "scholars," that is, those who have knowledge of written Arabic texts on the mystical arts. Walimu often use prayers and Islamic texts, including passages from the Qur'an, in either spoken or written form. The latter includes the use of *kombe* (Qur'anic passages written on a plate or cup and then washed off and given the patient to drink or bathe with) and amulets. Amulets are also written using cabalistic formulas consisting of Arabic letters or numerals. In addition, walimu also use rosewater and incense and other fumigations, as well as other store-bought medicines. They frequently instruct clients to make *sadaka,* "offerings," which help to purify them and obtain blessings (cf. Middleton 1992, 179–181).

Other ritual specialists are known as *waganga* (sing, *mganga*), traditional healers/diviners. Waganga themselves are divided into several basic types: *waganga wa kitabu* ("waganga of the book"); *waganga wa pepo* or *shetani* ("waganga of the spirits"), also known as *waganga wa kichwa* ("waganga of the head"—referring to the bodily location of possessive spirits); and *waganga wa miti shamba,* who use wild plants as medicines. Waganga wa kitabu are very similar to and often the same as walimu, since "the book" refers to the Qur'an and other Arabic texts. Waganga wa pepo call up, bargain with, and utilize spirits, often through *ngoma*—dancing, music, and drumming appropriate to particular spirit types. All three kinds of waganga, however, frequently overlap. Waganga wa pepo are generally also waganga wa miti shamba, and many waganga wa kitabu use wild medicinal plants in addition to their store-bought medicines. Waganga wa kitabu and waganga wa pepo also share many other similar practices, and some waganga practice as both. All three types of waganga can also be *wachawi,* "witches" or "sorcerers," for if one has special powers, they can be used to harm as well as help, or for selfish as well as altruistic reasons. All waganga thus are potential wachawi (cf. Lienhardt 1968).

Spirit Beliefs and Practices

Swahili beliefs about spirits are complex and sometimes contradictory. Islamic interpretations and Middle Eastern concepts have been adopted to varying degrees by local Swahili, depending on their literacy, Islamic training, or religious tolerance of the spirit world. Although orthodox Islam is extremely monotheistic, emphasizing the worship of one God (Allah), it does recognize the existence of spirits, known as jinn. Orthodox Islam condemns establishing relationships with spirits as *shiriki,* the grave sin of associating other beings with Allah. However, the presence of spirits who follow the Islamic religion, some of which are closely connected to Allah, makes the issue less clear-cut. Moreover, there is no consensus among the Swahili as to the approved methods of dealing with the various types of spirits (cf. Caplan 1975, 100).

The Swahili commonly call spirits by several different terms—*jini* or *shetani,* both derived from Arabic, or they may use *pepo,* a Bantu word for "spirit" or "wind." There is great variation in how these terms are used, and many Swahili use

them interchangeably. Moreover, they are used both as general terms and as specific types. The term *shetani* is especially misleading. Whereas the Arabic word *shaitan* means a demon, the Swahili often use it in a more neutral fashion (cf. Middleton 1992, 170–174, where a more rigid classification is attempted).

Regardless of the terminology used, the key distinctions in spirit typology are whether the spirit is Muslim or pagan, and whether it is from the coast or the East African interior. Whereas all inland spirits are described as pagan and uncivilized, coastal spirits may be Muslim, pagan, or of a mixed character (cf. Caplan 1975, 100–101). Within these broad groups, spirits are further differentiated into more specific categories that are often the focus of particular spirit possession cults. Many possessive spirit categories correspond to various human ethnic groups, including Arabs, Masai, Mijikenda, Pemban (Swahili from the island of Pemba), Malagasy, and so on (cf. Topan 1971, 57–58).

Although some spirits are always harmful, most are more ambiguous. Whether they are helpful or harmful depends on the relationship one has with them. Whereas some are used specifically for private gain or even sent to trouble other people, many can also be used for the benefit of the community, for healing, divination, protection, and the like. Moreover, some spirits are pious Muslims, and they demand that their human associates also observe Islamic practice and morality.

Relationships with spirits can take several different forms. Some are possessive, whereas others are merely associations. Although the initial relationship is often started by the spirit, in some cases it is initiated by humans, generally using special ritual procedures. There are certain types of jini, in fact, that are purposefully kept and bred like domestic animals, because of the wealth and good fortune that they can bring.

Most Swahili acquire spirits unintentionally, through inheritance, through the spirit's attraction to, or anger with, them, or by having someone purposefully send the spirit to them for good or for ill. The spirit may manifest itself directly by possession, making the patient's body its vehicle and sometimes speaking through the patient. In Swahili terminology, the spirit is said to "mount" or "climb" the person (a conception common in many African and Caribbean areas) and come into the head. Usually, however, the spirit first manifests itself through illness, bad luck, barrenness, and other misfortunes.

Diagnosis is generally made by a spirit medium or diviner, who may be a mwalimu, mganga wa kitabu, or mganga wa pepo. Once the spirit has been diagnosed, the diviner will send the patient to a mganga who can treat spirit cases (this may be the original diviner in some cases). Sometimes the spirit is exorcised, especially if Islamic methods are used, if the spirit is sent by witchcraft, or if it is deemed by its nature to be evil or useless. If it is a spirit that can enter into a useful relationship, however, it is often appeased. Such spirits may or may not be of the type that establishes long-term possessive relationships. If it is, the human may agree to become the regular mount of the spirit, that is, the "chair," in Swahili terminology. In either case, the spirit may be enticed to possess the patient, or sometimes the ritual specialist, and explain why it has come and what it wants. Most often it will want an offering plate (of food and incense, and the like), an animal sacrifice, a certain type of cloth or ring to wear, or a special ceremony in its honor. If it is decided that the spirit will enter into a permanent relationship with the patient, certain offerings and ceremonies must be continued periodically in order to keep the relationship positive. Often such spirits are possessive, and they usually ask that the patient be initiated into a cult group *(chama* or *kilinge).*

Initiation involves an elaborate and expensive ceremony, generally lasting from several days up to a week, depending on the type of spirit and local practice. At the conclusion, the spirit should possess the patient and start a cooperative relationship with the patient as its "chair," including ceremonial possession during cult ceremonies. The spirit may want the initiate to advance to higher ranks within the cult, obtained through payment of fees, sponsoring the necessary ceremonies, and demonstrating greater competence in healing and other spirit matters (often through instruction). The highest rank is that of a mganga. Waganga of this kind have their own medicine bag, enabling them to possess the full range of spiritual skills, including divination and healing. They thus can attract their own clients and perhaps become the head of their own cult group (Giles 1987, 240–241; cf. Topan 1971).

Not all waganga wa pepo are associated with spirit possession cults. Some in fact might not have possessive relations with spirits, but other forms of association, including inheriting spirit abodes that give them access to the spirits living there. Spirits may merely help such waganga in their work, or they may actually communicate with them without possessing them, through dreams, telepathy, divination, or other signs. The title of mganga in such cases may be more descriptive than an official title. There are also people who act more as intermediaries with spirits or custodians of their abodes, without claiming any spiritual power themselves. These people are often not called waganga, but by other terms that vary according to locality, for example, *ratibu,* or *wavyale.* This position is often inherited. (On *wavyale,* see Gray 1966 and Trimingham 1964, 116–117.)

Differences and Similarities between Types of Spirit Specialists

Walimu and waganga wa kitabu are usually viewed as fundamentally different from waganga wa pepo and similar types of spirit specialists. Whereas the former use Islamic means to try and exorcise spirits, the latter use more pagan means to placate and cultivate them. Waganga wa kitabu, as their name implies, acquire their skills from written texts (often in Arabic) and personal instruction. The primary means of acquiring skills and knowledge for waganga wa pepo and related spirit practitioners is through personal relationships with spirits, although considerable training may also be involved. These fundamental differences also relate to another distinction—whereas walimu and waganga wa kitabu are almost always male, waganga wa pepo and other spirit specialists can be either male or female (cf. Middleton 1992, 179–180).

The opposition between these two basic types of ritual specialists, however, is not as pronounced as it first appears. In actual practice, their methods are often similar. Although their ceremonies are viewed mainly as exorcisms, waganga wa kitabu use many of the same procedures to attract and interact with spirits as waganga wa pepo, including covering the patient with an appropriately colored cloth, burning incense, and making offerings. Often they also call the spirit to possess the patient and state what it wants in order to stop troubling the patient. Moreover, waganga wa kitabu often have spirit helpers that they call on for assistance. They may have sought these out, inherited them, been chosen by them, or even been possessed by them.

Often these spirits are Middle Eastern jini, or more specifically *ruhani,* which are a special category of very powerful spirits that are highly Muslim in character and demand that their human partners lead an exemplary Muslim life. These jini, however, are otherwise much like other types of spirits. They cause illness or misfortune and demand offerings, cloths, and often sacrificial animals. They also require ritual celebrations in their honor, but these are the same ceremonies that would be used in other Islamic contexts, *dhikri* (repetitive chanting of words and formulas in praise of God with rhythmic breathing and body movements, often leading to trance) or *maulidi* (recitations and songs associated with the birth of the prophet Mohammed). If the relationship is a possessive one, it is often the reason why the person became a mganga wa kitabu in the first place, to please the spirit. Moreover, the spirit may also have required him to be initiated into a spirit cult. Some waganga wa kitabu also have relationships with non-Muslim spirits, although in this case they may resist initiation because the ceremony would be non-Islamic.

On the other hand, waganga wa pepo use many of the same Islamic methods as waganga wa kitabu to deal with Islamic spirits. They utilize many of the same incenses and medicines, and ask Islamic specialists to come and read Qur'anic passages and perform dhikri or maulidi when calling such spirits. Also, waganga wa pepo and spirit cult members are usually themselves possessed by ruhani and other Islamic spirits in addition to non-Islamic ones. Hence regular cult ceremonies honoring members' possessive spirits include Islamic ceremonies as well as ngoma, which are non-Islamic forms of dancing and music (Giles 1987, 246–247).

Changes in Spirit Practices

At present, only a minority of the Swahili population is involved in spirit cults, whereas evidence from cult traditions and written accounts portray spirit cult activity as fairly common in the past. Increasing Westernization, orthodox

Islamic opposition, governmental interference, and worsening socioeconomic conditions (making ceremonies less affordable)—all these are factors. Also, the amount of male participation in spirit cults seems to have declined. Currently, the majority of clients and cult members are female (cf. Middleton 1992, 176–178).

On the other hand, spirit cults still remain viable. They have adapted well to modern urban conditions. Members can be drawn from all segments of society, including some well-educated and Westernized individuals. Even those who have strong objections to spirit ceremonies or cult membership will participate if they believe it is necessary in order to get well. Furthermore, most Swahili, whether or not they participate in spirit activities, share the belief system, including belief in the possibility of possession. Many people visit spirit cult mediums when they need assistance, for divination, medicines, or spiritual intervention. Even more use the services of waganga wa kitabu.

Much more decline is evident in the role of spirits and their various intermediaries in everyday activities, especially communal activities. In the recent past, spirit propitiation by individual hunters, fishermen, and cultivators was common, as well as communal spirit rituals associated with the monsoons, various stages in the agricultural cycle, and especially the Swahili New Year (Trimingham 1964, 117). Certain spirits also acted as general guardians of the community, with special huts erected for them and ceremonies dedicated to them several times a year. All of these rites were carried out by special spirit intermediaries such as the wavyale or ratibu. Remnants of these communal practices can still be found in the more isolated villages of the Tanzanian coast and Pemba, but elsewhere they have become the domain of the spirit cults and individual spirit practitioners (Giles 1995, 90–96).

Linda L. Giles

See also: Marabouts and Magic; Spirit Possession

References and further reading:

Caplan, Patricia. 1975. "The Socio-Religious Hierarchy: (2) Spirit Possession." Pp. 100–123 in *Choice and Constraint in a Swahili Community.* Edited by Patricia Caplan. London: International African Institute, Oxford University Press.

Eastman, Carol M. 1971. "Who are the *WaSwahili?*" *Africa* 41, no. 3: 228–236.

Giles, Linda L. 1987. "Possession Cults on the Swahili Coast: A Re-examination of Theories of Marginality." *Africa* 57, no. 2: 234–258.

———. 1989. "Spirit Possession on the Swahili Coast: Peripheral Cults or Primary Texts?" Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin.

———. 1995. "Sociocultural Change and Spirit Possession on the Swahili Coast of East Africa." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 2: 89–106.

———. 1999. "Spirit Possession and the Symbolic Construction of Swahili Society." Pp. 142–164 in *Spirit Possession, Modernity, and Power in Africa.* Edited by Heike Behrend and Ute Luig. Madison and Oxford: University of Wisconsin Press and James Currey.

Gray, John M. 1966. "*Nairuzi* or *Siku ya Mwaka.*" *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 38: 1–22 and 41: 69–72.

Lienhardt, Peter, ed. and trans. 1968. *The Medicine Man.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Middleton, John. 1992. *The World of the Swahili: An African Mercantile Civilization.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Nurse, Derek, and Thomas Spear. 1985. *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800–1500.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Pouwels, Randall. 1987. *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast, 800–1900.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Topan, Farouk Mohamedhussein T. 1971. "Oral Literature in a Ritual Setting: The Role of Spirit Songs in a Spirit-Mediumship Cult in Mombasa, Kenya." Ph.D. diss., University of London.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. 1964. "Popular Religion." Pp. 112–125 in *Islam in East Africa.* Edited by J. Spencer Trimingham. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

TWIN CULT OF THE AKAN (GHANA)

One aspect of the religious practice of the Akan is a special cult that centers on those who are born as twins. It is of particular interest in an encyclopedia like this one because it centers on

Okomfo Essoun completed her akom (priestess-medium) training in another town, and accompanied by a group of clergy (Akomfo) she was brought to Winneba and introduced to her people for the first time. Here, she is brought through town in a procession in a state of trance. Winneba, Ghana, 1998. (Courtesy of Anthony Ephirim-Donkor)

spirit possession, so often a central feature in shamanism.

Background

The Akan are found in the modern nations of Ghana and the Ivory Coast. In Ghana they constitute about 50 percent of the population; the major groups that make up the Akan are the Asante, the Fante, the Akuapim, the Akyem, the Akwamu, the Khwahu, the Nzema, the Ahanta, the Wassa, the Bono, and the Safwi as the major groups. All the Akan share a common language, religion, and political ethos (Ephirim-Donkor 1997, 3).

The Akan believe in a monotheistic creator God called Odomankoma Nyame. They adhere to a system of succession that operates within the *ebusua,* a uterine, blood-linear group of kin who congregate in order to bury their dead and share the funeral expenses, set the date for the final funeral rites, appoint a successor for the deceased, and remember the dead periodically (Ephirim-Donkor 1997, 33). These beliefs have their origin in the Akan cosmogony, according to which the previously perfect coexistence between God and the primordial old woman, Aberewa, and her children was severed over arguments about food *(fufu)* preparation. The separation of heaven from earth created a void, which was filled by the *abosom,* "deities," spiritual offspring of God who remained on earth, though capable of moving between the two worlds (Ephirim-Donkor 1994, 44–45). Naturally, the Akan began to worship the abosom (plural) and in the process developed elaborate rites, shrines, and codes governing existence *(abra bo).* Not everyone could approach the abosom; consequently a special class of clergy believed to be the children of the abosom themselves was born and taught the esoterica of the deities (Christensen 1959, 257–267).

An *obosom ba,* "child of a deity," is a person whose mother, after experiencing difficulties

conceiving, asks for a deity's intervention and pledges to consecrate the child (or children) born in consequence of that intervention to the deity, together with certain prescribed rites of thanksgiving. A deity may *will* as many as five children; as an indication of their sacred nature, the hair of such children is kept uncut and unkempt, with strings of bead, cowry, or coin tied to the hair. The *abosom'ba* and their descendants, together with twins and those born under special conditions, are the only ones considered called into the clerical profession.

There are three categories of clergy among the Akan, the priest, *osofo,* the prophet-medium, *okomfo,* and the doctor, *oninsinye* or *obosomfo.* Even though their roles overlap, each kind is unique in that each receives a specialized training. To be a member of the clergy one must be born into or must have descended from a priestly ancestry. That is, the original ancestor must have been an obosom ba, the offspring of a deity (Ephirim-Donkor 1994, 56).

The process begins with a call by a deity and not by God, because God is worshipped through the deities. The call is critically examined by an experienced member of the clergy in order to authenticate the veracity of the phenomenon. Then the subject undergoes training for at least one year, during which time she or he learns about the secrets of the clerical vocation and of the deity that called her or him. Upon graduation as an okomfo, the new medium demonstrates her spiritual prowess in public by dancing herself into a trance and being taken over by a deity. Since God is not worshipped or approached directly, societal and individual problems are addressed to the deities via a medium in a trance; the deities in turn take the problems to God.

Twins and Possession

The focus of this article is another special class of people among the Akan, twins—who, together with the abosom'ba, are considered to be divine, having a religion of their own. Twin religion (Nnta Abam) manifests itself as spirit possession when the special deity of twins, Abam Kofi, possesses twins *(nntafo)* during festivities honoring the deity.

Twins are considered unique and therefore enjoy special recognition in Akan sociocultural and religious practices. Their uniqueness is based on the oddity of their birth, which is interpreted as divine. The Akan believe, quite dogmatically, that twins are gifts from a deity who shows favor to some women, so that "mothers of twins or triplets are held in especial esteem . . . not only in life, but after death" (Rattray 1927, 66–67).

Although the Akan are aware of the role heredity plays in twin births, they also believe in the arbitrariness of their births. Many, indeed, believe that twins are born to those who may not necessarily need them, i. e. the poor. Existentially, having twins is thought to be a test; the challenge lies in a couple's ability to properly nurture them into adulthood before obtaining Abam Kofi's beneficence.

Traditionally, a set of twins, like a set of *abosom'ba,* comprises five children. The twins proper, *Panyin* and *Kakara;* then the first child born after the twins, *Tawuah* or *Tawiah;* the second, who also happens to share the same name as the deity, *Abam;* and finally, the third child born, *Nyankomangor.* Upon parturition the mother and neonates are sequestered for a culturally defined period of at least eight days before they are formally introduced to the extended family, culminating in a naming ceremony. On this day, special rites are also performed in honor of the twin deity, at which time a raffia twig is shaped into a doll.

To invoke Abam Kofi to enter the doll, libations are offered, after which a chicken is slaughtered and its blood is poured on or around the doll. Then boiled eggs and two sacred meals called *oto*—one red and the other white—are placed on or around the doll to signify Abam Kofi's acceptance of the ambrosia. Concealed under a white piece of cloth, the doll is then hung permanently on a wall.

During the naming ceremony, the neonates also receive raffia-strung beads of white and black colors tied around their wrists to signify the fact that they too have been hung on a wall, figuratively. Sometimes a piece of gold is strung together with the black, but regardless of the addition, the rest of the beads on both sides must be white. Henceforth the twins wear the raffia-strung beads throughout their existence, unless they want themselves taken down from the wall where they have been figuratively hung.

Situational rites are performed for twins who display neurotic tendencies in order to restore

Okomfo Essoun, Winneba, Ghana, 1998. (Courtesy of Anthony Ephirim-Donkor)

psychosomatic equilibrium. Otherwise, twins wait until the annual festival, which is held to coincide with the harvesting of crops when Abam Kofi is fed, who in turn possesses his offspring—the set of twins.

The festivities begin early in the morning at participating twins' households (Ephirim-Donkor 1994, 54). Ceremoniously, Abam Kofi is taken down and laid on specially prepared bedding. Meanwhile, food items, including yams, plantains, eggs, and a chicken or sheep are readied for a sumptuous meal. Then trays containing diluted seawater, in which are placed special vines believed to empower the seawater, are readied. Afterwards a chicken or sheep is slaughtered, and some of the blood poured into the water and onto Abam Kofi. Next, boiled eggs and morsels of the sacred oto meal are offered to Abam Kofi. The twins then congregate around the oto and eggs in a white tray to partake also of the same sacred meal as Abam Kofi.

The preparation of the main meal is completed by early afternoon, and the actual feasting begins, after selected portions of the meat have been set aside for Abam Kofi. Twins, however, eat apart from everyone else. When the feasting is over, the kitchen is swept and the trash added to the sacred seawater and readied for the most festive part of the ceremony, which is the journey to dispose of the trash.

Bathed and clothed in white outfits, each twin is then smeared with white myrrh and marked with a double insignia of red (or white and red) myrrh on every joint, the forehead, and the temples (Ephirim-Donkor 1994). A priestess proceeds to offer libations in front of each tray and takes some of the water and gently rubs each twin, while exhorting them about the impending ordeal. Beginning with the eldest twin, the priestess lifts up each tray and taps it three times on each twin's head, and on the third count the twin holds the tray in place. Lined up behind the eldest, the priestess again offers libations, but this time into the trays now being carried by the twins. Finally, they are ready to proceed.

The eventual destination is the community's kitchen midden or disposal into the sea. Ac-

companied by members of the household and joined by spectators singing praise songs of the deity, the twins slowly make their way to the beach to dispose of the contents of the trays. The journey, however, is a struggle; Abam Kofi and other deities descend, literally, into the sacred water, thereby possessing the twins. That is, a twin may experience a gradual increase in the weight of the tray, which becomes heavier and heavier until the twin is virtually unable to move. In a state of trance, a twin is completely under the control and sway of the deity.

Thus possessed, twins react naturally by attempting to throw the trays away entirely—quite an impossible task because the hands appear to be glued to the tray. They turn their heads back and forth and from side to side, stand still momentarily, then sway from side to side erratically, raise and tap the trays on their heads, rub the base of the trays around their heads, and run helter-skelter. In the process the water and most of the contents are wasted, while some spectators are even injured as they attempt to avoid the encounter. There are some twins who are never possessed during the entire journey. Remarkably very few twins, if any, of those that are possessed are actually injured.

Once the procession reaches the dumping site, the contents are thrown into the sea, and each twin is dipped into the sea three times. The ritual bathing effectively ends spirit possession. Upon their return home, more libations are offered, and Abam Kofi is returned to his hanging posture to await yet another annual festival.

Anthony Ephirim-Donkor

See also: Ancestor Worship in Africa

References and further reading:

Christensen, James Boyd. 1959. "The Adaptive Functions of Fanti Priesthood." Pp. 257–278 in *Continuity and Change in African Culture.* Edited by William Bascom and Melville Herskovitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ephirim-Donkor, Anthony. 1994. "African Spirituality and Personality: The Akanfo Quest for Perfection and Immortality." Ph.D. diss., Emory University.

———. 1997. *African Spirituality: On Becoming Ancestors.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

———. 2000. *The Making of an African King: Patrilineal and Matrilineal Struggle Among the Effutu of Ghana.* Trenton, NJ.: Africa World Press.

Rattray, R. S. 1927. *Religion and Art in Ashanti.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sarpong, Peter. 1974. *Ghana in Retrospect: Some Aspects of Ghanaian Culture.* Tema: Ghana Publishing.

WITCHCRAFT IN AFRICA

In many African cultures, particularly those south of the Sahara, witchcraft is an idiom used to explain misfortune within a community. This misfortune may be physical or social in nature; it is usually thought to emanate from the ill will of someone within the community. Among the Shona-speaking peoples of Zimbabwe, for example, if a person falls ill with malaria or if a person loses a job, witchcraft is often understood as the reason why, and it is assumed that someone within the community (often a relative) used witchcraft out of spite, jealousy, or the desire for revenge. In most African contexts, then, the idiom of witchcraft is commonly used to explain *why* something unfortunate happens to a particular person, often with the implicit understanding that someone else "bewitched" the person in question because of a strain in their relationship.

Unfortunately, not much is known about witchcraft practices in Africa before the era of European colonial expansion, which did not reach its height until after the 1890s. Of the few exceptions to this rule, research on the eighteenth-century kingdom of Kongo is notable. According to historian John Thornton, in Kongo there was a class of people called *ndokis,* whom the Capuchin priests working in the Kongolese royal courts called *fattucieri,* the Italian word for "witches" (Thornton 1998, 71). Thornton says the Italian translation does not adequately capture its meaning in the KiKongo language, but he does describe ndokis as "selfish and greedy people who will stop at nothing to get what they want. They enlist Otherworldly power that has been garnered by like-minded people and 'eat' their victims either literally or symbolically" (Thornton 1998, 42). This description is similar to the way witches are described in numerous contemporary African contexts.

The earliest work on witchcraft was in anthropology, and with few exceptions (see Ashforth 2000), it is still a topic that draws the most attention from that discipline. In 1937, Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, a British anthropologist who taught for many years at the University of Oxford, published *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande,* a monograph that in many ways sets the standard for the topic. This work was published in an abridged version in 1976 and is still widely read. The Azande live in what is today western Sudan, the Central African Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. At the time Evans-Pritchard conducted his research, in the late 1920s, the Azande had been under British indirect rule for several decades. They were settled in homesteads over a wide swathe of savanna land, grew crops (corn, ground nuts), and kept some domestic animals (primarily fowls). There was a defined class distinction between nobles and commoners (Gilles 1976, vii-xxix). One of Evans-Pritchard's main goals in this monograph was to refute the notion that belief in witchcraft is irrational. "Witchcraft has its own logic," he wrote, "its own rules of thought . . . and these do not exclude natural causation. Belief in witchcraft is quite consistent with human responsibility and a rational appreciation of nature" (Evans-Pritchard 1976, 30). Taken on its own terms, appealing to witchcraft in Zandeland was a perfectly reasonable way for an Azande person to explain misfortune.

Evans-Pritchard related a number of interesting ethnographic details about Azande witchcraft. According to him, witchcraft among the Azande was inherited. It was believed to be a substance found in a person's small intestines. It does not correspond easily to the Western notion of something supernatural. Both men and women could be witches. Often a person would never know whether he or she were a witch, because witchcraft substance usually remained "cool" (that is, not active). Witchcraft substance became "hot" when a person became jealous or sought retribution for someone else's misdeeds. Even so, often a witch would not knowingly "bewitch" someone else. Witchcraft was believed to work at night, under the cover of the shadows, and to travel through a homestead to its intended victim.

The Azande were not interested in witches, per se, but rather in acts of witchcraft. In any discussion of African witchcraft, in fact, it is important to distinguish between "witchcraft" and "witches." In many—although not all—African cultures, the latter are rarely discussed. People express interest in and concern over acts of witchcraft, but not necessarily the existence of witches. For Evans-Pritchard, this point was critical to his general argument that witchcraft was primarily an idiom the Azande used to explain why misfortunes happen.

In many African societies, ritual specialists are employed to protect people from witchcraft. (Bettmann/Corbis)

There is a famous example in *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic* that lays out this emphasis on witchcraft as an idiom for explaining why

something unfortunate occurs. The Azande stored their crops in granaries, which were suspended above the ground by wooden stilts to keep out rodents. Because of the hot weather, and a preponderance of termites in the area, the supports on these granaries occasionally rotted through and collapsed. During his time in Zandeland, Evans-Pritchard noticed that people often sought refuge from the heat by sitting in the shade of their granaries in the middle of the day. On rare occasions, a granary would collapse when people were sitting under it, sometimes causing serious injury. Although the Azande knew that the humidity and the termites weakened the supports, they were also suspicious as to why a granary would collapse at the precise moment people were sitting under it. The answer they gave, according to Evans-Pritchard, was witchcraft. "If there had been no witchcraft people would not have been sitting under the granary and it would not have fallen on them. . . . Witchcraft explains the coincidence of these two happenings" (Evans-Pritchard 1976, 22). To further elucidate this claim, Evans-Pritchard appealed to the cross-cultural example of luck. "When, in spite of human knowledge, forethought, and technical efficiency, a man suffers a mishap, we [in the West] say that it is his bad luck, whereas Azande say that he has been bewitched" (Evans-Pritchard 1976, 65).

Azande tried to control threats of witchcraft through the use of oracles. Oracles were consulted before any major event (such as a lengthy trip), at key moments in the life cycle (such as a wedding), or when a person was suffering serious misfortunes. The most powerful oracle was the poison oracle (Evans-Pritchard 1976, 121). A substance called *benge* (similar to strychnine) was given to a domestic fowl; whether the bird lived or died after ingesting the benge helped the Azande determine the answer to a particular question posed. Other common oracles included the rubbing-board oracle (the most common) and the termite oracle. The rubbing-board oracle worked by rubbing the lid of a rubbing board against the board itself, after it was lubricated with a special treatment of fruit juices and tree bark. Whether the lid stuck to the board or not helped the Azande answer a particular question. For the termite oracle, a Zande person would break off branches from two different kinds of trees, stick the branches in a termite mound, and address the termites through a question, the answer to which was determined by what the termites ate—one or the other of the branches, both of the branches, or neither. Oracles played a central role in the idiom of witchcraft for the Azande. They were part of what Evans-Pritchard saw as a rational system of investigation and explanation. As he argued, "[Azande] mystical notions are eminently coherent, being interrelated by a network of logical ties" (Evans-Pritchard 1976, 150).

A generation after Evans-Pritchard's pioneering work, another British anthropologist, Max Marwick, conducted a study among the Cewa peoples, in what is now Zambia, that further enriched our understanding of African witchcraft. Actually, Marwick studied sorcery, but in many African contexts (although by no means all) *sorcery* and *witchcraft* are synonymous terms (cf. West, 2001). Sorcerers, or *nfiti* in the Cewa language, are, like witches in Zandeland, motivated by ill will, jealousy, and greed. Unlike Azande witches, however, Cewa sorcerers are primarily male. According to Marwick, sorcerers rely on a number of techniques to carry out their nefarious activities, including poisoning a victim's food with magical substances, giving a victim ulcers, and using their familiars—often hyenas and owls—to cause trouble (1967, 107). Sorcerers can also fly around in the winnowing baskets used to clean and store certain crops. This reliance on familiars, particularly nocturnal animals, is common in other contexts of African witchcraft and sorcery.

Marwick trained at the Victoria University of Manchester under the noted anthropologist Max Gluckman, who relied heavily on Karl Marx's idea that conflict helps structure society. Among the Cewa, who are matrilineal, Marwick found that 55 percent of all misfortunes in the community were attributed to the actions of sorcerers (1967, 105). Like Evans-Pritchard, he was interested in sorcery as an idiom used to explain misfortune. But Marwick, perhaps because of the particular dynamics of Cewa sorcery as opposed to Azande witchcraft, presented a more persuasive and vivid argument for the role of occult idioms in the articulation of personal tensions. "First and foremost, beliefs in sorcery are a means of formulating tense relationships" (Marwick 1967, 125). In this way, Marwick worked out an important

understanding of the connections between kinship, politics, and witchcraft.

Kinship is a key axis for Marwick. Indeed, as other researchers have shown from case studies in Cameroon (Geschiere 1997) and South Africa (Ashforth 2000), tense kinship relations often lie at the heart of witchcraft activity. Among the Cewa, this tension is often expressed in social situations involving political succession. Since the Cewa are a matrilineal society, political authority is determined through a man's relationship with the women in his family. During his fieldwork in the 1950s, Marwick observed a number of cases in which a man's seniority in the matriline was contested, often on the grounds that this man—or his potential rival—had used sorcery to disrupt the normal course of succession. As Marwick observed, "matrilineal relatives are especially prone to practice sorcery against each other because . . . they develop smoldering hatreds that flare up in attacks by sorcery" (1967, 108–109). Kinship and politics, then, are framed by the idiom of sorcery. The idiom of sorcery is "catalytic to the normal process of matrilineage segmentation," in other words, brings about divisions of people within a matrilineage (Marwick 1967, 113).

Evans-Pritchard's argument that witchcraft in Africa is not based on irrational or superstitious thought has been invaluable in defining the academic study of occult practices. He helped pave the way for future generations of scholars to treat witchcraft as a serious academic pursuit. Recent critics of Evans-Pritchard's work, however, have contended that Evans-Pritchard's analysis was too functional (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993; Geschiere 1997; West 2001). By this they meant that Evans-Pritchard described witchcraft as a mechanism that regulated social relations without disrupting the social status quo. In other words, Evans-Pritchard did not take into account the dynamics of social change, and in particular the impact of colonialism on African systems of thought. Throughout *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic,* Evans-Pritchard gave readers the impression that witchcraft is a "traditional" practice. Marwick, too, argued that sorcery is "a conservative moral force" (1967, 109). He also predicted that as African societies modernized, and as Western ideas of individualism took a firm hold, witchcraft would disappear. Other anthropologists, however, have pointed out that the influence of witchcraft as an idiom has grown as Africa becomes more "modern." With the development of market economies, the integration of cultural and economic networks into the international arena, and the increasing influence of Western-style education, the role of witches and witchcraft in Africa has flourished, not languished. As Jean and John Comaroff put it, "Witchcraft is a finely calibrated gauge of the impact of global cultural and economic forces on local relations. . . . Witches are modernity's prototypical malcontents" (1993, xxviii-xxix).

This sense of witchcraft as an index of social disruption was developed largely in the 1990s, after a fairly long period in which little new work was produced (perhaps twenty years). It is difficult to say why there was such a lull in witchcraft studies, whether it was due to a decline in witchcraft accusations and activity, or whether it was due to the proclivities of researchers in choosing their research subjects. Suffice it to say, by the late 1980s and early 1990s, anthropologists began to study witchcraft with renewed vigor, and, indeed, contrary to what Evans-Pritchard and Marwick predicted, the importance of witchcraft in Africa has grown dramatically.

In her work with Igbo communities in Nigeria, Misty Bastian gave a clear sense of witchcraft as a modern practice. "Witchcraft," she argued, "is not seen in Nigeria as the sole province of the 'traditional'" (Bastian 1993, 133). She described a case from 1987, in which a columnist for one of the country's most popular newspapers wrote an editorial about the prevalence of witchcraft in modern Nigerian life. The columnist equated modern day politicians with witches, a situation he blamed in part on the growing divide between people who live in urban centers and rural areas. As with witches, "greed is [the] hallmark [of politicians; they have] an abiding zest for destroying the successful, the healthy, and the 'lucky' in the community" (cited in Bastian 1993, 129). Rather than abandoning the language and ideas of witchcraft, this columnist translated the ideas into a contemporary context. The editorial was "a contemporary form of witchcraft accusation" (Bastian 1993, 133), revealing how the idiom of witchcraft is still relevant to the lives of Nigerians.

In Mozambique, the connection between witchcraft and contemporary politics is also evident. Harry West, an anthropologist who works among Mueda speakers in the northern parts of the country, has collected a significant amount of data on sorcery, called *uwavi* in the local language (West 1997; 2001). Muedans believe that sorcerers—who may have both good and bad intentions—can transform themselves into lions. Harmful sorcerers, motivated by jealousy and greed, can exact revenge, steal from, or disrupt the success of others in the community. As in Nigeria, in Mozambique these understandings of sorcery and witchcraft have been translated into the language of national politics. People in Mozambique—a country that was torn apart by civil war through much of the 1980s—understand the power of their politicians to come from sorcery. "In a changing world," West argued, "Muedans both made sense of and gave shape to power relations through their continued reference to sorcery" (2001, 122). Just as once a local headman might have been understood as a possible "people-lion" (as sorcerers are called), this is now considered a possibility for national-level leaders, as well.

Western scholars, of course, are not the only people writing about witchcraft in Africa. A number of prominent African novelists have discussed the influence of witchcraft in their novels, including the Zimbabwean Chenjerai Hove (1995) and the Kenyan Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1965). In Ngugi's *The River Between,* a young Kikuyu man with political aspirations, called Waiyaki, falls victim to what is recognizable as the ravages of witchcraft. Not long before Waiyaki's demise, Ngugi writes: "He pleased many. But not everybody. At such moments jealousy and ill-will are bound to work" (Ngugi 1965, 92).

For all of its diverse manifestations, witchcraft in Africa speaks to the heart of people's concerns with the well-being of society. When that well-being is threatened (on the local, regional, or national level), the "idiom of witchcraft," as Evans-Pritchard so well put it, is often invoked. Perhaps the most important aspect of witchcraft in Africa, then, is its profound role in shaping the sense of why things happen, whether in a "traditional" Azande village, through the use of oracular consultations, or in "modern" Nigeria, through a popular daily newspaper.

Matthew Engelke

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Igbo Shamanism; Witchcraft and Sorcery in Shamanism

References and further reading:

Ashforth, Adam. 2000. *Madumo: A Man Bewitched.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bastian, Misty. 1993. "'Bloodhounds Who Have No Friends': Witchcraft and Locality in the Nigerian Popular Press." Pp. 129–166 in *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa.* Edited by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. 1993. "Introduction," Pp. xi-xxxvii in *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa.* Edited by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1976. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande.* Abridged version. Oxford: Clarendon. Original edition, 1937.

Geschiere, Peter. 1997. *The Modernity of Witchcraft.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Gilles, Eva. 1976. "Introduction." Pp. vii-xxix in *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande,* by Edward E. Evans-Pritchard. Abridged version. Oxford: Clarendon. Original edition, 1937.

Hove, Chenjerai. 1995. *Ancestors.* London: Picador.

Marwick, Max. 1967. "The Sociology of Sorcery in a Central African Tribe." Pp. 101–126 in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Curing.* Edited by John Middleton. Garden City, NY: Natural History Press.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. 1965. *The River Between.* Portsmouth, ME: Heinemann.

Thornton, John. 1998. *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

West, Harry. 1997. "Creative Destruction and Sorcery of Construction: Power, Hope, and Suspicion in Post-War Mozambique." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 37, no. 3: 675–698.

———. 2001. "Sorcery of Construction and Socialist Modernization: Ways of Understanding Power in Postcolonial

Mozambique." *American Ethnologist* 28, no. 1: 119–150.

XHOSA SHAMANISM

See Cape Nguni Shamanism

YAKA SHAMANISTIC DIVINATION (SOUTHWESTERN CONGO)

Shamanistic divination, practiced by diviners both male and female, is one of the most influential practices in Yaka society, one that manifests the Yaka worldview. It is practiced both in the rural homeland of the Yaka and in the capital city of Kinshasa. Among the Yaka shamanistic divination is a highly sensory practice, one that focuses on the awakening of a power from within and on soliciting communal adherence to that power. The practice of Yaka divination requires one to become awakened to an entire world that is alive, interacting, open-ended, and self-regulating to a large extent, and infused with life-giving or death-giving power. Yaka divination also entails a belief that a kind of ecstatic communication or exchange is possible between humans, spirits, and the animated life world, an exchange that reenacts and reinforces the profound interconnectedness of the otherworldly and the this-worldly.

Yaka People: Geographic and Ethnographic Data

The Yaka, a Bantu ethnocultural group, live in the southwestern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire). They are an influential culture in the province of Bandundu, sharing borderlands with many other cultural groups, such as the Lunda, Suku, and Pelende. Up to 400,000 Yaka dwell in the woodlands and tree-covered savanna near the Kwango and Wamba rivers. It is mainly Yaka women who grow the crops for their community's subsistence and take care of the domestic tasks, whereas men are involved in hunting, trading, and the construction and maintenance of the thatched houses.

A good number of Yaka have now migrated into Kinshasa in search of paid work, trade opportunities, schools, and biomedical care. The sad irony, though, is that the city has staggeringly failed them in a number of ways. Since the 1990s, a spate of riots and economic and political upheavals have continued to disrupt urban life. This crisis notwithstanding, the sociocultural institutions of the perhaps half million Yaka in suburban Kinshasa have held firm. In the rural southwest Bandundu region, a hierarchical and centralized mode of political organization, which Lunda rulers imposed on the rural Yaka three centuries ago, still characterizes the political superstructure.

The Yaka divinatory practices and their therapeutic knowledge have been well documented, especially in the rural milieu of southwest Congo bordering Angola. Based on research conducted in this area between 1972 and 1974, and again in 1991, and recently with the more urban Yaka of Kinshasa, the author has documented some 250 oracles narrated by eighteen diviner-shamans, some of which were recorded at the scene of divinatory consultation; the author also witnessed two full initiation cycles of diviner-shaman novices. A film (Dumon and Devisch 1991) documents some phases of the initiations and oracular consultations. This work confirms reported records that Léon de Beir (1975) and Arthur Bourgeois (1983) collected in the 1940s and 1970s respectively.

The Foundations of Yaka Divination

The shamanistic beliefs of urban and rural Yaka trace their origins to the institution known as *Ngoombwa weefwa,* which is derived from one of the major cults of spirit possession and healing responsible for the Yaka mediumistic style of divination. In rural areas, there is one mediumistic diviner *(ngaanga ngoombu)* for some two thousand people. In urban areas it is difficult to assess the ratio, but there is no doubt that the Yaka living in Kinshasa have continued to consult a diviner for critical matters such as abnormally long unemployment, marriage breakdown, life-threatening misfortune, or the aggravation of some other states of affliction, such as love affairs and business failures. By any standard, Yaka diviners in the city enjoy nearly the same level of authority as in the rural areas.

The Yaka diviner functions as a visionary type of medium involved with ancestral spirits. As an interregional cult, Ngoombu is spread across the Congo-Lunda belt of southwest Congo, southeast Angola, and northwest Zambia (De Boeck and Devisch 1994; Janzen 1992). It is one of the fifteen major possession and healing cults practiced today among the Yaka (Devisch 1993, chap. 4). The Ngoomba diviners initiate visionary contact with the spirits through a self-induced altered state of consciousness, by means of which the spirits in their bodies express themselves as the diviners recount their visionary journeys. Divination has ongoing relevance to the lives of contemporary Yaka, telling individuals whom to consult when faced with certain afflictions (De Boeck and Devisch 1994; Devisch 1985; 1991; 1993; Devisch and Brodeur 1999, chap. 2).

Diviner-shamans in urban areas are more likely to be consulted by single individuals, rather than family groups as is the case in the rural area. In the city, though, the institution of divination is met with the challenges of born-again church congregations, who also minister to the afflicted members of the society. A few Yaka diviners have been converted by members of these churches and have shifted to addressing cases of affliction in the name of the Holy Spirit. These healing churches have evolved to overcome the inefficiencies of traditional churches (Western Catholicism and Protestantism) and the inability of both church and state to satisfy people's basic needs and expectations in contemporary society.

Techniques of Yaka Divination

Yaka divination involves communication and mediation between worlds, namely between spirits and the living. It is no wonder then that diviner-shamans are very much agents of spiritual forces, endowed with charismatic personalities. As mediators connecting the present world (the this-worldly) and the world of spirits (the otherworldly) they assist clients by transmitting messages and channeling forces across from spirits, relying on oracular divination. Divinatory materials are kept at a shrine, in a basket, bag, cup, or the like, in order to obtain from them either forces or messages bearing on the misfortune. Apart from these objects, the Yaka also have divinatory media consisting of anomalous, marginal, or ambiguous entities and objects, such as a dog, spider, crab, tortoise shell, or seeds excreted by an elephant. Other divination items include those derived from animals renowned for their strength, keen sense of smell, ability to hunt at night, or ability to live in more than one habitat (for example, in both water and air) Divination items may consist of the remains of animals, birds, or insects (such as shells, bones, fur, hair, teeth, nails, or hoofs). Imported items that have been manufactured and are used in daily life or that have symbolic importance are also used.

The Process of Becoming a Diviner

The process of becoming a diviner begins with a chronic illness or affliction that reveals the innate gift *(yibutukulu)* of clear-sightedness (a sign of a calling to the vocation) in the afflicted person. Clear-sightedness presents itself as a call. In the case of Ngoombu, which is a name for cult spirits who are not ancestral as well as a type of divination, the candidate is afflicted with a matrilineally transmitted hereditary illness that causes him to enter into an altered state of consciousness.

Accounts by diviners disclose that the sight of fire or a reference to sorcery (perhaps a spoken reference while in an altered state of consciousness) can induce in them an irrepressible need to break out of themselves or cause some force to surge within them. At this stage candidates tend to fidget or throw themselves into a fire or flee the village. In an altered state of consciousness, the diviner candidate climbs to the top of a palm tree or jumps onto the roof of a nearby house. There she stands astride the ridgepole and begins to tear away the thatch, expressing in a secret language that the uterine divine spirit has possessed him or her. Such behavior is described by the terms *kaluka,* "to release or deliver oneself," and *vuula,* "to slip away." Once the candidate has calmed down again, the medium has only the faintest recollection of trying to run away. Sometimes she may recall the identity of the ancestor who has appeared in her altered state of consciousness. In other cases, candidates remember thinking they were wounded and bleeding profusely. If the candidate is able to demonstrate the ability to divine in the wake of this crisis, then she is pronounced ready for initiation.

The skills characterizing a worthy candidate for initiation, as opposed to the ordinary person, include an unconventionally lively personality and an unbridled imagination. Once these candidates recover from their inward state of possession, they resume speaking normally. However, following such episodes novices tend to feel insecure, edgy, and even timid, to the point of avoiding boisterous companionship. There is a partial explanation for this: Were their pronouncements proven false, they would be threatened with death. Hence, the appearances and mannerisms of a diviner-shaman changes when he consults an oracle: He becomes irritable and withdrawn, his voice becomes shrill, and his gaze appears to be turned inward and focused on his inner visions.

The initiation proper entails a nearly nine-month seclusion period under the supervision of an experienced master-diviner, called the "mother-demiurge." A small seclusion hut is constructed on the outskirts of the village. There the initiate is instructed to "sleep on the bed" during the initiation period, while she undergoes some initiatory mutations. Seclusion is understood as a time when the aspirant focuses on trying to be able to perceive and scrutinize the otherworldly domain of the spirits. Each day the master brings the initiate bouquets of fresh fragrant plants from the savanna and woodland regions. These are used in the preparation of decoctions that the novice will take in the form of enemas. This process can be interpreted as a transformation of the initiate's lower torso into a channel of communication of the physical and sensory body with cosmic bodies.

The Divinatory Séance and Techniques of Interpretation

Representatives of the various family groups related to the person who has been afflicted with an illness and who is the subject of a divinatory séance, validate the divinatory message and thus lend credence to its divinatory or paranormal nature. But at the séance itself, the person who is actually ill is not present. Even in cases where there is a corpse of the recently deceased, the body is not present at the divinatory séance. Two stages of consultation are worthy of note here. The first begins shortly after the arrival of consultants. The diviner-shaman reveals the essential elements of the case without any help from consultants. From time to time, he sniffs at, and looks in, a small mirror where ritual medicines (or ritual power objects) have been attached. Diviner-shamans report that their principal source of information resides in their powers of clairvoyance.

When the diviner-shaman is ready to initiate a consultation, he enters into an altered state of consciousness. Speaking in a rhythmical and melodious fashion, he uses a secret language to pose a series of fixed yes-or-no questions (Beir 1975, 124–125). These questions help him to develop a body of knowledge that can then be used to determine the precise nature of the present misfortune or poor social relationship experienced by the afflicted, such as a theft, an act of sorcery, or a violation of matrimonial and uterine rights. The diviner's success at this phase of the consultation is determined solely by his clairvoyant talents, in principle without the aid of any significant external information. The diviner-shaman must identify the main factors in the consultation, learn the client's identity and trace the relationships between the individuals concerned, describe the place where the events occurred, and, indeed, determine whether the case concerns death, illness, difficulty in some important enterprise, or an act of sorcery. If they are satisfied with the diviner's description of the problem, the consultants may furnish additional details before making installments on the agreed payment.

The second phase of the consultation is strictly concerned with finding the causes of the trouble. It does not take place until the following morning because the diviner-shaman must be allowed to consult his dreams in order to corroborate his clairvoyance and allude to precise events in the evolution of the illness and the family history. More importantly, dreams constitute a focal point of the forces that affect the eruption of the affliction in the individual and in family life. Among the dreamlike images that come to the diviner-shaman's mind are actions blamed on uncles, sorcery, ritual treatments received by the ill person, initiations, or a curse. Then, on the basis of facts gleaned through clairvoyance, the diviner-shaman applies a kind of causal grid (Devisch 1991; 1993, 169–178) to the situation at hand. In so doing, the diviner-shaman directs the blame for the affair affecting the patient toward various family members involved.

Social Contexts

It will be plain that divination seeks to answer social needs. Here, it is critical to distinguish between the oracle proper and its social use, namely the strategies guiding the consultants in their subsequent reinterpretation, of the divinatory assertions in a family council. Diviner-shamans are expected not only to justify their claims to their audience by offering criteria substantiating their skills and source of their knowledge, but also to demonstrate some degree of impartiality. Divination entails the basic assumption that human relations may be the cause of affliction. Divinatory etiologies subject disorder and misfortune to basic social rules of exchange in the agnatic, uterine, and matrimonial circuits of social reciprocity, and reintroduce clients into a more orderly level of discourse that carries with it authority in the society.

Matters of divination are thus constituted by the intertwining of anomaly and norm, of deficient and normal, or of social, cosmological, and bodily domains. The problem situation is expressed nonverbally through the diviner's body. Although the divination described here pertains solely to the Yaka, it is clear that their neighbors have also widely resorted to the same practice. What is peculiar to the Yaka, however, is the fact that the institution has survived and continued to express the deep-seated belief that only people with special powers can command forces and bring them to bear on individuals and the society as a whole.

René Devisch

See also: Ancestor Worship in Africa; Divination; Mami Wata Religion; Zarma Spirit Mediums

References and further reading:

Beir, Léon de. 1975. *Religion et Magie des Bayaka* [Religion and Magic of the Bayaka]. St. Augustin bei Bonn: Anthropos.

Bourgeois, Arthur. 1983. "Mukoko Ngoombu: Yaka Divination Paraphernalia." *African Arts* 16, no. 3: 56–59, 80.

De Boeck, Filip, and René Devisch. 1994. "Ndembu, Luunda and Yaka Divination Compared." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 24: 98–133.

Devisch, René. 1985. "Perspectives on Divination in Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa." Pp. 50–83 in *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion.* Edited by Wim van Binsbergen and Matthew Schoffeleers. London: Kegan Paul.

———. 1991. "Mediumistic Divination among the Northern Yaka of Zaire: Etiology and Ways of Knowing." Pp. 112–135 in *African Divination Systems.* Edited by Philip Peek. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1993. *Weaving the Threads of Life: The Khita Gyn-eco-logical Healing Cult among the Yaka.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1996. "'Pillaging Jesus: Healing Churches and the Villagization of Kinshasa." *Africa* 66: 555–586.

Devisch, René, and Claude Brodeur. 1999. *The Law of the Lifegivers: The Domestication of Desire.* Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Dumon, Dirk, and René Devisch. 1991. *The Oracle of Maama Tseembu.* 50 min. film in English, German, French, and Dutch versions. Belgian-Flemish Radio and Television: Science Section.

Janzen, John. 1992. *Ngoma: Discourses of Healing in Central and Southern Africa.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

ZARMA SPIRIT MEDIUMS (NIGER)

People who might be called shamans elsewhere are called *zimas* by the Zarma. Zimas are ritual and spiritual specialists who work variously as healers, clairvoyants, spirit mediums, possession and trance experts, and sorcerers. They may be men or women of any social group (Stoller 1989, 37). They still play an important role in their society, in spite of increasing disapproval from orthodox Muslims.

Background

The Zarma (Djerma, Djarma) are an ethnic group living predominantly in the areas surrounding riverine Niger, working historically as farmers and fishermen. Through the latter eighteenth century, the Zarma were concentrated mainly in territories in southern and southwestern Niger (de Sardan 1984, 21). Yet with the onset of the French colonial epoch at the turn of the twentieth century and the changes in political economy that ensued,

many Zarma spread north and east from these areas. Zarma speak a dialect of the Songhay language, and maintain that they are "cousins" to the Songhay (Songai, Sonraï), a large ethnic group occupying stretches of southern and southeastern Mali. Frequently the term *Songhay* is used in place of *Zarma,* or the two are hyphenated as Zarma-Songhay. Most Zarma in Niger, however, differentiate themselves from the Songhay, explaining that, though cousins, the Songhay are a distinct ethnic group living to the west near the border with Mali.

Zarma social structure recognizes distinctions between people, differentiating between noble and nonnoble free persons *(bourcin)* and the descendants of slaves *(banniya)* or captives *(tam)* (Marty 1931, 30ff., 190ff.; de Sardan 1984, 91; Stoller 1989, 17–18). These social distinctions, however, are not analogous to castes, since they are neither exclusively drawn in terms of occupational group, nor do they correspond with concrete expectations of conduct (de Sardan 1984, 27, 56). Even before the French abolished slavery in their West African colonies in 1898, Zarma slaves could buy their freedom; although free, however, they could never be noble. The children of slaves, at least initially, had limited options. Most became farmers, artisans, musicians, or griots; alternatively, they remained slaves in the service of the patron to whom, or in whose lineage to which, their parents were indentured (Stoller 1981, 767). At present, although hierarchical social distinctions continue to be recognized and to constitute a significant part of social life, such distinctions are of less importance than they were in the past.

Cosmology and Systems of Belief

Dualism is a fundamental and recurrent theme in Zarma cosmology. The earth is suspended between heaven *(béné iyé)* and hell *(ganda iyé),* each comprising seven spheres (Hama 1967, 11). Irkoy (from *iri,* "our," and *koy,* "master") is the supreme deity and resides in the seventh and highest sphere of heaven (Hama 1967, 11; de Sardan 1982, 221), with spirits called *holle* occupying the six spheres below. The seven spheres of heaven are organized in such a way that the most mundane spirits occupy the lower spheres and hence are closer to humans, while the more powerful are in the upper spheres and closer to Irkoy. Although Irkoy constantly shapes the fate of the people and that of the world, the people have no direct recourse to him. Spirits in the sixth tier of heaven act as messengers *(n'debbi)* between humans and Irkoy (Stoller 1989, 25). Thus Zarma conceptualize their cosmology as a chain of influence between Irkoy, holle spirits, and humans.

The Zarma pantheon is multi-ethnic (with Zarma, Hausa, Fulani, and Tuareg holle, among others) and populated by distinct lineages of holle. The most predominant are *tooru* (nobles, deities of nature), *genji kwaare* (white spirits; that is, Muslims), *genji bi* (black spirits; earth or hell deities, sometimes evil), *hargay* (deities associated with cold, death, infertility), *genji Hausa* (Hausa spirits; associated with trade, sickness, death) (Stoller 1989, xx-xxii, 25; cf. Hama 1967, 24ff.; 1968, 40ff.; de Sardan 1982, 209ff.). There are, of course, alternate and additional holle lineages, which differ by locality within the Zarma areas of Niger.

The Zarma notion of dualism extends to morality as well. To them, the world consists of a constant flux between good and bad. Likewise, each individual embodies good and bad forces *(fundi).* Good comes from the father, inherited through blood; bad comes from the mother via mother's milk (Hama 1967, 10–12). The Zarma, then, hold that they live on an earth suspended between heaven and hell and that their own bodies contain positive and negative moral powers inherited patrilineally and matrilineally, respectively. Further, the theme of duality continues in terms of personhood. The individual *(boro)* has a body *(gaa)* and a double *(bia),* sometimes described as a soul (de Sardan 1982, 209). The Zarma believe that most things in the world, animate and inanimate, have doubles. More importantly, the Zarma believe that the double of a zima is able to receive holle, as well as other doubles, and then act as their medium (Hama 1967, 18).

Zimas

Like shamans, many zimas are part-time ritual specialists, in that they ply other trades as well. Generally, the right to be a zima descends through the paternal line, yet not all who could theoretically become zimas do so. Connections with specific holle are inherited, but more importantly, so is the ability to control them

(Hama 1967, 11–12; de Sardan 1982, 209). In some areas, however, the capacity to become a zima is not inherited through the father at all, but rather demonstrated through works or desire. Potential zimas are formally initiated after a training period marked by servitude and apprenticeship to another zima (Hama 1967, 18). Afterwards, they maintain their position through a record of results, as well as through demonstrated knowledge of the orchestration of various rituals, rites, and ceremonies (Stoller 1989, 35).

Zimas are not the only spirit mediums in Zarma culture, but they are considered the most knowledgeable ones. As such, they have as a primary duty the organization of possession rituals wherein holle communicate to the community and specific people through spirit mediums, the majority of whom are women. By and large, possession ceremonies take the form of ritual dances. In this context, the zima's duties include preparation of the staging area, making the necessary sacrifices beforehand, and overseeing dancers, musicians, spirit mediums, and other members of the cast.

Possession Ceremonies

The general purpose of a dance is to induce spirit possession. Because specific holle bring about particular illnesses, communicating with them through spirit mediums may bring to light means to cure the ills that they are causing, either by following their instructions or by forcing them to leave the affected individual (de Sardan 1982, 211). Thus possession is a means to identify a personal problem so that it may be fixed. During the ceremony, the zima supervises the spirit mediums and interprets the messages they deliver. The possession ceremony begins with the zima reciting his genealogy, thus reiterating his ancestral ties. He beseeches the ancestors individually and then together as a representation of the overall spiritual force of the lineage (Hama 1967, 11). Music commences next, common instruments being the monochord violin, various drums, and (always) calabashes. Dancers dance in a circle, moving gently to a slow tempo. As the tempo increases, the dancers form a line, dancing and stomping about faster than before. Finally, the music reaches a furious crescendo coinciding with a fevered pace of dance and the onset of spirit possession. Once possession occurs, the music slows (Stoller 1989, 2–19). At this point, the zima interacts with the possessed spirit mediums, listening to and questioning them. Throughout the dancing, and especially in the latter stages, dancers are tipped by the audience. And at times even the zima will dance, sometimes (though infrequently) even to the point of possession.

During spirit possession, the spirit displaces the medium's body double (i.e., soul) (Stoller 1989, 31). Certain holle regularly possess certain people. Nevertheless, the same spirit may enter several people at different times (de Sardan 1982, 419–20). Spirits signal their desire to enter a new medium by causing pain in the person. A zima diagnoses the malady and rectifies it either by helping rid the person of the spirit and hence the pain or helping the person to become possessed in order to interrogate the holle (de Sardan 1982, 209). Once mediums are possessed, they are given a standardized costume to wear associated with the particular type of holle believed to possess them. During the dance, holle speak through their mediums, offering commentary about the community at large and providing instructions to specific people about what to do in order to complete a variety of successful undertakings. The zima then supervise people's actions afterwards and use their expertise to make sure the prescriptions are carried out attentively. In so doing, zimas often provide magical charms *(kotte),* which allow holle to appear in secret, often under cover of darkness, exclusively to the people wearing the charms (Stoller 1989, 6, 12ff.). As with the dance, yet now on a one-to-one basis, the holle provide people with instructions to do certain things, the accomplishment of which proves beneficial (de Sardan 1982, 419–420).

Dynamism Past and Present

Both Zarma cosmology and religious practice are dynamic rather than static. In the course of the last several decades, new lineages of holle have emerged; with these new spirits, zimas too have adopted new means of ritually engaging them. Thus inasmuch as the Zarma conceive of their universe, their world, and the people in it as comprising fundamental and important dualities constantly in articulation, so too do these themes appear in venues of ritual practice such as possession ceremonies.

Indeed, Zarma spiritual practices are embedded in histories of change. During the initial phases of the Islamization of Niger, public possession ceremonies became more visible—either because they were increasingly staged or simply because people came to define them in newer terms or in comparison to Islam. Interestingly, this has led some to speculate that such practices, since they were a shift from domestic (viz. family) practice to community practice, served to rearticulate community identity in the face of changes in the role of religion in daily life; that is, things came to be done not only in common but on behalf of the community as a whole (Stoller 1989, 19ff.). Nevertheless, there is a decided individualism underlying many of the motivations for frequenting a zima. And the long-term changes in the religious demography of Niger have seen Zarma conversion to Islam en masse. Possession rituals and zimas as their practitioners have come to be contested by Zarma Muslims and other Muslims. Due to such pressure, many rituals are now performed in private, usually domestic, spaces, or even in hiding at times.

For their part, zimas maintain that they are neither intolerant of Islam as a religion nor Muslims as people. In fact one zima in Niger took upon himself the healing of an ailing marabout (Muslim holy man)—though of course the marabout did not ask for the favor (Stoller 1989, xii). On the other hand, marabouts tend to be rather intolerant of zimas. Some avoid zimas at all costs, while others confront them openly and in Islamic terms. In a country where an overwhelming majority of the populace (circa 98 percent) claims to be Muslim, the fact that zimas and those who frequent them are a marked minority cannot be ignored.

Noah Butler

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Hausa Shamanistic Practices; Marabouts and Magic; Spirit Possession; Sufism and Shamanism

References and further reading:

de Sardan, Jean-Pierre Olivier. 1982. *Concepts et conceptions songhay-zarma.* Paris: Nubia.

———. 1984. *Les sociétés songhay-zarma (Niger-Mali): chefs, guerriers, esclaves, paysans. . . .* Paris: Karthala.

Hama, Boubou. 1967. *L'histoire traditionelle d'un peuple: Les zarmas-songhay.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

———. 1968. *Histoire des songhay.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

Marty, Paul. 1931. *L'Islam et les Tribus dans la Colonie du Niger.* 2d ed. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Rouch, Jean. 1982 [1960]. *La religion et la magie songhay.* 2d ed. Brussels: University of Bruxelles.

Stoller, Paul. 1981. "Social Political Interaction and the Management of Songhay Socio-Political Change." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 51: 765–780.

———. 1989. *Fusion of the Worlds: An Ethnography of Possession among the Songhay of Niger.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stoller, Paul, and Cheryl Olkes. 1987. *In Sorcery's Shadow: A Memoir of Apprenticeship among the Songhay of Niger.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Vidal, Laurent. 1990. *Rituels de possession dans le sahel: Exemples peul et zarma du Niger.* Paris: Harmattan.

ZULU SHAMANISM (SOUTH AFRICA)

The word *shamanism* is not typically used in South Africa, but Zulu-speaking peoples have long-standing practices of traditional healing, divination, and spirit mediation. Traditional healers have maintained these practices, constantly adjusting them to new sociopolitical and economic circumstances. The last two centuries have also seen the creation of African religious practices that draw on the teachings of mission Christianity while retaining aspects of traditional spiritual belief. The Zulu religious outlook is both diverse and flexible. Traditional healers may be partially Christianized and engaged with the modern economy. Zulu people may lead relatively Western or Christian lives while retaining a belief in traditional religious practices.

Traditional Spiritual Beliefs

Within the traditional Zulu belief system in its contemporary form, there are two "high gods," or primal deities. Umvelinqangi is the first being, the creator, and uNomkuhbulwane, or

Zulu medicine man wearing beaded necklaces and a fur headband, ca. 1995, Shakaland, Zululand, South Africa. (Nik Wheeler/Corbis)

Inkosazane yezulu, is the princess of the sky, or heaven, responsible for the weather and the success of harvests, but otherwise not commonly referred to in day-to-day life. The spirits of the unborn, the recently deceased, and the ancestors *(abaphansi)* live among the people and play active roles in the decisions and fortunes of the living. It is with these spirits that diviners communicate on behalf of their customers.

The Diviner

Diviners in Zulu society are individuals with exceptional awareness of the spiritual realm. They act as mediators between the ancestral spirits and the living. Diviners spend a portion of their day in prayer and constantly make sacrifices to the spirits in order to keep their visions clear. If a diviner loses her power to communicate with the spirits, the surrounding community will recognize this and go elsewhere for advice. The diviner's livelihood depends on the satisfaction of her customers. Divination is a principally female realm, although men do also practice.

The diviner, traditional healer, *inyanga,* or *isangoma*, acts as healer, spirit medium, social counselor, and decision maker. Most misfortunes in Zulu society are believed to result from some displeasure or unrest among the ancestral spirits. These misfortunes can normally be overcome by pacifying the ancestors through specific ritual practices. Called upon in times of illness, misfortune, and social imbalance, the diviner is asked to ascertain the source of the problem and to reestablish a sense of social, physical, and spiritual equilibrium. A diviner should not be confused with a medicine man. The latter has expertise in herbs and medicines, but no particular connection with the spirits. The two work in cooperation by referring customers to one another for further treatment.

Divination is not hereditary, nor does one make a conscious choice to become a diviner. Instead, someone destined to be a diviner will experience a period of severe illness. Typical symptoms include constant dreaming of wild animals and snakes, pains in the body (particularly the shoulders, where the spirits are believed to rest), failing to wash, repeatedly sneezing and yawning, hearing voices, convulsions, weeping, singing out at night, and a fondness for snuff. A woman may become sterile, a man a hunchback. This can go on for months or more and normally ends when the family takes the sick person to consult with a diviner. Once the sufferer has been diagnosed, training can begin. If the family desperately wants to avoid the person becoming a diviner, then the spirit, who is causing the symptoms in order to call the person to the role of a diviner, can be "barred" through powerful divination processes. This is rare, and the person will remain weak for the rest of her life. Otherwise, a novice is trained by another diviner who is often chosen by the spirit itself. A process of sacrifices establishes which ancestral spirit is trying to occupy the initiate. Thereafter the initiate will learn about medicines and cleanse the body of imperfections that may inhibit possession. Possession, or full contact with the spirit, will be facilitated through the Nqwambisa ceremony, when medicine is taken and a goat is slaughtered and spread across the initiate's body. Training is completed, and the

diviner receives final public recognition with a feast welcoming the initiate to her new status as a diviner.

There are several kinds of diviners. A thumb diviner, *izinyanga Zesithupa,* diagnoses and suggests a solution for problems with the cooperation and assistance of the client. As the diviner offers interpretative suggestions, the client expresses agreement by banging sticks against the ground, or by saying *ngiyavuma* (I agree) with varying levels of enthusiasm. A stick diviner, *amabukuluzinti*, uses three or four foot-long sticks. Their movement in response to a question helps to diagnose the problem and indicate the correct path of action. In the province of KwaZulu-Natal, a bone diviner, *amathambo,* uses the most common divining method. A collection of thirty to forty animal bones, cowry shells, claws, and roots will be thrown and their positions "read" for messages. Each object has one or more symbolic meanings and is read in relationship to the other objects to expose truths or to get advice. The bones can simply be collected, or acquired mysteriously. Whistling diviners, *abalozi,* are the most powerful and directly connected to the ancestral spirits, so the biggest problems are referred to them. Spirits speak directly to the client in a whistling voice, often coming from the roof of the diviner's hut. The diviner interprets the voice when the client cannot understand. The spirits may ask for food; in return medicines will fall from the roof.

The Heaven Doctor

A heaven doctor takes his power from heaven rather than the ancestors. Any man can take this position (often prompted by encountering heavenly good fortune) and can be trained, briefly, by another heaven doctor. He will lead a life of restrictions and fasting in order to maintain his power. It is his role to ward off lightning, thunder, and hail (some of the few misfortunes believed to originate from heaven rather than ancestral displeasure). The heaven doctor will "proof" a village against lightning strikes and go out during storms to pacify the elements.

Spirit Possession

There are two main types of spirit possession: *indiki* and *ufufunyane.* Indiki possession occurs when the spirit of a recently deceased person fails to become integrated with the ancestral spirits and takes possession of a random living body. Someone possessed in this way becomes ill or deranged until a diviner exorcises the spirit by integrating it into the spirit world. The person's openness to spirit possession may also indicate potential as a diviner, and training will ensue. Ufufunyane possession is a result of sorcery (see below), and will cause sickness and madness.

Sorcery

Sorcery, *abathakathi,* is the use of medicines and magic to bring evil and misfortune. Sorcerers work at night with wild cats, snakes, owls, wolves, or baboons as helpers. *Night sorcerers* are born evil and harm people for no reason. Always men, they are believed to dig up corpses to transform them into dwarfs and use them as night-time laborers to get ahead of their neighbors. They spread medicines along pathways and in the homes of their victims. Medicines can be targeted to an individual by adding that individual's "body dirt" (urine, feces, hair, nails). Night sorcerers are rarely openly identified within a community, but selfish, antisocial individuals with disproportionate wealth or good fortune are often suspected. *Day sorcerers* orchestrate misfortune by administering bad medicines or interfering with sacrificial rites. Day sorcery is directed toward specific people due to personal animosity and can be practiced by both men and women. *Lineage sorcerers* are male, and work together within their family unit. Not all descendants within a lineage are sorcerers, but those who are work together to create misfortune and unrest. Often different branches of the family use sorcery against one another to claim the maximum ancestral power.

New Forms of Divination and Healing

In 1892, Wesleyan minister Mangena M. Mokone broke away from mission authority to form the first independent black church. Since then, numerous denominations have proliferated. Many have maintained close adherence to missionary forms of worship, but others have combined Christian teachings with traditional modes of thinking. Two of the religious follow-

ings with the strongest shamanistic inflections are the Zionist and Nazarite groups.

Zionism

Around 1900, a small group of Protestants in South Africa began to connect together through the name "Zion." Numerous churches now fall under the umbrella term of Zionism, but all identify with faith healing, baptism, the Pentecostal gift of speaking in tongues, and taboos against the consumption of pork, beer, tobacco, and blood. Zionism resonated powerfully with African traditional beliefs—most notably through the centrality of dreams, healing, and the spirit *(umoya.)* Paradoxically, Zionists condemn many traditional practices and consider them to be the work of demons.

Zionists will receive dreams and visions in which the spirit (umoya) protects them, gives them advice, and prophesies through the voice of angels. These visions may come during the night or in the daytime; they help to reinforce the faith of believers, or to convert nonbelievers. Zionism recognizes two form of possession: by demons through sorcery and by umoya (the spirit). Both forms of possession can provoke thinness, nervousness, and fanatic behavior. Possession by umoya can be permanent, but is most often expressed through speaking in tongues (unknown languages) during emotional points in a religious service. Zionists reject Western medicine's ability to cure sickness, believing it to facilitate possession by demons. They see the traditional healer or diviner as possessed by demons and encouraging possession in others. Sickness is another form of demonic possession. Healing and cleansing are therefore critical. These are achieved through baptism and healing ceremonies. As in thumb divining, the healer offers a prophetic diagnosis of the illness, and the sick person responds with varying degrees of enthusiasm, depending on the accuracy of the diagnosis. The demons are commanded to leave the body while the congregation looks on and sings in a heightened state of religious emotion, or Christianized possession.

The Nazarites

Ibandla lamaNazaretha was founded by Isaiah Shembe in the early twentieth century in KwaZulu-Natal. Initially an itinerant preacher and healer, Isaiah quickly gathered a following, mostly of widows, orphans, and victims of state legislation that drove black South Africans off the land. Isaiah Shembe died in 1935 and has been succeeded by his brothers and sons. The name Shembe may refer to any of the successive Nazarite leaders, but also refers to the cosmological lineage, and like the name Jesus for Western Christians, is believed by Nazarite members to be imbued with power. The Nazarite belief in Shembe as part God/part prophet/part healer is fostered through the expressive domains of song, dance, dreams, and miracles of healing. These domains reflect the combined influences of traditional Nguni ritual, mission Christianity, and contemporary Zulu social life.

The Nazarites place dreams and visions at the center of their religious epistemology, regarding them as communications from and with the heavenly realm. These dreams often document the prophet Shembe healing, sheltering, counseling, or rescuing his followers in miraculous circumstances. Others feature ancestors, Jesus, or traditional Nguni gods. The public sharing of these narratives strengthens the spiritual wealth and power of the entire community. Shembe composed his own hymns after visitation from messengers of heaven, often in the form of young girls. Isaiah and Galilee, two of Shambe's successors, received many songs in this way. Their ability to receive these heavenly messages contributed greatly to the credentials of the Shembe lineage as spiritual leaders. In fact Isaiah Shembe's initial legitimacy as a leader is established in the Nazarite myth that describes him being called by God in a dream to minister to the Nguni traditionalists of KwaZulu-Natal.

Isaiah was endowed with a remarkable power to heal. His troubled early life, which included a severe illness, points to patterns similar to those that are evidenced in the calling of a traditional healer. The power to communicate with ancestral spirits is pivotal to Shembe's role as spiritual medium. After receiving a monetary gift, Shembe, as the personification of the ancestors, acts as intercessor for the living. In return, the ancestors provide protection from misfortune. Should misfortune occur, the ancestors speak through Shembe to explain the causes and prescribe remedies. The spiritual force of the heavens and the ancestors in the

lives of Nazarite followers is evidence of the power of Shembe to work the miraculous in their lives.

Hilary Moore
Carol Muller

See also: African Traditional Medicine; Ancestor Worship in Africa; Cape Nguni Shamanism

References and further reading:

Gluckman, Max. 1954. *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa.* Manchester University Press.

Hewat, Matthew. 1970 [1906]. *Bantu Folklore, Medical and General.* Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press.

Kiernan, J. P. 1990. *The Production and Management of Therapeutic Power in Zionist Churches within a Zulu City.* Lewiston, NY: Mellon.

Krige, Eileen J. 1950 [1936]. *The Social System of the Zulus.* Pietermaritz: Shuter and Shooter.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1966. "Spirit Possession and Deprivation Cults." *Man* 1, no.3: 307–329.

Ngubane, Harriet. 1977. *Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine: An Ethnography of Health and Disease in Nyuswa-Zulu Thought and Practice.* London and New York: Academic Press.

Peek, Philip. 1991. *African Divination Systems: Ways of Knowing.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Sundkler, Bengt. 1948. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa.* London: Lutterworth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdalla, Ismail H. 1991. "Neither Friend nor Foe: The *Malam* Practitioner–Yan Bori Relationship in Hausaland." Pp. 37–48 in *Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond.* Edited by I. M. Lewis, Ahmed Al-Safi, and Sayyid Hurreiz. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Aberle, David F. 1959. "The Prophet Dance and Reactions to White Contact." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15: 74–83.

———. 1966. *The Peyote Religion among the Navajo.* Chicago: Aldine.

———. 1970. "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as Applied to Millenarian and Other Cult Movements." Pp. 209–214 in *Millennial Dreams in Action.* Edited by Sylvia L. Thrupp. New York: Schocken Books. Original edition, The Hague: Mouton, 1962.

———. 1982. *The Peyote Religion among the Navajo.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Abramzon, Saul Matvejeviç. 1971. "Relegija i kul't" [Religion and cult]. Pp. 258–355 in *Kirgizi i ikh etnografiçeskije i istoriko-kul'turnije svjazi* [Kirghiz and their ethnography and historical-cultural relations]. Glava VI. Leningrad (Saint Petersburg): "Nauka."

Acerbi, Giuseppe. 1802. *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape in the Years 1798 and 1799.* 2 vols. London: J. Mawman.

Achebe, Chinua. 1958. *Things Fall Apart.* London: Heinemann.

———. 1975. *Morning Yet on Creation Day: Essays.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Achoubisana, R. K. 1990. "Lai-haraoba: The Gods Rejoice." Pp. 11–18 in *Dances of Manipur: The Classical Tradition.* Edited by Saryu Doshi. Mumbai: Marg.

Achterberg, Jeanne. 1985. *Imagery in Healing: Shamanism and Modern Medicine.* Boston: New Science Library, Shambhala.

———. 1987. "The Shaman: Master Healer in the Imaginary Realm." Pp. 103–124 in *Shamanism.* Edited by Shirley Nicholson. Wheaton, IL: The Theosophical Publishing House.

Ackerknecht, Erwin Heinz. 1943. "Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine and Primitive Culture." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 14: 30–67.

Adler, M. 1986. *Drawing Down the Moon.* Boston: Beacon.

Afanassev, A. N. 1988, 1990, 1992. *Les Contes Populaires Russes* [The Russian folktales]. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

Afanassev, Nikolaevich. 1869. *Poeticeskie Vozrenja slavjan na Prirodu.* Moscow: Izd. K. Soldatenkova.

Aflalo, Fred. 1996. *Candomblé: Uma Visão do Mundo* [Candomblé: A vision of the world]. São Paulo: Ed. Mandarim.

Agapitov, Nikolai Nikolaevich, and Matvei Nikolaevich Khangalov. 1883. *Shamanstovo u Buryat v Irkutskoi guvernii* [Buryat shamanism in Irkutsk province]. Irkutsk: Izvestia Vostochno-Sibirswkovo otdela Russkovo Geograficheskovo Obshchestva 14, 1–2.

Aggarwal, Ravina. 1994. "From Mixed Strain of Barley Grains: Person and Place in a Ladakhi Village." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.

Aguinario, Benito. 1993. *Fées, Dieux et Déesses au Moyen Age* [Fairies, gods, and goddesses during the Middle Ages]. Colloque organisé par le Centre d'Etudes médiévales et dialectales de Lille, 3 [Colloquium organized by the Center of Medieval and Dialect Studies of Lille, 3]. Villeneuve d'Ascq.

Ahern, Emily. 1975. "The Power and Pollution of Chinese Women." In *Women in Chinese Society.* Edited by Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Aigle, Denise, B. Brac de la Perrière, and J.-P. Chaumeil, eds. 2000. *La Politique des esprits: Chamanismes et religions universalistes.* Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie.

Ainu Association of Hokkaidō. N.d. *Brochure on the Ainu People.* Sapporo: Ainu Association of Hokkaidō.

Alekseev, Nikolai A. 1959. "Kult ajyy—Plemennyh bozhestv, pokrowitelej jakutov" [Cult of spirits—The

clan gods, patrons of the Yakuts]. *Etnograficheskij sbornik* 5: 145–170.

———. 1984. *Shamanism tiurkojazychnyh narodov Sibiri* [Shamanism of the Turkic-speaking peoples of Siberia]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Alexiades, Miguel N., and Didier Lacaze D. 1996. "FENAMAD's Program in Traditional Medicine: An Integrated Approach to Health Care in the Peruvian Amazon." Pp. 341–365 in *Medicinal Resources of the Tropical Forest: Biodiversity and Its Importance to Human Health.* Edited by Michael J. Balick, Elaine Elisabetsky, and Sarah A. Laird. New York: Columbia University Press.

Alexie, Sherman 1993. *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven.* New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

Allen, Catherine J. 1988. *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Allen, Nicholas J. 1976a. "Shamanism among the Thulung Rai." Pp. 124–140 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

———. 1976b. "Approaches to Illness in the Nepalese Hills." Pp. 500–552 in *Social Anthropology and Medicine.* Edited by J. B. Loudon. London and New York: Academic Press.

Allende, Isabel. 1993. *The House of the Spirits.* New York: Bantam Books.

Alman, Brian M., and Peter Lambrou. 1990. *Self-Hypnosis. The Complete Manual for Health and Self-Change.* New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Alonqueo, Martín. 1979. *Instituciones Religiosas del Pueblo Mapuche* [Religious Institutions of the Mapuche People]. Santiago: Ediciones Nueva Universidad.

Alva, Walter, Mario Polía, Fabiola Chávez, and Luis Hurtado, eds. 2000. *Shamán: La Búsqueda . . .* [Shaman: The search]. Córdoba, Spain: Imprenta San Pablo.

Anagnost, Ann S. 1987. "Politics and Magic in Contemporary China." *Modern China* 13, no. 1: 40–61.

Andersen, Johannes C. 1977. Reprint. *The Maori Tohunga and His Spirit World.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, 1948.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. 1990. "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture." In *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Andreev, Michail. 1953. *Tajiki doliny Khyf* [The Tajiks of Khuf Valley]. Dushanbe: Izdatel'stvo AN Tajikskoy SSR.

Andrews, Ted. 2001. *Animal Speak: The Spiritual and Magical Powers of Creatures Great and Small.* Saint Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications.

Andritzky, Walter. 1989a. *Schamanismus und Rituelles heilen im alten Peru.* Berlin: Verlag C. Zerling.

———. 1989b. "Sociopsychotherapeutic Functions of Ayahuasca Healing in Amazonia." *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 21, no. 1: 77–89.

Angrand, Armand-Pierre. 1943. *Manuel Français-Oulof.* Dakar: F. Nathan.

Anisimov, Arkadii F. 1958. *Religija evenkov v istoriko-geneticheskom izuchenii i problemy proischozhdenia pervobytnyh verovanij* [Religion of the Evenki: Historical-genetic study and the problem of the origin of primitive beliefs]. Moscow: Leningrad.

———. 1963. "Cosmological Concepts of the Peoples of the North." Pp. 157–229 in *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Edited by Henry N. Michael. Arctic Institute of North America, Anthropology of the North: Translations from Russian Sources no. 4. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Anokhin, Andrei V. 1924. *Materialy po shamanstvu u altaitsev* [Materials on shamanism among the Altai]. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo RAN.

Anttonen, Veikko. 1994. "Transcending Bodily and Territorial Boundaries: Interpreting Shamanism as a Form of Religion." *Shaman* 2: 99–107.

———. 2000a. "Sacred." Pp. 271–282 in *Guide to the Study of Religion.* Edited by W. Braun and R. T. McCutcheon. London: Cassell.

———. 2000b. "The Enigma of the Sacred Pillar: Explaining the Sampo." Pp. 165–192 in *Ethnography Is a Heavy Rite: Studies of Comparative Religion in Honor of Juha Pentikäinen.* Edited by Nils G. Holm et al. Religionsvetenskapliga Skrifter no. 47. Åbo: Åbo akademi.

Anuchin, V. I. 1914. *Shamanstva u Eniseiskikh' Ostiakov'* [Shamanism among the Yenisei Ostyak]. Saint Petersburg: Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk'.

Appell, George, and Laura Appell. 1993. "To Converse with the Gods: Rungus Spirit Mediums." Pp. 3–53 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship, and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert Winzeler. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Appell, George N., and Laura W. Appell. 1993. "To Do Battle with the Spirits: Bulusu's Spirit Mediums." Pp. 55–99 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Appiah-Kubi, Kofi. 1981. *Man Cures, God Heals. Religion and Medical Practice Among the Akans of Ghana.* New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun Publishers.

Applbaum, Kalman, and Jerome M. Levi. 2003. "Fluid Signs of Commodity Fetishism: The Cosmologies of Coca-Cola and Tesguino." *Research in Economic Anthropology* 22 (Fall): 283–298.

Applegate, Richard. 1967. *Atishwin: The Dream Helper in South-Central California*. Socorro, NM: Ballena Press.

Arakchaa, Kara-kis. 1995. *Atlas of Arshan (Mineral Springs) of Tuva.* Moscow: Poli-Kom.

Araújo, Fernando César. 1997. *Imagens Arquetípicas na Religião Africano-Brasileira* [Archetypal Images in Afro-Brazilian Religion]. Presentation at the V Congresso Africano-Brasileiro—Salvador, Bahia. Published in *Annals of the Federal University of Bahia.*

Arévalo, G. 1986 "El ayahuasca y el curandero Shipibo-Conibo del Ucayali (Perú)" [Ayahuasca and the Shipibo-Conibo healers of Ucayali]. *América Indígena* 46, no. 1: 147–161.

Århem, Kaj. 1998. *Makuna: Portrait of an Amazonian People.* Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Artaud, Antonin. 1958. *The Theater and Its Double.* Translated by Mary Caroline Richards. New York: Grove.

Aschmann, Homer. 1968. "Historical Accounts and Archaeological Discoveries." *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 4, no. 1.

Ashe, Geoffrey. 1990. *Mythology of the British Isles.* North Pomfret, VT: Trafalgar Square.

Ashforth, Adam. 2000. *Madumo: A Man Bewitched.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Atkinson, Jane Monnig. 1987. "The Effectiveness of Shamans in an Indonesian Ritual." *American Anthropologist* 89: 342–355.

———. 1989. *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanism.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1992. "Shamanism Today." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 307–330.

Aveni, Anthony F. 1980. *Skywatchers of Ancient Mexico.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Averbuch, Irit. 1995. *The Gods Come Dancing: A Study of the Japanese Ritual Dance of Yamabushi Kagura.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Series.

Avorgbedor, Daniel. 2000. "A Typology of Sonic Articulations in Healing and Exorcism Practices of the Anlo-Ewe." *World of Music* 42, no. 2: 9–24.

Ba, Saidou Moussa. 1990. *La promessa di Hamadi* [The promise of Hamadi]. Novara: De Agostini.

Bacigalupo, Ana Mariella. 1994. "Variación de Rol de *Machi* en la Cultura Mapuche. Tipología Geográfica, Adaptiva e Iniciática" [Variation in Mapuche Shamans' Roles: Geography, Adaptive and Initiatory Typologies]. *Revista de Antropología Universidad de Chile* 12: 19–43.

———. 1996a. "Identidad, Espacio y Dualidad en los *Perimontun* (Visiones) de *Machi* Mapuche" [Identity, Space and Duality in Mapuche Shamanic Visions]. *Scripta Ethnologica* 18: 37–63.

———. 1996b. "Imágenes de Diversidad y Consenso: La Cosmovisión Mapuche a Través de Trés *Machi*" [Images of Diversity and Consensus: Mapuche Cosmology through the Perspectives of Three Shamans]. *Aisthesis* 28: 120–141. Reprinted in *Mitológicas* 11 (Buenos Aires, Argentina).

———. 1996c. "Mapuche Women's Empowerment as Shaman/Healers." *Annual Review of Women in World Religions* 4: 57–129.

———. 1997. "Las Múltiples Máscaras de *Ngünechen:* Las Batallas Ontológicas y Semánticas del Ser Supremo Mapuche en Chile" [The Multiple Masks of the Ngünechen: Ontological and Semantic Battles of the Mapuche Deity in Chile]. *Journal of Latin American Lore* 20, no. 1: 173–204.

———. 1998a. "Les Chamanes Mapuche et l'Expérience Religieuse Masculine et Féminine" [Mapuche Shamans and Their Masculine and Feminine Religious Experiences]. *Anthropologie et Sociétes* 22, no. 2: 123–143.

———. 1998b. "The Exorcising Sounds of Warfare: Shamanic Healing and the Struggle to Remain Mapuche." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 9, no. 5: 1–16.

———. 2001a. "The Rise of the Mapuche Moon Priestess in Southern Chile." *Annual Review of Women in World Religions* 6: 208–259.

———. 2001b. *La Voz del Kultrun en la Modernidad: Tradición y Cambio en La Terapéutica de Siete Machi* Mapuche [The Voice of the Drum in Modernity: Tradition and Change in the Therapeutic Practices of Seven Machi]. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universidad Católica de Chile.

———. 2003. "Mapuche Shamanic Bodies and the Chilean State: Polemic Gendered Representations and Indigenous Responses." Pp. 322–343 in *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender and the State.* Edited by Arturo Aldama. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 2004a. "The Struggle for *Machi* Masculinities: Colonial Politics of Gender, Sexuality and Power in Chile." *Ethnohistory* 51, no. 3.

———. 2004b. "The Mapuche Man Who Became a Woman Shaman: Selfhood, Gender Transgression, and Competing Cultural Norms." *American Ethnologist* 31, no. 3.

———. 2004c. "Ritual Gendered Relationships: Kinship, Homage, Mastery and Machi Modes of Personhood." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 60, no. 2.

———. Forthcoming. "Gendered Rituals for Cosmic Order: Mapuche Shamanic Struggles for Healing and Fertility." Under review for *Journal of Ritual Studies.*

———. N.d.a. *Shamans of the Winter's Bark Tree: Gender, Power, and Healing among the Chilean Mapuche.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. N.d.b. Shamans' Pragmatic Gendered Negotiations with Mapuche Resistance Movements and Chilean Political Authorities." Under review for *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power.*

Badamxatan, S. 1965. *Xöwsgöliin darxad yastan* [The Darkhad of Xöwsgöl]. Ulaanbaatar: Šinǰlex Uxaii Akademiin Xewlel.

Baer, Gerhard. 1992. "The One Intoxicated by Tobacco: Matsigenka Shamanism." Pp. 79–100 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by Jean

Matteson-Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Baer, Gerhard, and Wayne W. Snell. 1974. "An Ayahuasca Ceremony among the Matsigenka (Eastern Peru)." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 99, nos. 1 and 2: 63–80.

Bahr, Donald, R. Benedict, W. Blackwater, T. Vanyiko, et al. 2001. *O'odham Creation and Related Events.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Bahr, Donald, J. Gregorio, D. Lopez, and A. Alvarez. 1974. *Piman Shamanism and Staying Sickness.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Bahr, Donald, L. Paul, and V. Joseph. 1997. *Ants and Orioles: Showing the Art of Pima Poetry.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Bahr, Donald, J. Smith, W. Allison, and J. Hayden. 1994. *The Short Swift Time of Gods on Earth.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bajalijeva, Toktobübü Džunušaxun-kyzy. 1979. *Doislamskije verovanija i ich perežitki u Kirgizov* [Pre-Islamic beliefs and their survival among the Kyrgz]. Frunze (Bishkek): Ilim.

Bakaeva, E. P. 1994. *Buddism v Kalmikii* [Buddhism in Kalmykia]. Elista, Kalmykia: Kalmitskoe Knizhnoe Izdatelstvo.

Balassa, Iván, and Gyula Ortutay. 1979. *Magyar Néprajz* [Hungarian Ethnography]. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó.

Baldauf, Ingeborg. 1989. "Zur religiösen Praxis özbekischer Frauen in Nordafghanistan" [On the religious practice of Uzbek women in North Afghanistan]. Pp. 45–54 in *Religious and Lay Symbolism in the Altaic World and Other Papers.* Proceedings of the 27th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Walberberg, Federal Republic of Germany, June 12th to 17th. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Baldus, Herbert. 1974. "Shamanism in the Acculturation of a Tupi Tribe of Central Brazil." Pp. 385–390 in *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent.* Edited by Patricia J. Lyon. Boston: Little, Brown.

Balick, Michael J., et al. 2000. "Medicinal Plants Used by Latino Healers for Women's Health Conditions in New York City." *Economic Botany* 54, no. 3: 344–357.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam. 1992. "Dilemmas of the Spirit: Religion and Atheism in the Yakut-Sakha Republic." Pp. 231–251 in *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union.* Edited by Sabrina Ramet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1993. "Shamanism and the Politics of Culture." *Shaman* 1, no. 2: 71–96.

———. 1995. *Culture Incarnate: Native Anthropology from Russia.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

———. 1996a. "Flights of the Sacred." *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 2 (June): 305–318.

———. 1996b. "Sacred Genders in Siberia: Shamans, Bear Festivals, and Androgyny." Pp. 164–182 in *Gender Reversals and Gender Cultures.,* Edited by Sabria Petra Ramet. London: Routledge.

———. 1997. "Introduction." *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia.* Edited by M. Mandelstam Balzer. Armonk, NY: North Castle Books.

———. 1999. *The Tenacity of Ethnicity: A Siberian Saga in Global Perspective.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 2002a. "Healing Failed Faith? Contemporary Siberian Shamanism." *Anthropology and Humanism* 26, no. 2: 134–149.

———. 2002b. "Shamans across Space, Time and Language Barriers." *Shaman* 10, nos. 1 and 2: 7–19.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam, ed. 1990. *Shamanism: Soviet Studies of Traditional Religion in Siberia and Central Asia.* Armonk, NY, and London: M. E. Sharpe.

———. 1997. *Shamanic Worlds. Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia.* Armonk, NY, and London: North Castle Books.

Banks, Caroline Giles. 1996. "'There Is No Fat in Heaven': Religious Asceticism and the Meaning of Anorexia Nervosa." *Ethos* 24: 197–135.

Banzarov, Dorji. 1891. *Black Cult Shamanism of Mongolia.* Saint Petersburg, Russia.

———. 1997. *Collected Works.* Ulan-Ude: Izdabelstro BNT "S."

Barb, A. A. 1961. *The Survival of Magic Arts.* Pp. 100–126 in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century.* Edited by Arnaldo Momigliano. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Barber, Elizabeth Wayland. 1999. *The Mummies of Ürümchi.* New York and London: W. W. Norton.

Barker, John, ed. 1990. *Christianity in Oceania: Ethnographic Perspectives.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Barna, Ferdinánd. 1879. *A mordvaiak pogány istenei és ünnepi szertartásai* [Pagan Gods and Festive Rituals of the Mordva]. Budapest: A. M. T. Akadémia Könyvkiadó-Hivatala.

Barnett, L. D. 1916. "Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese Folklore from Ballad Sources." *The Indian Antiquary* 45: 1–116 (appendix).

Barros, José Flávio Pessoa de. 1998. *Terapêuticas e Culturas* [Therapy Techniques and Cultures]. Rio de Janeiro: University of the State of Rio de Janeiro—InterCon (International Relations, Exchange and Agreements).

Bartold, Vasilii Vladimirovich. 1965. *Bakshi in* Sochineniya [Writings]. Vol. 5. Moskva: Nauka.

———. 1966. "K voprosu o pogrebal'nych obrjadach turkov I mongolov" [On the burial ceremonies of the Turks and Mongols]. *Sochinenija* 4: 377–396.

Basilov, Vladimir Nikolaevich. 1970. *Kul't sviatykh v Islame* [The cult of the sacred in Islam]. Moskva: Mysl.

———. 1975. "Tashmat-bola." *Sovetskaja etnografija* 5: 112–124.

———. 1984. *Izbranniki duchow* [Chosen by the spirits]. Moscow: Politizdat.

———. 1987. "Popular Islam in Central Asia and Kazakhstan." *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 8, no. 1: 7–17.

———. 1989a. "Chosen by the Spirits." *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 28, no. 1: 9–55.

———. 1989b. *Nomads of Eurasia.* Los Angeles: Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County; Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

———. 1990. "Chosen by the Spirits." Pp. 3–48 in *Shamanism. Soviet Studies of Traditional Religion in Siberia and Central Asia.* Edited by Marjorie Mandelstam Balzer. New York: M. E. Sharpe.

———. 1992a. *Šamanstvo u narodov Srednej Aziji i Kazachstana* [Shamanism among the people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan]. Moskva: Nauka.

———. 1992b. "The Scythian Harp and the Kazakh Kobyz: In Search of Historical Connections." Pp. 77–100 in *Foundations of Empire: Archaeology and Art of the Eurasian Steppes.* Edited by Gary Seaman. Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press, Center for Visual Anthropology, University of Southern California.

———. 1995. "The 'Shamanic Disease' in Uzbek Folk Beliefs." *Shaman* 3, no. 1: 3–13.

———. 1996. *Das Schamanentum der Völker mittelsasiens und Kasachstans* [Shamanism among the people of Central Asia and Kazakhstan]. Translation from the Russian by Reinhold Schletzer. Berlin: Verlag in Mittelasiatische Studien Band I.

———. 1997. "Chosen by the Spirits." Pp. 3–48 in *Shamanic Worlds: Rituals and Lore of Siberia and Central Asia.* New York: North Castle Books.

Bastian, Misty. 1993. "'Bloodhounds Who Have No Friends': Witchcraft and Locality in the Nigerian Popular Press." Pp. 129–166 in *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa.* Edited by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bastide, Roger. 1978. *The African Religions of Brazil.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Originally published as *Les Religions africaines au vers une sociologie des interpenetrations de civilisations.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960.

Bastien, Joseph W. 1992. *Drum and Stethoscope: Integrating Ethnomedicine and Biomedicine in Bolivia.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Batchelor, John. 1902. *The Ainu of Japan.* New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell.

Batianova, Yelena. 1995. "Teleuty rasskazyvayut o shamanah" [Teleuts tell about shamans]. Pp. 48–62 in *Shamanism and Early Indigenous Beliefs.* Edited by Dmitriy Funk. Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 1. Moscow: Institut Ethnologii i Antropologii RAN Rossiiskaiya akademiiya Nauk.

Batireva, S. G. 1991. *Starokalmitzkoe Iskusstvo* [Old Kalmykian Art]. Elista, Kalmykia: Kalmitskoe Knizhnoe Izdatelstvo.

Bayer, C. W. 1991. *The Historical Method of the Celtic Harp.* Carson City, NV: Purple Mountain Press.

Beattie, John, and John Middleton, eds. 1969. *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa.* New York: Africana.

Beatty, Andrew. 1999. *Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Becker, Jasper. 1993. *The Lost Country—Mongolia Revealed.* Kent, UK: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., Sceptre Edition.

Beffa, Marie-Lise, and Laurence Delaby. 1999. *Festins d'âmes et robes d'esprits. Les Objets chamaniques du Musée de l'Homme* [Feasts of souls and robes of spirits. The shamanic objects of the Museum of Man]. Paris: Museum national d'histoire naturelle.

Behrend, Heike, and Ute Luig. 1999. *Spirit Possession, Modernity, and Power in Africa.* Madison and Oxford: University of Wisconsin Press and James Currey.

Beir, Léon de. 1975. *Religion et Magie des Bayaka* [Religion and Magic of the Bayaka]. St. Augustin bei Bonn: Anthropos.

Bell, Diane. 1998. *Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin: A World That Is, Was, and Will Be.* Melbourne: Spinifex Press.

Bellér-Hann, Ildikó. 2001a. "'Making the Oil Fragrant.' Dealings with the Supernatural among the Uighur in Xinjiang." *Asian Ethnicity* 2, no. 1: 9–23.

———. 2001b. "Solidarity and Contest among Uyghur Healers in Kazakhstan." *Inner Asia* 3: 73–98.

Bellwood, Peter. 1979. *Man's Conquest of the Pacific: The Prehistory of Southeast Asia and the Pacific.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Belo, Jane. 1969. *Trance in Bali.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Benedict, Ruth. 1923. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America.* Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, no. 29. Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association.

Bennett, Wendell C., and Robert M. Zingg. 1935. *The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Benson, Herbert. 1996. *Timeless Healing.* New York: Scribner.

Benveniste, Emile. 1969. *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes.* 2 vols. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Bereczki, Gábor. 1977. "Széljegyzetek cseremisz gyũjtõfüzetembõl" [Notes from my field journal]. Pp. 233–239 in *Uralisztikai olvasókönyv.* Edited by Péter Domokos. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó.

Berglie, Per-Arne. 1976. "Preliminary Remarks on Some Tibetan Spirit-Mediums in Nepal." *Kailash* 4: 85–108.

———. 1978. "On the Question of Tibetan Shamanism." Pp. 39–51 in *Tibetan Studies.* Edited by

Martin Brauen and Per Kværne. Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich.

———. 1980. "Mount Targo and Lake Dangra: A Contribution to the Religious Geography of Tibet." Pp. 39–44 in *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson.* Edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

———. 1983. *Gudarnas stiger ned. Rituell besatthet hos sherpas och tibetaner* [The Gods Descend: Ritual Possession among Sherpas and Tibetans]. Stockholm: Religionshistoriska institutionen, Stockholms universitet.

———. 1998. "The Gods Appear. From Vision to Possession: Remarks on Visualization and Visibility in Tibetan Religion." Pp. 36–42 in *"Living through the Eyes." Studies in Religious Iconography and Iconology. A Celebratory Publication in Honour of Professor Jan Bergman.* Edited by Peter Schalk. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library.

———. 1999. "They Only Weep. . . . Stories about Tibetan Travellers to the Other Worlds." Pp. 87–96 in *Return to the Silk Routes. Current Scandinavian Research on Central Asia.* Edited by Mirja Juntunen and Birgit Schlyter. London and New York: Kegan Paul International.

———. 2000. "The *Āveśa* Ritual in Tantric Buddhism and Ritual Possession in Tibet." Pp. 25–34 in *La Politique des esprits* [The politics of spirits]. Edited by Denise Aigle, Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière, and Jean-Pierre Chaumeil. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

Berman, Morris. 2000. *Wandering God: A Study in Nomadic Spirituality.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Berndt, R. M., and C. H. Berndt. 1977. *The World of the First Australians.* Sydney: Ure Smith.

Bernstein, Jay H. 1993. "The Shaman's Destiny: Symptoms, Affliction, and the Re-interpretation of Illness among the Taman." Pp. 171–206 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, vol. 2. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

———. 1997. *Spirits Captured in Stone: Shamanism and Traditional Medicine among the Taman of Borneo.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Berreman, Gerald D. 1964. "Brahmins and Shamans in Pahari Religion." *Journal of Asian Studies* 23 (June): 53–69.

Berze Nagy, János. 1984. *Égigérő fa* [The Tree Reaching the Sky]. 3d ed. Pécs: A Baranya Megyei Tanács V. B. Művelődési Osztálya.

Besmer, Fremont E. 1983. *Horses, Musicians & Gods: The Hausa Cult of Possession-Trance.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Bierman, Steve. 1995. "Medical Hypnosis." *Advances: The Journal of Mind-Body Health* 11, no. 3.

Bilmes, Jack. 1995. "On the Believability of Northern Thai Spirit Mediums." *Journal of the Siam Society* 83: 231–238.

Bimala Churn Law. 1974. *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits.* Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House.

Binney, Judith. 1997. *Redemption Songs.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Binney, Judith, Gillian Chaplin, and Craig Wallace. 1990. *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu.* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Bird-David, Nurit. 1999. "'Animism' Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology." *Current Anthropology* 40, Supplement (February): S67–S91.

Birtalan, Ágnes. 1993. "Scapulimancy and Purifying Ceremony (New Data on the Darqad Shamanism on the Basis of Materials Collected in 1992)." *Proceedings of the 35th PIAC* (Taipei, Taiwan): 1–10.

———. 1996. Typology of Stone Cairns Obos (Preliminary report, based on Mongolian fieldwork material collected in 1991–1995), pp. 199–210.

———. 2001. "Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion" [Mythology of the Mongolian Folk Religion]. *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* [Dictionary of Mythology] 34: 879–1097. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta Verlag.

Black Elk, Nicholas. 1953. *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux.* Recorded and edited by Joseph Epes Brown. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Blackburn, Stuart H. 1985. "Death and Deification: Folk Cults in Hinduism." *History of Religions* 24, no. 3: 255–274.

Blacker, Carmen. 1975. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Blain, Jenny. 2002. *Nine Worlds of Seid-Magic: Ecstasy and Neo-Shamanism in North European Paganism.* London and New York: Routledge.

Blakely, Thomas, Walter Van Beek, and Dennis Thomson, eds. 1994. *Religion in Africa.* London: Heinemann.

Blau, Ludwig. 1898. *Das Altjüdische Zauberwesen.* Shassburg: K. Trübner.

Blondeau, Anne-Marie. 1995. "Tibetan Mountain Deities—Their Cults and Representations." Paper presented at a panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz.

Boas, Franz. 1904. "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. From Notes Collected by Capt. George Comer, Capt. James S. Mutch and Rev. E. J. Peck." *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 15, no. 1: 1–370.

———. 1907. "Second Report on the Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay. From Notes Collected by Captain George Comer, Captain James S. Mutch,

and Rev. E. J. Peck." *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 15, no. 2: 371–570.

———. 1921. "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl." *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 35: 43–794.

———. 1930. *Religion of the Kwakiutl Indians.* Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 10, pt. 2. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 1935. "Kwakiutl as Reflected in Mythology." Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, no. 28. New York: The American Folklore Society, G. E. Stechert.

———. 1964. *The Central Eskimo.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Boas, Franz, and George Hunt. 1905. *Kwakiutl Texts.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 3. Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert.

Boddy, Janice. 1989. *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women and Men in the Zar Cult in Northern Sudan.* Madison: University of Madison Press.

———. 1994. "Spirit Possession Revisited: Beyond Instrumentality." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 407–434.

Bodley, John H. 1982. *Victims of Progress.* 2d ed. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing.

Bogoras, Waldemar. 1904–1909. *The Chukchee.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vols. 7 and 11. Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert.

Bogoraz, Vladimir G. 1910. "K psihologii shamanstva u narodov Severo-Vostochnoj Azii" [On the psychology of shamanhood among peoples of northeastern Asia]. *Etnograficheskoje obozrenie* 1–2: 1–36.

Böhm, Oswald. 2001. "Heilerinnen in Usbekistan" [Female healers in Uzbekistan]. M.A. thesis, Freie Universität, Berlin.

Boilat, L'abbé P.-D. 1853. *Esquisses Sénégalaises.* Paris: P. Bertrand.

Bokenkamp, Stephen R. 1983. "Sources of the Ling-pao Scriptures." Pp. 434–486 in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein,* vol. 2. Edited by Michel Strickmann. Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises.

Bolin, Anne. 1996. "Transcending and Transgendering: Male-to-Female Transsexuals, Dichotomy and Diversity." Pp. 447–485 in *Third Sex, Third Gender.* Edited by Gilbert Herdt. New York: Zone Books.

Bonwick, James. 1976. Reprint. *Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions.* New York: Arno Press. Original edition, London: Griffith, Faran, 1894.

Bouchy, Anne. 2000. "Kamigami ga yama wo satte iku daroka. Fugeki no tashasei to aidentiti" [Will the gods desert the mountains? Otherness and identity of shamans]. Pp. 98–121 in *Aidentiti, shuen, baikai* [Identity, gods, meditations]. Edited by Wakita Haruko and Anne Bouchy. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan.

Boulet, Susan Seddon. 1989. *Shaman: The Paintings of Susan Seddon Boulet.* San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks.

Boulton, Laura. 1975. *Musical Instruments of World Cultures.* Tempe: Arizona State University.

Bourgeois, Arthur. 1983. *"Mukoko Ngoombu:* Yaka Divination Paraphernalia." *African Arts* 16, no. 3: 56–59, 80.

Bourguignon, Erika. 1968. "Trance Dance." *Dance Perspectives* 35.

———. 1974. *Culture and the Varieties of Consciousness.* Boston: Addison-Wesley.

Bourguignon, Erika. 1976. "Spirit Possession Beliefs and Social Structure." In *The Realm of the Extra-Human Ideas and Actions.* Edited by A. Bhardati. The Hague: Mouton.

———. 1989. "Multiple Personality, Possession Trance, and the Psychic Unity of Mankind." *Ethos* 17: 371–384.

———. 1991. *Possession.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Bourguignon, Erika, ed. 1973. *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness, and Social Change.* Columbus: Ohio University Press.

———. 1976. *Possession.* San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp.

Bourguignon, Erika, and Thomas L. Evascu. 1977. "Altered States of Consciousness within a General Evolutionary Perspective: A Holocultural Analysis." *Behavior Science Research* 12, no. 3: 197–216.

Bowers, Alfred. 1950. *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bowers, K. 1976. *Hypnosis for the Seriously Curious.* Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Boyd, Carolyn E. 1998. "Pictographic Evidence of Peyotism in the Lower Pecos, Texas Archaic." Pp. 229–246 in *The Archaeology of Rock Art.* Edited by C. Chippindale and P. S. C. Taçon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyer, L. B., B. Klopfer, F. B. Brawer, and H. Kawai. 1964. "Comparisons of the Shamans and Pseudoshamans of the Apaches of the Mescalero Indian Reservation: A Rorschach Study." *Journal of Projective Techniques* 28: 173–180.

Boyne, Gil. 1989. *Transforming Therapy.* Glendale, CA: Westwood Publishing Company.

Brac de La Perrière, Bénédicte. 1989. *Les Rituels de possession en Birmanie: Du culte d'état aux cérémonies privées.* Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.

Bradley, Richard. 1989. "Deaths and Entrances: A Contextual Analysis of Megalithic Tombs." *Current Anthropology* 30: 68–75.

Brandon, George. 1997. *Santeria from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Brara, N. Vijaylakshmi. 1998. *Politics, Society and Cosmology in India's North East.* New Delhi, India: Oxford Publishing House.

Brauen, Martin. 1980. *Feste in Ladakh* [Festivals in Ladakh]. Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt.

Braunstein, Jose A., and Elmer S. Miller. 1999. "Ethnohistorical Introduction." Pp. 1–22 in *Peoples of the Gran Chaco.* Edited by Elmer S. Miller. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Bremmer, Jan. 1983. *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brennan, Bárbara. 1993. *Light Emerging.* New York: Bantam Books.

Briggs, Katharine Mary. 1976. *An Encyclopedia of Fairies: Hobgoblins, Brownies, Bogies, and Other Supernatural Creatures.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Bristol, M. L. 1965. "Sibundoy Ethnobotany." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.

Brody, Howard. 1977. *Placebos and the Philosophy of Medicine.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brookman-Amissah, J. 1975. "The Traditional Education of Indigenous Priesthood in Ghana." Occasional Paper. Faculty of Education, University of Cape Coast.

Brown, Karen. 1987. "Voodoo." Pp. 296–301 in *Encyclopedia of Religion,* vol. 15. Edited by Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillan. Reprinted in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion.* 4th ed. Edited by Arthur Lehman and James Meyers. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield, 1997.

———. 1991. *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Brown, Michael Fobes. 1978. "From the Hero's Bones: Three Aguaruna Hallucinogens and Their Uses." Pp. 119–136 in *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany.* Edited by Richard I. Ford. Vol. 67, Anthropological Papers. Ann Arbor: Anthropology Museum, University of Michigan.

———. 1985. "Shamanism and Its Discontents." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 2, 3: 102–120.

———. 1989. "The Dark Side of the Shaman." *Natural History* (November): 8–10.

———. 1991. "Beyond Resistance: A Comparative Study of Utopian Renewal in Amazonia." *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 4: 388–413.

Brown, Peter. 1999. *Die Entstehung des christlichen Europa.* München: Beck.

Brown, Peter J. 1998. *Understanding Medical Anthropology.* Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.

Brunton, Bill B. 1999. "Western Shamanism in a Cultural Context." Pp. 231–239 in *Proceedings of the International Congress: Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices*, vol. 5, pt. 2. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Brunton, Bill, ed. 2000. *Shamanism.* Mill Valley, CA: Journal of the Foundation for Shamanic Studies 13 (Fall/Winter), nos. 1 and 2.

Bryan, Cyril P., trans. 1930. *The Papyrus Ebers.* London: G. Bles.

Buchdahl, David A. 1977. "The Science of Religion (and the Religion of Science)." *American Anthropologist* 79: 397–413.

Buchner, Alexander. 1972. *Folk Music Instruments.* New York: Crown.

Buckley, Thomas. 1992. "Yurok Doctors and the Concept of Shamanism." Pp. 117–161 in *California Indian Shamanism.* Edited by Lowell John Bean. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press.

Budge, Sir. E. A. Wallis. 1911. *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection.* 2 vols. London and New York: P. L. Warner and G. P. Putnam's Sons.

———. 1967. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead.* New York: Dover.

———. 1969. Reprint. *The Gods of the Egyptians.* Vol. 1. New York: Dover. Original edition, Chicago: Open Court, 1904.

———. 1970. *Amulets and Talismans.* New York: Collier Books. Originally published 1930.

Büky, Béla. 1989. "Hungarian Terminology for Soul and Related Concepts." Pp. 129–134 in *Uralic Mythology and Folklore.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Juha Pentikäinen. Budapest and Helsinki: Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Finnish Literature Society.

Bulgakova, Tatyana. 2001. *Shamanism on the Stage (Shamanism and Northern Identity).* Pro Ethnologia 11. Tartu, Estonia: Estonian National Museum.

Bunka-cho [Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs]. 1986. *Miko no Shuzoku II* [Folklore of spiritualistic maiden]. Tokyo: Bunka-cho Bunkazai Hogo-bu.

Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report for 1896–1897, vol. 18, no. 1. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Burkert, Walter. 1985. *Greek Religion.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burssens, Herman. 1962. *Yanda-Beelden en Mani-Sekte bij de Azande (Centraal Afrika).* 2 vols. Tervuren: Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale.

Busia, Kofi A. 1954. "The Ashanti of the Gold Coast." Pp. 190–200 in *African Worlds.* Edited by Daryll Forde. London: Oxford University Press.

Butanaev, Viktor. 1991. "The Khakass Shamanism: Totality of Gods." Paper presented at the International Conference on Shamanism: Regional Aspects of Shamanism. July 22–28, Seoul.

———. 1995. *Khakasy: Etnograficheskij ocherk* [The Khakass: An ethnographical sketch]. Moscow: INSAN.

———. 1999. *Khakassko-russkij istoriko-etnograficheskij slovar'* [A Khakass-Russian historical and ethnographical dictionary]. Abakan.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York: Routledge.

Butt Colson, Audrey. 1977. "The Akawaio Shaman." Pp. 43–65 in *Carib-speaking Indians: Culture, Society and Language.* Edited by Ellen B. Basso. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 1998. *Fr. Cary-Elwes S.J. and the Alleluia Indians.* Georgetown: University of Guyana.

———. 2001. "Kanaima: Itoto as Death and Anti-Structure." Pp. 221–234 in *Beyond the Visible and the Material.* Edited by Laura Rival and Neil L. Whitehead. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buyanbat, H. 1985. *About Mongolian Shamanic Religion.* Hoh Hot, Inner Mongolia.

Byanbat, X. 1995. *Mongoli Bon Religion.* Xailaar: "OVOR" Mongol.

Bye, Robert A. 1985. "Medicinal Plants of the Tarahumara Indians of Chihuahua, Mexico." Pp. 77–104 in *Two Mummies from Chihuahua Mexico: A Multidisciplinary Study.* Edited by Rose Tyson and Daniel Elerick. San Diego Museum Papers, no. 19. San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum of Man.

Cable, George Washington. 1976. *The Dance in Place Congo and Creole Slave Songs.* 3d ed. New Orleans, LA: Faruk von Turk.

Calavia, Oscar. 2000 "Mythologies of the Vine." In *Ayahuasca Reader. Encounters with the Amazon's Sacred Vine.* Edited by Luis Eduardo Luna and Steven F. White. Santa Fe, NM: Synergetic Press.

Camino, Lupe. 1992. *Cerros, Plantas, y Lagunas Poderosas: La Medicina al Norte del Perú* [Powerful hills, plants and lagoons: The Medicine of Northern Peru]. Piura, Peru: CIPCA.

Campbell, Joseph. 1949. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces.* New York: Bollingen Foundation.

Campbell, Thomas N. 1958. "The Origin of the Mescal Bean Cult." *American Anthropologist* 60: 156–160.

Canizares, Raul. 1999. *Cuban Santeria: Walking with the Night.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

Cannon, Walter B. 1942. "Voodoo" Death. *American Anthropologist* 44: 169–181.

Capeci, Dominic, and Jack Knight. 1990. "Reactions to Colonialism: The North American Ghost Dance and the East African Maji-Maji Rebellion." *Historian* 5: 584–601.

Caplan, Patricia. 1975. "The Socio-Religious Hierarchy: (2) Spirit Possession." Pp. 100–123 in *Choice and Constraint in a Swahili Community.* Edited by Patricia Caplan. London: International African Institute, Oxford University Press.

Carey, Iskandar. 1976. *Orang Asli: The Aboriginal Tribes of Peninsular Malaysia.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Carlsen, Robert S., and Martin Prechtel. 1994. "Walking on Two Legs: Shamanism in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala." Pp. 77–111 in *Ancient Traditions: Shamanism in Central Asia and the Americas.* Edited by Gary Seaman and Jane Day. Niwot: University Press of Colorado.

Carmichael, Alexander, ed. 1992. Reprint. *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations with Illustrative Notes on Words, Rites, and Customs, Dying and Obsolete: Orally Collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and Translated into English.* Hudson, NY: Lindisfarne Press. Original edition, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1928–1971.

Carpentier, Alejo. 1993. *The Kingdom of This World.* New York: Noonday Press.

Carrasco, Hugo. 1986. "Trentren y Kaikai: Segundo Nacimiento de la Cultura Mapuche." *Estudios Filológicos* 21: 23–24.

Carson, James. 1999. *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Carstairs, G. Morris. 1983. *The Death of a Witch.* London: Hutchinson and Company.

Carter, Lewis F. 1996. "Introduction to the Issue of Authenticity." Pp. ix–xvi in *The Issue of Authenticity in the Study of Religions,* vol. 6 of *Religion and the Social Order.* Edited by Lewis F. Carter. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Casey, C. 1999. "'Dancing Like They Do in Indian Film': Media Images, Possession, and Evangelical Islamic Medicine in Northern Nigeria." Paper presented to the Meetings of the American Anthropological Association.

Cassirer, Ernst. 1955. *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms.* Vol. 2, *Mythical Thought.* Translated by Ralph Manheim. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Castagné, Joseph A. 1930. "Magie et exorcisme chez les Kazak-Kirghizes et autres peuples Turks orientaux" [Magic and exorcism among the Kazaks and other eastern Turkic peoples]. *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 4: 53–151.

Castaneda, Carlos. 1968. *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge.* New York: Ballantine Books.

———. 1972. *A Separate Reality.* New York: Pocket.

Castillo, Edward D. 1978. "The Impact of Euroamerican Exploration and Settlement." Pp. 99–127 in *California,* vol. 8 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Castillo, R. J. 1994. "Spirit Possession in South-Asia, Dissociation or Hysteria. 1. Theoretical Background." *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 18, no. 1: 1–21.

Cauquelin, Josiane. 1992. "La Ritualité puyuma," *BEFEO* 79, no. 2: 67–101.

———. 1993. "The Impact of Japanese Colonialism on Puyuma (Taiwan) Shamanism." Pp. 97–110 in *Shamans and Cultures.* Edited by M. Mihály Hoppál and K. D. Howard. Los Angeles: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research, ISTOR Books.

———. 1994. "The Zhuang." *Péninsule* 29: 9–34.

———. 1995. "The Puyuma's 'Language of the Spirits.'" Pp. 189–196 in *Shamanism in Performing*

Arts. Edited by Tae-gon Kim and Mihály Hoppál with the assistance of Otto J. von Sadovszky. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiaodóo.

———. 2000. "Passage d'une société chamaniste à une société à chamanes, l'exemple des Puyuma de Taiwan" [Passage from a shamanist society to a society of the example of the Puyuma of Taiwan]. Pp. 35–50 in *La Politique des esprits, chamanismes et religions universalistes* [The politics of spirits, shamanisms and universalist religions]. Nanterre: Université de parisio.

Cawte, John. 1974. *Medicine Is the Law.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies. 1995. *Sacred Rhythms of Cuban Santería.* Smithsonian/Folkways CD 40419. Compact disc.

Center for the Study of Eurasian Nomads. 2001. "Statues of Sauromatian and Sarmatian Women." http://csen.org/WomenWarriors/Statuses_Women_Warriors.html.

Cerepanova, O. A. 1983. *Myfologiceskii Lexic Russkovo Severa* [The Mythological Vocabulary of the Russian North]. Leningrad: Leningrad University.

Ch'oe, Chong-yo, and So Tae-sok, eds. 1982. *Tonghaean Muga* [Mudang songs from the coast of the East Sea]. Seoul: Hyong-sol.

Ch'oe, Kil-song. 1989. *Hanguk Min-gan Shinang-ui Yon-gu* [Studies in Korean folk beliefs]. Taegu: Kyemyong University Press.

Chabros, K. 1992. *Beckoning Fortune. A Study of the Mongol Dalal'ya Ritual.* Asiatische Forschungen 117. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Chaki-Sirkar, Manjusri. 1984. *Feminism in a Traditional Society: Women of the Manipur Valley.* New Delhi, India: Shakti Books.

Chanady, Amaryll Beatrice. 1985. *Magical Realism and the Fantastic: Resolved versus Unresolved Antinomy.* New York and London: Garland.

Chang, Chu-kun. 1973. *Han'guk ui minkan shinang—Charyo pyon* [Korean folk-belief—Sources]. Tokyo: Kinkasha Publisher.

Chang Kwang-chih. 1983. *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Charles, Lucile Hoerr. 1953. "Drama in Shaman Exorcism." *Journal of American Folklore* 66: 95–122.

Charlesworth, Max, ed. 1998. *Religious Business: Essays on Australian Aboriginal Spirituality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Charnoluskii, V. V. 1965. *Legenda ob Olene-cheloveke* [Legend of the Deer Man]. Moscow: Academy of Sciences.

Chaumeil, Jean-Pierre. 1992. "Varieties of Amazonian Shamanism. (Shamans and Shamanisms: On the Threshold of the Next Millennium)." *Diogenes* 58: 101–114.

———. 1993. "Del Proyectil al Virus: El Complejo de Dardo-Mágicos en el Chamanismo del Oeste Amazónico" [From Dart to Virus: The Magic Dart Complex in West Amazon Shamanism]. Pp. 261–277 in *Cultura y Salud en la Construcción de las Américas.* Edited by Carlos Ernesto Pinzon et al. Bogota: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología.

Chávez, Fabiola. 2000. "Soñadoras, terpeutas y carismáticas de los Andes del Norte: Un perfil antropológico" [Dreams, Therapists and Charismatics in the Andes of the North: An Anthropological Profile]. Pp. 163–223 in *Shamán: La Búsqueda . . .* [Shaman: The Search]. Edited by Walter Alva, Mario Polía, Fabiola Chávez, and Luis Hurtado. Córdoba, Spain: Imprenta San Pablo.

Chen Mengjia. 1937. "Shangdai de shenhua yu wushu" [Mythology and shaman arts of the Shang dynasty]. *Yanjing xuebao* 19: 91–155.

Chen, P. C. Y. 1979. "Main Puteri: An Indigenous Kelantanese Form of Psychotherapy." *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 25: 167–175.

Chen Shou. 1985. *Sanguozhi* [The chronicles of the three kingdoms]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuguo.

Cheng Hsiao-Chieh, Cheng Hui-Chen Pai, and Lawrence Thern, trans. 1985. *Shan Hai Ching: Legendary Geography and Wonders of Ancient China.* With commentary by Kuo P'u, Chin dynasty, and explanatory notes by Hao Yi-hsing, Ch'ing dynasty. Taipei: Committee for Compilation and Examination of the Series of Chinese Classics, National Institute for Compilation and Translation.

Chernetsov, Valeriy Nikolayevich. 1963. "Concepts of the Soul among the Ob'-Ugrians." Pp. 3–45 in *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Edited by Henry N. Michael. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cheu Hock Tong. 1988. *The Nine Emperor Gods: A Study of Chinese Spirit Medium Cults.* Singapore: Times Books International.

Chidester, David. 1992. *Religions of South Africa.* London: Routledge.

———. 1996. *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

———. 2000a. "Colonialism." Pp. 423–437 in *Guide to the Study of Religion.* Edited by Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon. London: Cassell.

———. 2000b. *Christianity: A Global History.* London: Allen Lane/Penguin; San Francisco: HarperCollins.

Chindarsi, Nusit. 1976. *The Religion of the Hmong Njua.* Bangkok: Siam Society.

———. 1983. "Hmong Shamanism." Pp. 187–193 in *Highlanders of Thailand.* Edited by J. McKinnon and W. Bhruksasri. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ching, Julia. 1997. *Mysticism and Kingship in China: The Heart of Chinese Wisdom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chippindale, Christopher, Benjamin Smith, and Paul S. C. Taçon. 2000. "Visions of Dynamic Power:

Archaic Rock Paintings, Altered States of Consciousness and 'Clever Men' in Western Arnhem Land (NT), Australia." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10: 63–101.

Chiri Mashiho. 1973a. "Ainu no shinyo 1" [Ainu sacred verses 1]. Pp. 153–222 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū* [Writings of Chri Mashiho], vol. 1. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973b [1954]. "Yukara no hitobito to sono seikatsu" [The people of Yukar and their lives]. Pp. 5–64 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 3. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973c (1955). "Ainu." Pp. 231–244 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 3. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973d. "Ainu-go ni okeru boin-chōwa" [Vowel harmony in Ainu language]. Pp. 201–225 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 4. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973e. "Bunrui Ainu-go jiten—ningen hen" [Classified Ainu language dictionary—humans]. In *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973f. "Ainu ni densho sareru kabushikyoku ni kansuru chosa kenkyū" [Research on songs and dances transmitted by the Ainu]. Pp. 6–126 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

———. 1973g. "Juso to kawauso" [Shaman and otter] Pp. 193–223 in *Chiri Mashiho chosaku shū*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Heibon-sha.

Cho, Dong-il. 1997. *Tong asia kubi sosasi ui yangsang kwa pyonch'on* [Oral Epics of East Asia: Features and Transformation]. Seoul: Munhak kwa Jisongsa.

Cho, Hung-yun. 1990. *Mu-wha Minjok Munwha* [The Shaman and national culture]. Seoul: National Culture.

Choi, Chungmoo. 1987. "The Competence of Korean Shamans as Performers of Folklore." Ph.D. diss., Indiana University.

Choi, Sung Soo. 1999. *Koreanisches Christentum in der Begegnung mit einheimischen Religionen: Beiträge zur theologischen Urteilsbildung.* Vol. 7. Edited by Gerhard Sauter. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften.

Chou, Yi-liang. 1944–1945. "Tantrism in China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8: 241–333.

Christensen, Bodil. 1971. "Bark Paper and Witchcraft." Pp. 7–45 in *Witchcraft and Pre-Columbian Paper.* Edited by Bodil Christensen and Samuel Marti. Mexico City: Ediciones Euroamericanas.

Christensen, James Boyd. 1959. "The Adaptive Functions of Fanti Priesthood." Pp. 257–278 in *Continuity and Change in African Culture.* Edited by William Bascom and Melville Herskovitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chryssides, George D. 1999. *Exploring New Religions.* New York: Cassel.

Chua, Wee Thiam Lester. 2001. "A Temple at Its Crossroads: A Study of Change and Struggle in a Taoist Temple in Singapore." B.A. honors thesis, National University of Singapore.

Citro, Silvia. 2000. "La materialidad de la conversion religiosa: Del cuerpo propio a la economia politica" [The materiality of religious conversion: Concerning the proper body in political economy]. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 10: 39–56.

Clastres, Hélène. 1995. *The Land without Evil: Tupí-Guaraní Prophetism.* Translated from the French by Jacqueline Grenez Brovender. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Originally published as *La Terre sans mal: Le Prophétisme Tupi-Guarani.* Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1975.

Clayton, Ronnie W. 1990. *Mother Wit: The Ex-Slave Narratives of the Louisiana Writers' Project.* New York: Peter Lang.

Cleaves, Francis Woodman. 1982. *The Secret History of the Mongols.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Clifton, James A. 1994. "From Shaman to Medicine Man." Pp. 187–209 in *Ancient Traditions: Shamanism in Central Asia and the Americas.* Edited by Gary Seaman and Jane S. Day. Niwot: University Press of Colorado.

Clottes, Jean, and David Lewis-Williams. 1998. *The Shamans of Prehistory: Trance and Magic in the Painted Caves.* New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Codere, Helen. 1990. "Kwakiutl: Traditional Culture." Pp. 358–377 in *Northwest Coast,* vol. 7 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Wayne Suttles. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Codrington, R. H. 1891. *The Melanesians: Studies in Their Folklore and Anthropology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cohen, Erik. 2001. *The Chinese Vegetarian Festival in Phuket: Religion, Ethnicity and Tourism on a Southern Thai Island.* Bangkok: White Lotus.

Cole, Herbert, and Chike Aniakor. 1984. *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos.* Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California at Los Angeles.

Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. 1993. "Introduction." Pp. xi–xxxvii in *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa.* Edited by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Confucious. 2000. *The Analects.* Translated by Arthur Waley with an introduction by Sarah Allen. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Conklin, Beth A. 2001. *Consuming Grief: Compassionate Cannibalism in an Amazonian Society.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Conquergood, Dwight. 1989. *I Am a Shaman: A Hmong Life Story with Ethnographic Commentary.* Minneapolis: Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota.

Conrad, Joseph. 1973. Reprint. *Heart of Darkness.* Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin. Original edition, 1902.

Conton, Leslie. 2000. "Contemporary Shamanisms: Neo-Shamanism, Core Shamanism, and Reflections on Contemporary Shamanic Practices in the Pacific Northwest." Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for the Anthropology of Consciousness, April, Tucson, Arizona.

Cook, Sherburne F. 1978. "Historical Demography." Pp. 91–98 in *California,* vol. 8 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Cordeu, Edgardo J., and Alejandra Siffredi. 1971. *De la algarroba al algodon. Movimientos Milenaristas del Chaco argentino* [Millenarian Movements of the Argentine Chaco]. Buenos Aires: Juarez Editor.

Corey, Peter L. ed. 1987. *Faces, Voices and Dreams: A Celebration of the Centennial of the Sheldon Jackson Museum, 1888–1988.* Juneau: Division of Alaska State Museums.

Corradi Musi, Carla. 1997. *Shamanism from East to West.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Cortázar, Julio. 1967. *Blow-Up and Other Stories.* Translated by Paul Blackburn. New York: Pantheon Books.

Costa, Vinicius Braga Martins da Costa. "The Processes of Illness and Cure in Afro-Brazilian Culture." Proceedings of the First International Pan African Congress of Psychiatry, Cairo, December 16–18, 1998.

Coulon, Christian. 1981. *Le Marabout et le prince (Islam et pouvoir au Sénégal).* Paris: A. Pedone.

Covell, Alan Carter. 1983. *Ecstasy: Shamanism in Korea.* Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym International.

———. 1986. *Folk Art and Magic: Shamanism in Korea.* Seoul, Korea: Hollym Corp.

Cowan, Tom. 1993. *Fire in the Head: Shamanism and the Celtic Spirit.* San Francisco: Harper.

Coyle, Philip E., and Paul M. Liffman, eds. 2000. "Ritual and Historical Territoriality of the Náyari and Wixárika Peoples." Themed edition of *Journal of the Southwest* 42, no. 1.

Crapanzano, Vincent. 1973. *The Hamadsha: A Study of Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1977. "Introduction." Pp. 1–41 in *Case Studies in Spirit Possession.* Edited by V. Crapanzano and V. Garrison. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Crapanzano, Vincent, and Vivian Garrison, eds. 1977. *Case Studies in Spirit Possession.* New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Crocker, Jon Christopher. 1985. *Vital Souls: Bororo Cosmology, Natural Symbolism, and Shamanism.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Crocker, William H., and Jean Crocker. 1994. *The Canela: Bonding through Kinship, Ritual, and Sex.* Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace.

Crystal, Eric, and Yamashita Shinji. 1987. "Power of Gods: *Ma'bugi'* Ritual of the Sa'adan Toraja." Pp. 48–70 in *Indonesian Religions in Transition.* Edited by Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Cunha, Manuela Carneiro da. 1978. *Os mortos e os outros* [The dead and the others]. São Paulo: Editora Hucitec.

Czaplicka, Marie-Antoinette. 1914. *Aboriginal Siberia. A Study in Social Anthropology.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Dal, Vladimir. 1912. *Tolkovy Slovr Zivovo Velikoruskogo Jazyka.* Moscow and Saint Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Kuigoprodavsta-tipografa M. O. Volfa.

Dalay, Ch. 1959. *The Short History of Mongolian Shamanism.* Ulaanbaatar: Shuakh.

Dall, William Healey. 1878. *On the Remains of the Later Pre-Historic Man Obtained from Caves in the Catherina Archipelago, Alaska Territory.* Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 22, no. 318. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Damdinjav, Dugarjavyn. 2002. *Mongolyn Buryad zon* [The Buryat-Mongols]. Ulaanbaatar.

Damuah, Osofo Okomfo. N.d. *Miracle at the Shrine. Religious and Revolutionary Miracle in Ghana.* N.p.

d'Aquili, Eugene, and Charles Laughlin. 1979. "Introduction." In *The Spectrum of Ritual.* Edited by E. G. d'Aquili, C. D. Laughlin, and J. McManus. New York: Columbia University.

d'Arras, Jean. 1979. *Le Roman de Mélusine.* Paris: Stock.

Däūrenbekov, Jaqaū, and Edige Tursınov, eds. 1993. *Qazaq baqsı-balgerleri* [Kazak shaman-diviners]. Almaty: Ana Tili.

Davidson, Basil. 1991. *African Civilizations Revisited: From Antiquity to Modern Times.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Davidson, H. R. Ellis. 1988. *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Davidson, Linda Kay, and David Gitlitz. 2002. *Pilgrimage: From the Ganges to Graceland, an Encyclopedia.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Davis, Edward L. 2001. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Davis, Wade. 1998. *Shadows in the Sun: Travels to Landscapes of Spirit and Desire.* New York: Broadway Books.

Davis-Kimball, Jeannine. 1997a. "Sauro-Sarmatian Nomadic Women: New Gender Identities." *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 25: 327–343.

———. 1997b. "Chieftain or Warrior Priestess?" *Archaeology* (September/October): 44–48.

———. 1997/98. "Amazons, Priestesses, and Other Women of Status: Females in Eurasian Nomadic Societies." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5: 1–50.

———. 1998. "Statuses of Eastern Early Age Nomads." In *Papers from the EAA Third Annual Meeting at Ravenna 1997.* Edited by Mark Pearce and Maurizio Tosi. BAR International Series 717. Oxford: Archaeopress.

———. 1999. "Priestesses, Enarees, and Other Statuses among Indo-Iranian Peoples." Pp. 231–259 in *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference,* Los Angeles, May 21–23, 1998. *Journal of Indo-European Studies,* monograph series no. 32. Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Man.

Davis-Kimball, Jeannine, with Mona Behan. 2002. *Warrior Women: An Archaeologist's Search for History's Hidden Heroines.* New York: Warner.

Day, Sophie. 1989. "Embodying Spirits: Village Oracles and Possession Ritual in Ladakh, North India." Ph.D. diss., London School of Economics.

d'Azevedo, Warren L. 1986. "Introduction." Pp. 1–14 in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 11, *Great Basin.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

De Boeck, Filip, and René Devisch. 1994. "Ndembu, Luunda and Yaka Divination Compared." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 24: 98–133.

de Groot, Jan Jakob Maria. 1886. *Les Fêtes annvellement célébrées à Emoui (Amoy): Étude concernant la religion populaire des Chinois* [Annual feasts celebrated at Amoy: A study concerning the popular religion of the Chinese]. Translated from the Dutch by C. G. Chavannes. Paris: E. Leroux.

De Heusch, Luc. 1971. *Pourquoi l'épouser ? Et autres essais.* Paris: Gallimard.

De Mallie, Raymond J., and Alfonso Ortiz, eds. 1996. *North American Indian Anthropology.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

De Martino, E. 1966. *La Terre du remords.* Paris: Gallimard.

de Sardan, Jean-Pierre Olivier. 1982. *Concepts et conceptions songhay-zarma.* Paris: Nubia.

———. 1984. *Les Sociétés songhay-zarma (Niger-Mali): Chefs, guerriers, esclaves, paysans. . . .* Paris: Karthala.

de Silva Gooneratne, Dandris. 1865. "On Demonology and Witchcraft in Ceylon." *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 4: 1–117.

De Wet, Thea. 1998. "Doepa after Dark. Protective Medicines for Infants in Soweto in South Africa." Ph.D. diss.

DeBernardi, Jean. 1987. "The God of War and the Vagabond Buddha." *Modern China* 13, no. 3: 310–332.

"Declaración de Tarapoto: Medicina Tradicional y Plantas Sagradas" [Declaration of Tarapoto: Traditional Medicine and Sacred Plants]. November 17, 2001. Tarapoto, Peru: Centro TAKIWASI.

Degh, Linda. 1978. *Studies in East European Folk Narrative.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Delaby, Laurence. 1997, 1998. *Bataclan chamanique raisonné* [Descriptive shamanic caboodle]. Études mongoles et sibériennes [Mongolian and Siberian studies], vols. 28 and 29.

Delog Dawa Drolma. 1995. *Delog: Journey to the Realms Beyond Death.* Translated by Richard Barron. Junction City, CA: Padma Publishing.

DeMallie, Raymond J., ed. 1984. *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Densmore, Frances. 1918. *Teton Sioux Music.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 61. Reprinted 1992 as *Teton Sioux Music and Culture* by University of Nebraska Press.

———. 1927. *Handbook of the Collection of Musical Instruments.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Dentan, R. K. 1968. *The Semai: A Nonviolent People of Malaya.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Desjarlais, Robert R. 1992. *Body and Emotion. The Aesthetics of Illness and Healing in the Nepal Himalayas.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Deva, Bigamudre Chaitanya. 1978. *Musical Instruments of India.* Calcutta: Firma KLM.

Devereux, G. 1937. "Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians." *Human Biology* 9: 498–527.

Devereux, George. 1956. "Normal and Abnormal: The Key Problem of Psychiatric Anthropology." In *Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied.* Edited by J. B. Casagrande and T. Gladwin. Washington, DC: Anthropological Society of Washington.

———. 1961. "Shamans as Neurotics." *American Anthropologist* 63, no. 5: 1088–1093.

———. 1969. *Mojave Ethnopsychiatry and Suicide: The Psychic Disturbances of an Indian Tribe.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Devereux, Paul. 1992. "Shamanism and the Mystery Lines." *The Ley Hunter* 116: 11–19.

———. 1997. *The Long Trip: A Prehistory of Psychedelia.* New York: Penguin Books.

Devisch, René. 1985. "Perspectives on Divination in Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa." Pp. 50–83 in *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion.* Edited by Wim van Binsbergen and Matthew Schoffeleers. London: Kegan Paul.

———. 1991. "Mediumistic Divination among the Northern Yaka of Zaire: Etiology and Ways of Knowing." Pp. 112–135 in *African Divination Systems.* Edited by Philip Peek. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1993. *Weaving the Threads of Life: The Khita Gyn-eco-logical Healing Cult among the Yaka.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1996. "'Pillaging Jesus': Healing Churches and the Villagisation of Kinshasa." *Africa* 66: 555–586.

Devisch, René, and Claude Brodeur. 1999. *The Law of the Lifegivers: The Domestication of Desire.* Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Devlet, Ekaterina. 2001. "Rock Art and the Material Culture of Siberian and Central Asian Shamanism." Pp. 43–55 in *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* Edited by N. Price. London: Routledge.

Devlet, M. A. 1980. *Petroglify Murgur-Sargola* [Petroglyphs of Murgur-Sargol]. Moscow: Nauka.

Devlet, M., and E. Devlet. 2000. *Dukhovnaya kul'tura drevnikh narodov severnoy i tsentral'noy Azii.* [The spiritual life of the ancient peoples of North and Central Asia]. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen.

DeWeese, Devin. 1994. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 1997. "The Yasavī Sufi Tradition and the Problem of Shamanic 'Survivals.'" Paper presented at the Fourth Conference on Shamanism of the International Society for the Study of Religion, Chantilly, France, September 1–5, 1997.

Di Cosmo, Nicola. 1999. "Manchu Shamanic Ceremonies at the Qing Court." Pp. 352–398 in *State and Court Ritual in China.* Edited by Joseph P. McDermott. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Diakonova, V. P. 1981. "Tuvinskie shamany i ikh sotsial'naiia rol' v obshestve" [Tuvan shamans and their social role]. Pp. 129–165 in *Problemy Obshestvennogo Soznaniia Aborigenov Sibiri* [Problems of Social Consciousness of Aboriginal Siberians]. Edited by I. S. Vdovin. Leningrad: Nauka.

Dienes, István. 1980. "Les Hongrois à l'époque de la conquête et leurs croyances ancestrales" [The Hungarians at the time of the conquest and their ancestral beliefs]. Pp. 85–123 in *Les Peuples ouraliens.* Edited by Péter Hajdú. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó.

Dillehay, Tom. 1985. "La Influencia Política de los Chamanes Mapuches" [The Political Influence of Mapuche Shamans]. *CUHSO* 2, no. 2: 141–157.

———. 1990. *Araucanía Presente y Pasado* [The Araucanian Region: Past and Present]. Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello.

Diop, Birago. 1953. *Les Contes d'Amadou Koumba.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

———. 1958. *Les Nouveaux contes d'Amadou Koumba.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

———. 1963. *Contes et lavanes.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

Diószegi, Vilmos. 1952. "K voprosu o bor'be shamanov v obraze zhivotnykh" [Regarding the battle of shamans in the form of animals]. *Acta Orientalia* 2, nos. 2–3: 303–316.

———. 1958. *A sámánhit emlékei a magyar népi műveltségben* [Traces of shamanism in Hungarian folk beliefs]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1967. *A pogány magyarok hitvilága* [Religious beliefs of the pagan Hungarians]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1968a. "The Problem of the Ethnic Homogeneity of Tofa (Karagas) Shamanism." Pp. 239–329 in *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1968b. *Tracing Shamans in Siberia. The Story of an Ethnographical Research Expedition.* Oosterhout, the Netherlands: Anthropological Publications.

———. 1996. "The Problem of the Ethnic Homogeneity of Tofa (Karagas) Shamanism." Pp. 179–235 in *Folk Beliefs and Shamanistic Traditions in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akademia Kiado.

Diószegi, Vilmos, and Mihály Hoppál, eds. 1978. *Shamanism in Siberia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Diószegi, Vīs, and Mihály Hoppál. 1996. *Folk Beliefs and Shamanistic Traditions in Siberia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Diouf, Mamadou. 2001. *Histoire du Senegal.* Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

Direnkova, Nadezhda. 1949. "Materialy po shamanstvu u teleutov" [Materials on shamanism among Teleuts]. *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii I Etnografii* 10: 107–190.

———. 2004. *Teleutskiy folklor* [Teleutian folklore]. Collected, translated into Russian, introduction, and comments by Dmitriy Funk. Moscow: Nauka.

Disselhoff, Hans Dietrich, and Sigvald Linné. 1966. *The Art of Ancient America: Civilizations of Central and South America.* New York: Greystone Press.

Divaev, Abubakr A. 1899. *Iz Oblasti Kirgizskikh Verovanii: Baksy, kak Lekar' i Koldun* [Beliefs from the Kazak provinces: The shaman as healer and exorcist]. Kazan: Tipografia Imperatorskago Universiteta.

Dixon, Roland B. 1908. "Some Aspects of the American Shaman." *Journal of American Folk Lore* 21: 1–12.

Djakonova, Vera P. 1978. "The Vestments and Paraphernalia of a Tuva Shamaness." Pp. 325–339 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppel. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Dobbins, J. D. 1986. *The Jombee Dance of Montserrat: A Study of Dance Ritual in the West Indies.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Dobkin de Rios, Marlene. 1973. "Curing with Ayahuasca in an Urban Slum." Pp. 67–85 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael James Harner. New York:

———. 1984a. *Hallucinogens: Cross-Cultural Perspectives.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1984b. "The Vidente Phenomenon in Third World Traditional Healing: An Amazonian Example." *Medical Anthropology* 8, no. 1: 60–70.

———. 1993. "Twenty-five Years of Hallucinogenic Studies in Cross-Cultural Perspective." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 4, no. 1: 1–8.

Dodds, E. R. 1951. "The Greek Shamans and the Origin of Puritanism." Pp. 135–178 in *The Greeks and the Irrational.* Sather Classical Lectures, vol. 25. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Dolgikh, B. O. 1978. "Nganasan Shaman Drums and Costumes." Pp. 68–78 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Dominguez, Virginia R. 1994. *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Dorsey, George. 1903. "Traditions of the Arapaho." Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, vol. 5. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum.

Dourley, John P. 1996. "C. G. Jung's Appropriation of Aspects of Shamanism." Pp. 51–59 in *Shamanism and Northern Ecology.* Edited by Juha Pentikäinen. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dow, James. 1986. "Universal Aspects of Symbolic Healing." *American Anthropologist* 88: 56–69.

Dow, James W. 1986. *The Shaman's Touch: Otomí Indian Symbolic Healing.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

———. 1994. "Sierra Otomí: People of the Mexican Mountains." Pp. 155–184 in *Portraits of Culture: Ethnographic Originals.* Edited by M. Ember, C. Ember, and D. Levinson. New York: Prentice Hall.

———. 2001. "Central and North Mexican Shamans." Pp. 66–94 in *Mesoamerican Healers.* Edited by Brad Huber and Alan Sandstrom. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. 1992. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Downs, James F. 1972. *The Navajo.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Dowson, Thomas A. 1999. "Rock Art and Shamanism: A Methodological Impasse." Pp. 39–56 in *Rock Art, Shamanism and Central Asia: Discussions of Relations.* Edited by Andrzej Rozwadowski, Maria M. Kosko, and Thomas A. Dowson. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Academickie (in Polish with English summary).

Drewal, Henry. 1988. "Performing the Other: Mami Wata Worship in Africa." *Drama Review* 32, no. 2: 160–185.

Dronfield, Jeremy. 1996. "Entering Alternative Realities: Cognition, Art, and Architecture in Irish Passage Tombs." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6: 37–72.

Du Bois, Cora. 1939. *The 1870 Ghost Dance.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Du Shaoyuan. 1995. "Pratiques chamaniques des Ouïgours du Xinjiang." *Études mongoles et sibériennes* 26: 41–62.

Duffy, John. 1958, 1962. *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana.* 2 vols. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.

Dugarov, Dashinima S. 1991. *Istoricheskie korni belogo shamanstva (na materiale obriadovogo fol'klora buriat)* [Historical roots of white shamanhood (based on materials of ritual folklore of the Buryats)]. Moskva: Nauka.

Dulam, Bumochir. 2002. *Mongol Shamanic Ritual.* Ulaan-Baatar: Monkhiin Useg.

Dulam, Sendenjav. 1992. *Darkhad Boogiin Ulamjlal* [The Tradition of Darkhad Shamans]. Ulaanbaatar: MUIS-iin khevlel (National University Press of Mongolia).

Dulaney, S., and A. P. Fiske. 1994. "Cultural Rituals and Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder: Is There a Common Psychological Mechanism?" *Ethos* 22: 243–283.

Dumézil, Georges. *Gods of the Ancient Northmen.* 1973. Edited by Einar Haugen, translated by various authors. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Dumon, Dirk, and René Devisch. 1991. *The Oracle of Maama Tseembu.* 50 min. film in English, German, French, and Dutch versions. Belgian-Flemish Radio and Television: Science Section.

Dumont, Louis. 1986. *A South Indian Subcaste: Social Organization and Religion of the Pramalai Kallar.* Translated from the French by Michael Moffatt et al. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

During Caspers, E. C. L. 1992. "Rituals and Belief Systems in the Indus Valley Civilization." Pp. 102–127 in *Ritual, State and History in South Asia: Essays in Honour of J. C. Heesterman.* Edited by A. W. van den Hoek, D. H. A. Kolff, and M. S. Oort. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Dwyer, Graham. 1998. "The Phenomenology of Supernatural Malaise: Attribution, Vulnerability and Patterns of Affliction at a Hindu Pilgrimage Center in Rajasthan." *Social Analysis* 42, no. 2: 3–23.

———. 1999. "Healing and the Transformation of Self in Exorcism at a Hindu Shrine in Rajasthan." *Social Analysis* 43, no. 2: 108–137.

Eagle, Douglas Spotted. 1997. *Voices of Native America: Native American Music.* Liberty, UT: Eagle's View Publishing.

Earhart, H. Byron. 1970. *A Religious Study of the Mount Haguro Sect of Shugendo: An Example of Japanese Mountain Religion.* Monumenta Nipponica. Tokyo: Sophia University Press.

Eastman, Carol M. 1971. "Who Are the *WaSwahili?*" *Africa* 41, no. 3: 228–236.

Echerd, Nicole. 1991a. "Gender Relationships and Religion. Women in the Hausa Bori in Ader, Niger." Pp. 207–220 in *Hausa Women in the Twentieth Century.* Edited by Catherine Coles and Beverly Mack. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

———. 1991b. "The Hausa *Bori* Possession Cult in the Ader Region of Niger: Its Origins and Present-Day Function." Pp. 64–80 in *Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond.* Edited by I. M. Lewis, Ahmed Al-Safi, and Sayyid Hurreiz. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Echeruo, Michael J. C. 1998. *Igbo-English Dictionary.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Eda Kinuko. 1970. "Tsugaru no gomiso" [Gomiso shamans of Tsugaru]. Pp. 331–346 in *Tsugaru no minzoku.* Edited by Wakamori Taro. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan.

Eder, Matthias. 1958. "Schamanismus in Japan" [Shamanism in Japan]. *Paideuma* 6: 367–380.

E.G. (Editorial Group). 1983. *Elunchun zu jian shi* [A brief history of the Oroqen people]. Hohhot, China: Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House.

Egede, Hans. 1818. *A Description of Greenland.* A new edition with an historical introduction and life of the author. London: T. and J. Allman.

Eger, Susan. 1978. "Huichol Women's Art." Pp. 35–53 in *Art of the Huichol Indian*s. Edited by K. Berrin. New York: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and Harry N. Abrams.

Eichmeier, Joseph, and Oskar Höfer. 1974. *Endogene Bildmuster.* Munich: Urban and Schwarzenberg.

Eliade, Mircea. 1949. *Traité d'histoire des religions* [Treatise on the History of Religions]. Paris: Payot.

———. 1956. *Forgerons et alchimistes* [Blacksmiths and Alchemists]. Paris: Flammarion.

———. 1959. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion.* Translated by Willard R. Trask. New York: Harcourt.

———. 1987. "Shamanism." Pp. 991–992 in *World Religions.* Selections from the 16th Volume, Macmillan Compendium. New York: Simon and Schuster, Macmillan.

———. 1989. Reprint. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. London: Penguin Arkana. Original edition, New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964.

Elkin, Adolphus Peter. 1977 [1945]. *Aboriginal Men of High Degree.* St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

Elliot, Alan J. A. 1955. *Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore.* London: Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science. Republished in 1964, Singapore: Donald Moore Books.

Ellis, Florence Hawley. 1979. "Isleta Pueblo." Pp. 351–365 in *Southwest,* vol. 9 of *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Alfonso Ortiz. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Emmons, George Thornton. 1991. *The Thngit Indians.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Emsheimer, Ernst. 1988. "On the Ergology and Symbolism of a Shaman Drum of the Khakass." Translated by Robert Caroll. *Imago musicae* 5: 145–166.

Endicott, Kirk Michael. 1979. *Batek Negrito Religion: The World-View and Rituals of a Hunting and Gathering People of Peninsular Malaysia.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ephirim-Donkor, Anthony. 1994. "African Spirituality and Personality: The Akanfo Quest for Perfection and Immortality." Ph.D. diss., Emory University.

———. 1997. *African Spirituality: On Becoming Ancestors.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

———. 2000. *The Making of an African King: Patrilineal & Matrilineal Struggle among the Effutu of Ghana.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Epstein, Lawrence. 1982. "On the History and Psychology of the *'Das-Log." Tibet Journal* 7:20–85.

Epstein, M., and L. Rabgyay. 1982. "Mind and Mental Disorders in Tibetan Medicine." *gSo Rig: Tibetan Medicine* 5:66–84.

Erdniev, U. E. 1970. *Kalmiki.* Elista, Kalmykia: Kalmitskoe Knidjnoe Iszdatelstvo

Ergis, G. U. 1974. *Ocherki po iakutskomu folkloru* [Essay on Yakut folklore]. Moscow: Nauka.

———. 1977. *Kultura severnykh iakutow-olenovodov* [Culture of the northern Yakut-reindeer herders]. Kvoprosy o pozdnykh etapach formirovaniia iakutskogo naroda. Moscow: Nauka.

Erlmann, Veit. 1982. "Trance and Music." *Ethno-Musicology* 26, no. 1: 49–58.

Espíndola, Julio César, 1961. "Propósito del mesianismo en las tribus Guaraní" [The purpose of messianism in the Guarani tribes]. *America Indígena* 21, no. 4: 307–325.

Evangeliou, Christos. 1997. *The Hellenic Philosophy: Between Europe, Asia and Africa.* Binghampton, UK: Institute of Global Cultural Studies.

Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, ed. 1910. *The Book of Taliesin.* Wales, UK: Llanbedrog.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1976. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande.* Abridged. Oxford: Clarendon. Original edition, Philadelphia: Clarendon, 1937.

Evans-Wentz, W. Y. 1911. *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries.* New York: H. Frowde.

Even, Marie-Dominique. 1988–1989. *Chants de chamanes mongols.* Études mongoles . . . et sibériennes 19–20. Nanterre: Centre d'études Mongoles.

Fabian, Johannes. 1966. "Dreams and Charisma, 'Theories of Dreams' in the Jamaa-Movement (Congo)." *Anthropos* 61: 544–560.

Fabrega, Horacio, Jr., and Daniel B. Silver. 1970. "Some Social and Psychological Properties of Zinacanteco Shamans." *Behavioral Science* 15: 471–486.

———. 1973. *Illness and Shamanistic Curing in Zinacantan: An Ethnomedical Analysis.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Fadiman, Anne. 1997. *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Fairchild, William P. 1962. "Shamanism in Japan." *Folklore Studies* 21: 1–122.

Falkenhausen, Lothar von. 1995. "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The Wu Officials in the Zhouli." *Early China* 20: 279–300.

Farella, J. R. 1984. *The Main Stalk: A Synthesis of Navajo Philosophy.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Faris, James C. 1990. *The Nightway: A History and a History of Documentation of a Navajo Ceremonial.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Farmer, Henry George. 1997. *Studies in Oriental Music.* Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University.

Faron, Louis. 1964. *Hawks of the Sun: Mapuche Morality and Its Ritual Attributes.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Fasmer, Maks. 1964. *Etimologiceskij Slovar Russkogo Jazyka.* Vol. 1. Moscow: "Progress."

Faulkingham, Ralph N. 1975. "The Spirits and Their Cousins: Some Aspects of Belief, Ritual, and Social Organization in a Rural Hausa Village in Niger." Research Report no. 15. Department of Anthropology. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, October.

Faust, Betty B. 1988. "Cosmology and Changing Technologies of the Campeche-Maya." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University.

———. 1998a. *Mexican Rural Development and the Plumed Serpent: Technology and Maya Cosmology in the Tropical Forest of Campeche Mexico.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

———. 1998b. "Cacao Beans and Chili Peppers: Gender Socialization in the Cosmology of a Yucatec Maya Curing Ceremony." *Sex Roles* 39: 7/8.

Favret-Saada, Jeanne. 1980. *Deadly Words: Witchcraft in the Bocage.* Translated from the French by Catherine Cullen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Originally published as *Les mots, la mort, les sorts,* 1977.

Fazekas, Jeno, 1967. "Hungarian Shamanism, Material and History of Research." P. 97 in *Studies in Shamanism.* Edited by Carlo-Martin Edsman. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.

Fenton, William N. 1987. *The False Faces of the Iroquois.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. 1991. *The Iroquois Eagle Dance: An Offshoot of the Calumet Dance.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Feraca, Stephen E. 1998. *Wakinyan: Lakota Religion in the Twentieth Century.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Fernández, James W. 1964. "African Religious Movements—Types and Dynamics." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 2, no. 4: 531–549.

Fernández Olmos, Margarite, and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, eds. 1997. *Sacred Possessions: Vodou, Santería, Obeah, and the Caribbean.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Ferreira, Gilson. 1985. *Tira Teima* [Decisive Argument]. Brazil: Viçosa Edition.

Fields, Karen E. 1985. *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fields, Tina R. 1994. "Boadicea's Last Stand: How the Roman Conquering of the Iceni Marked a Phase Shift in Western Consciousness." *Celtic Connection: Journal of the Sierra Nevada Celtic Society,* May–November (serialized).

Fienup-Riordan, Ann. 1996. *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks: Agayuliyararput (Our Way of Making Prayer).* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Fikes, Jay C. 1993. *Carlos Castaneda, Academic Opportunism and the Psychedelic Sixties.* Victoria, BC: Millenia Press.

———. 1996. "A Brief History of the Native American Church." Pp. 167–173 in *One Nation under God: The Triumph of the Native American Church.* Edited by Huston Smith and Reuben Snake. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.

———. 2001. "Peyote Religion: Opening Doors to the Creator's Heart." *Entheos* 1, no. 2: 75–81.

Fikes, Jay C., ed. 1996. *Reuben Snake, Your Humble Serpent.* Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.

Findeisen, Hans. 1957. *Schamanentum* [Shamanism]. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag.

Fiorini, Marcelo. 1997. "The Silencing of Names: Identity and Alterity in an Amazonian Society." Ph.D. diss., New York University.

Firth, Raymond. 1964. "Shaman." Pp. 638–639 in *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences.* Edited by Julius Gould and William Kolb. New York: Free Press.

———. 1967. *The Work of the Gods in Tikopia.* London: Athlone.

———. 1996. *Religion: A Humanist Interpretation.* London and New York: Routledge.

Firth, Robert. 1967. *Tikopia Ritual and Belief.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Fitzhugh, William W., and Valérie Chaussonnet, eds. 1994. *Anthropology of the North Pacific Rim.* Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Fitzhugh, William W., and Aron Crowell, eds. 1988. *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures in Siberia and Alaska.* Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Fitzhugh, William W., and Chisato O. Dubreuil, eds. 1999. *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People.* Washington, DC: Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Fitzhugh, William W., and Susan Kaplan. 1982. *Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Flaherty, Gloria. 1992. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fletcher, Christopher M., and Laurence J. Kirmayer. 1997. "Spirit Work: Nunavimmiut Experiences of Affliction and Healing." *Inuit Studies* 21, nos. 1–2: 189–208.

Flores, Jorge. 1996. "Buscando los Espíritus del Ande: Turismo Místico en el Qosqo" [Searching for the Spirit of the Andes: Mystic Tourism in El Qosgo]. Pp. 9–29 in *La Tradición Andina en Tiempos Modernos* [Andean Tradition in the Modern Period]. Edited by Hiroyasu Tomoeda and Luis Millones. Senri Ethnological Reports, no. 5. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Foerster, Rolf. 1993. *Introduccion a la Religiosidad Mapuche.* Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria.

Ford, Patrick K., trans. and ed. 1977. *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Forth, G. 1981. *Rindi: An Ethnographic Study of a Traditional Domain in Eastern Sumba.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

———. 1991. "Shamanic Powers and Mystical Practitioners among the Nage of Central Flores." *Canberra Anthropology* 14, no. 2: 1–29.

———. 1998. *Beneath the Volcano: Religion, Cosmology and Spirit Classification among the Nage of Eastern Indonesia.* Leiden: Royal Institute (KITLV) Press.

Fossback, Ole-Bjorn. 1996. "Thwasa! Aspects of the Recruitment and Training of Sangoma Traditional Diviner-Healers in Mondoland, South Africa: An Embodied Approach." Cand. Polit. degree thesis, University of Tromso.

Foster, George M., and Barbara Anderson. 1978. *Medical Anthropology.* New York: John Wiley.

Foucault, Michel. 1994. Reprint. *The Birth of the Clinic. An Archaeology of Medical Perception.* Translated from the French by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Vintage Books. Original edition in English. New York: Pantheon, 1973. Originally published as *Naissance de la clinique. Une archéologie du régard médical,* 1963.

Foundation for Shamanic Studies. http://www.shamanism.org (cited October 21, 2002).

Fournier, Alain. 1976. "A Preliminary Report on the Puimbo and the Ngiami: The Sunuwar Shamans of Sabra." Pp. 100–123 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.

Francfort, Henri-Paul. 2001. "Art, Archaeology, and the Prehistories of Shamanism in Inner Asia." Pp. 243–276 in *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses.* Edited by H.-P. Francfort and R. N. Hamayon. Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 10. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Francfort, Henri-Paul, and Roberte N. Hamayon, eds. 2001. *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Francfort, Henri-P., et al. 1995. "Les Pétroglyphs de Tamgaly." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 9: 167–207.

Frank, Jerome D., and Julia B. Frank. 1991. *Persuasion and Healing.* 3d ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Frasca, Richard A. 1990. *The Theater of the* Mahābhārata: Terukkūttu *Performances in South India.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Frazer, James G. 1981. Reprint. *The Golden Bough: The Roots of Religion and Folklore.* 2 vols. New York: Random House. Original edition, 1890.

Frecska, Ede, and Zsuzsanna Kulcsar. 1989. "Social Bonding in the Modulation of the Physiology of Ritual Trance." *Ethos* 17, no. 1: 70–87.

Freed, Ruth S., and Stanley A. Freed. 1964. "Spirit Possession as Illness in a North Indian Village." *Ethnology* 3: 152–171.

———. 1990. "Ghost Illness of Children in North India." *Medical Anthropology* 12: 401–417.

Freidel, David, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker. 1993. *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path.* New York: William Morrow.

Frey, Rodney. 1987. *The World of the Crow Indians: As Driftwood Lodges.* Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. 2001. *Landscape Traveled by Crane and Coyote: The World of the Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene).* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Frey, Rodney, ed. 1995. *Stories That Make the World: Oral Literature of the Inland Northwest.* Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Fridman, Eva Jane Neumann. 1998a. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism in the Buddhist Republics of Russia.* Ann Arbor: UMI.

———. 1998b. "Lost Locale: Return and Healing in Kalmykia." *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 16, no. 2 (Autumn): 39–45.

———. 2000. "Revising Shamanism—From Buryatia to Mongolia." Pp. 36–41 in *First Bulletin of the International Institute for the Study of Nomadic Civilizations.* Nomadic Studies. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

———. 2001. "Amidst Steppe and Taiga: Women Shamans in Hövsgöl Province, Mongolia." Unpublished paper, presented at the 6th Conference of the International Society for Shamanistic Research, Viljandi, Estonia, August 11–17.

———. 2002a. "Tuvan Shamanism." Pp. 485–493 in *The Turks*, vol. 6. Edited by H. Celal Güzel and C. Cem Oguz. Ankara: Turktarihi.

———. 2002b. "Women Shaman Healers in Inner Asia: Adaptations in a Changing Landscape." Pp. 291–310 in *Handbuch der Ethnotherapien* [Handbook of Ethnotherapies]. Edited by C. E. Gottschalk-Batschkus and J. G. Green. Munich: ETHNOMED.

———. 2004. *Sacred Geography: Shamanism among the Buddhist Peoples of Russia.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Friedrich, Paul. 1991. "Polytrophy." Pp. 17–55 in *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology.* Edited by J. W. Fernandez. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Friedson, Steven M. 1996. *Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Frisbie, Charlotte J., and David P. McAllester, eds. 1978. *Navajo Blessingway Singer: The Autobiography of Frank Mitchell, 1881–1967.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Fujimura Hizakazu. 1982. *Ainu no rei no sekai* [The spirit world of the Ainu]. Tokyo: Shōgaku-kan.

Fukuda Akira. 1997. *Kamigatari, mukashigatari no densho sekai* [Talks about the gods, talks about days gone by: The passing on of tradition]. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobo.

Fukuda Yoshijiro. 1999. *Mutsugo, Yamase-chiiki-go no seiritsu to eikō* [The formation and the heyday of Mutsu language and Eastern Blizzard Region language]. Aomori: Aomori City.

Fung, Jojo M. 1998. "The Legendary Batu Punggul." *Sabah Society Journal* 15: 59–73.

———. 2000. "Glimpses of Murut Shamanism." *Shaman* 8, no. 2: 181–193.

Funk, D., and V. Kharitonova, eds. 1999. *Proceedings of the International Congress: Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices.* 2 vols. Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 5. Moscow: Institut etnologii i antropologii, RAN (Russian Academy of Sciences).

Funk, Dmitriy. 1996. "The Teleut Ritual Chymyr: Exorcism and Explanation." *Anthropology and Archeology of Eurasia* 35, no. 1: 83–104.

———. 1997. *Teleutskoye shamanstvo: Traditsionniye etnograficheskiye interpretatsii i noviye issledovatelskiye vozmozhnosti* [Teleutian shamanhood: Traditional ethnographic interpretations and new research possibilities]. Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 2. Moscow: Rossiiskaiya akademiiya Nauk (RAN; Russian Academy of Sciences).

———. 1999. "The Teleuts." Pp. 115–121 in *The Small Indigenous Nations of Northern Russia: A Guide for Researchers.* Edited by Dmitriy A. Funk and Lennard Sillanpää. Åbo Akademi University: Social Science Research Unit.

Furst, Peter T. 1967. "Huichol Conception of the Soul." *Folklore Americas* 27, no. 2: 39–106.

———. 1972. "To Find Our Life: Peyote among the Huichol Indians of Mexico." Pp. 136–184 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* Edited by Peter T. Furst. New York: Praeger.

———. 1976. *Hallucinogens and Culture.* Novato, CA: Chandler and Sharp.

———. 1977. "The Roots and Continuities of Shamanism." Pp. 1–28 in *Stones, Bones and Skin: Ritual and Shamanic Art*. Edited by A. Brodzky, R. Daneswich, and N. Johnson. Toronto: Artscanada.

———. 1989. "The Life and Death of the Crazy Kieri: Natural and Cultural History of a Huichol Myth." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 15, no. 2: 155–179.

———. 1994. "The Mara'akáme Does and Undoes: Persistence and Change in Huichol Shamanism." Pp. 113–177 in *Ancient Traditions.* Edited by Gary Seaman and Jane S. Day. Niwot: University Press of Colorado.

Furst, Peter T., ed. 1972. *The Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* New York: Praeger.

Furst, Peter T., and Michael D. Coe. 1977. "Ritual Enemas." *Natural History* 86, no. 3: 88–91.

Furst, Peter T., and Barbara G. Myerhoff. 1966. "Myth as History: The Jimson Weed Cycle of the Huichols of Mexico." *Antropológica* 17: 3–39.

Gad, Finn. 1984. *Grønland* [Greenland]. København: Politikens Forlag.

Gaenszle, Martin. 1991. *Verwandtschaft und Mythologie bei den Mewahang Rai in Ostnepal* [Relationship and Mythology among the Mewahang Rai in East Nepal]. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 1996. "Raising the Head-Soul: A Ritual Text of the Mewahang Rai." *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 10: 77–93.

———. 1999. "Travelling Up and Travelling Down: The Vertical Dimension in Mewahang Rai Ritual Texts." Pp. 135–163 in *Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices.* Edited by Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenszle. Zurich: Ethnological Museum of the University of Zurich.

———. 2000. *Origins and Migrations: Kinship, Mythology and Ethnic Identity among the Mewahang Rai of East Nepal.* Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point and The Mountain Institute.

Gagan, Jeannette. 1998. *Journeying—Where Shamanism and Psychology Meet.* Santa Fe, NM: Rio Chama Publications.

Gallin, Bernard. 1966. *Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Galloway, Patricia. 1995. *Choctaw Genesis, 1500–1700.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Gamble, David. 1980. *Wolof Stories from Senegambia.* San Francisco: San Francisco State University.

Gantogtox, G. 1994a. "Rituel de consécration du bélier à Ciel-Rouge-de-Vengeance." *Variations chamaniques* 1: 101–110.

———. 1994b. "Fragments de cérémonies chamaniques des Bouriates de Mongolie." *Variations chamaniques* 1: 111–129.

———. 1996. "Böö mörgöl" [Shamanism]. *Mongol Ulsiin ugsaatnii jüi* [Ethnography of Mongolia] 3: 78–85.

———. 1997. "Derwelge modnii üg xelleg" [The terminology of Derwelge trees]. *Erdem šinǰilgeenii biçig* [Academic writings] 9: 45–55.

Gantogtox, G., G. Kara, and J. Coloo. 1998. "Buryat Shaman Songs and Rites." *Uran joxiol sudlal* [Studies on literature] 5: 95–140.

Gantz, Jeffrey, trans. 1981. *Early Irish Myths and Sagas.* Middlesex, UK: Penguin.

García Márquez, Gabriel. 1984. *Collected Stories.* New York: Harper and Row.

Gardner, Gerald. 1982. Reprint. *Witchcraft Today.* New York: Magickal Childe. Original edition, 1954.

Garlake, Peter. 1995. *The Hunter's Vision: The Prehistoric Art of Zimbabwe.* London: British Museum Press.

Garrone, Patrick. 2000. *Chamanisme et islam en Asie Centrale: La baksylyk hier et aujourd'hui* [Shamanism and Islam in Central Asia: The *baksyk* yesterday and today]. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Jean Maisonneuve.

Gasparini, Evel. N.d. [1958?]. *"Ethnologica": Finni e Slavi* [Ethnology: Finnish and Slavic]. Venezia: La Goliardica.

Gayton, Anna H. 1930. "Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 24, no. 8: 361–420.

———. 1948. "Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography." *University of California Anthropological Records* 10, nos. 1–2: 1–302.

Gebhart-Sayer, A. 1985. "The Geometric Designs of the Shipibo-Conibo in Ritual Context." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 11, no. 2: 143–175.

———. 1986. "Terapia Estética. Los Diseños Visionarios de Ayahuasca entre los Shipibo-Conibo" [Aesthetic Therapy: The Ayahuasca Visionary Designs of the Shipibo-Conibo]. *América Indígena* 46, no. 1: 189–218.

———. 1987. *Die Spitze des Bewusstseins. Untersuchungen zu Weltbild und Kunst der Shipibo-Conibo.* Hohenschäftlarn: Klaus Renner Verlag.

Geertz, Clifford. 1960. *The Religion of Java.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

———. 1966. "Religion as a Cultural System." Pp. 1–46 in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion.* Edited by M. Banton. London: Tavistock.

———. 1968. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1972. "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight." *Daedalus* 10, no. 1: 1–37. Reprinted in *Interpretation of Culture* by Clifford Geertz. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

———. 1973. "Religion as a Cultural System." Pp. 87–125 in *The Interpretation of Cultures.* Edited by Clifford Geertz. New York: Free Press.

Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gellner, David N. 1992. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Rituals.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 1968. *Saints of the Atlas.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Geschiere, Peter. 1997. *The Modernity of Witchcraft.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Gibson, Thomas. 1986. *Sacrifice and Sharing in the Philippine Highlands.* London School of Economics Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 57. London: Athlone.

Gibson, Todd. 1997. "Notes on the History of the Shamanic in Tibet and Inner Asia." *Numen* 44: 39–59.

Giesler, Patric V. 1986. "GESP Testing of Shamanic Cultists." *Journal of Parapsychology* 50: 123–153.

Gignoux, Philippe. 1981. "Les Voyages chamaniques dans le monde iranien" [Shamanic journeys in the Iranian world]. Pp. 244–265 in *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne*, vol. 1. Acta Iranica 21–22. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

———. 1990. *Les Inscriptions de Kirdīr et sa vision de l'au-delà* [The inscriptions of Kirdīr and his vision of the afterlife] Roma: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente.

———. 1991. *Les Quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdīr, Textes et Concordances* [The four inscriptions of mage Kirdīr, Texts and concordances]. Studia Iranica, Cahier 9. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études irannienes.

———. 2001. *Man and Cosmos in Ancient Iran.* Roma: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.

Gignoux, Philippe, and A. Tafazzoli, eds. and trans. 1993. *Anthologie de Zādspram* [*Anthology of Zadspram*]. Studia Iranica, Cahier 13. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études irannienes.

Giles, Linda L. 1987. "Possession Cults on the Swahili Coast: A Re-examination of Theories of Marginality." *Africa* 57, no. 2: 234–258.

———. 1989a. "Possession Cults on the Swahili Coast: A Re-examination of Theories of Marginality." *Africa* 57, no. 2: 234–258.

———. 1989b. "Spirit Possession on the Swahili Coast: Peripheral Cults or Primary Texts?" Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin.

———. 1995. "Sociocultural Change and Spirit Possession on the Swahili Coast of East Africa." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 2: 89–106.

———. 1999. "Spirit Possession and the Symbolic Construction of Swahili Society." Pp. 142–164 in *Spirit Possession, Modernity, and Power in Africa.* Edited by Heike Behrend and Ute Luig. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press/Oxford: James Currey, Ltd.

Gilles, Eva. 1976. "Introduction." Pp. vii–xxix in *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande,* by Edward E. Evans-Pritchard. Abridged ed. Oxford: Clarendon. Original edition, 1937.

Gillham, Charles E. 1955. *Medicine Men of Hooper Bay.* New York: Macmillan.

Gillison, Gillian. 1994. "Les Rêves, la mort et le désir d'immortalité: Une étude des Gimi des haute-terres de Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée" [Dreams, death, and the wish for immortality: A study of the Gimi of highland Papua New Guinea]. *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 18, no. 2: 91–104.

Gimbutas, Marija. 1989. *The Language of the Goddess.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Ginzburg, Carlo. 1992a. *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath.* New York: Penguin.

———. 1992b. *Le Sabbat des sorcières.* Paris: Gallimard.

Glass-Coffin, Bonnie. 1991. "Discourse, Daño and Healing in North Coastal Peru." *Medical Anthropology* 13: 33–55.

———. 1994. "Anthropology, Shamanism, and the 'New Age.'" *Chronicle of Higher Education,* June 15, A48.

———. 1998. *The Gift of Life: Female Spirituality and Healing in Northern Peru.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1999. "Engendering Peruvian Shamanism through Time: Insights from Ethnohistory and Ethnography." *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 2: 205–238.

Glassman, Sallie Ann. 2000. *Vodou Visions: An Encounter with Divine Mystery.* New York: Villard.

Gluckman, Max. 1954. *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Godelier, Maurice. 1986. *The Making of Great Men: Male Domination and Power among the New Guinea Baruya.* Translated from the French by Rupert Swyer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gold, Ann Grodzins. 1988a. *Fruitful Journeys: The Ways of Rajasthani Pilgrims.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1988b. "Spirit Possession Perceived and Performed in Rural Rajasthan." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 22, no. 1: 35–63.

Goldman, Irving. 1963. *The Cubeo: Indians of the Northwest Amazon.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Gombrich, Richard, and Gananath Obeyesekere. 1988. *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gomes, A. 1990. "Confrontation and Continuity: Simple Commodity Production among the Orang Asli." In *Tribal Peoples and Development in Southeast Asia.* Edited by L. Teck Ghee and A. Gomes. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

Gonen, Amiram, ed. 1993. *The Encyclopedia of the Peoples of the World.* New York: Henry Holt.

González Celdrán, José Alfredo. 2002. *Hombres, dioses y hongos: Hacia una visión etnobotánica del mito* [Men, gods, and mushrooms: Toward an ethnobotanical vision of myth]. Madrid: Edaf.

González-Wippler, Migene. 1992. *The Santería Experience: A Journey into the Miraculous.* Saint Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications.

Goodman, Felicitas D. 1972. *Speaking in Tongues: A Cross-Cultural Study of Glossolalia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1988. *How About Demons? Possession and Exorcism in the Modern World.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gordon, Robert. 1992. *The Bushman Myth: The Making of a Namibian Underclass.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Gore, Charles, and Joseph Nevadomsky. 1997. "Practice and Agency in Mammy Wata Worship in Southern Nigeria." *African Arts* 30, no. 3: 60–69, 95.

Gossen, Gary H. 1974. *Chamulas in the World of the Sun: Time and Space in a Maya Oral Tradition.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gould-Martin, Katherine. 1978. "Ong-Ia-kong: The Plague as Modern Physician." Pp. 41–67 in *Culture and Healing in Asian Societies: Anthropological, Psychiatric and Public Health Studies.* Edited by Arthur Kleinman, Peter Kunstader, E. Russell Alexander, and James L. Gale. Boston: G. K. Hall.

Government Information Office. *The Republic of China at a Glance—Taiwan 2001.* Taipei: Government Information Office.

Graceva, G. N. 1978. "A Nganasan Shaman Costume." Pp. 315–323 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppel. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Graf, Fritz. 1996. *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber: Die Magie in der griechisch-römischen* Antike. Munich: Beck.

Graham, David Crockett. 1958. *The Customs and Religion of the Ch'iang.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Graham, Penelope. 1987. *Iban Shamanism: An Analysis of the Ethnographic Literature.* An Occasional Paper of the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies. Canberra: Australian National University.

Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee. Haudenosaunee Home Page. http://www.sixnations.org (cited August 18, 2002).

Graves, Alfred Perceval. N.d. *The Book of Irish Poetry.* Belfast: Gresham.

Gray, John M. 1966. "*Nairuzi* or *Siku ya Mwaka.*" *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 38: 1–22 and 41: 69–72.

Grebe, María Ester. 1973. "El Kultrun: Un Microcosmos Simbólico" [The Kultrun: A Symbolic Microcosmos]. *Revista Musical Chilena* 123–124: 3–42.

———. 1978. "Relationships between Music Practice and Cultural Context: The Kultrún and Its Symbolism." *World of Music* 20, no. 3: 4–106.

Grebe, María Ester, Sergio Pacheco, and Jorge Segura. 1972. "Cosmovisión Mapuche." *Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional* 14: 46–73.

Green, Rayna. 1988. "The Tribe Called Wannabee." *Folklore* 99, no. 1: 30–55.

Greve, Reinhard. 1982. "Deu Basne und Antibiotika: Schamanistische Heilrituale und westliche Medizin in Austauch" [Deu Basne and antibiotics: Shamanistic healing rituals and Western Medicine in Interchange]. Pp. 257–268 in *Nachtschatten in Weissenland: Betrachtungen zu Alien und neuen Heilsystem* [Nightshade in Weissenland (Land of the Whites): Consideration of Alien and New Healing Systems]. Edited by Manfred Brinkmann and Michael Franz. Berlin: Verlagsgesellschaft Gesundheit.

Grim, John A. 1983. *The Shaman: Patterns of Religious Healing among the Ojibway Indians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Grim, John A., ed. 2001. *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Interbeing of Community and Cosmos.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for the Center for the Study of World Religions.

Grimaldi, Susan. 1997. "Observations on Daniel Noel's 'The Soul of Shamanism': A Defense of Contemporary Shamanism and Michael Harner." *Shaman's Drum* 46: 4–9.

Grinder, John, and Richard Bandler. 1981. *Trance-Formations. Neuro-Linguistic Programming and the Structure of Hypnosis.* Moab, UT: Real People Press.

Groesbeck, C. J. 1989. "C. G. Jung and the Shaman's Vision." *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 34, no. 3: 255–275.

Gruel Apert, Lise. 1995. *La Tradition orale russe* [The Russian oral tradition]. Paris: PUF.

Guan Xiaoyun and Wang Honggang. 1998. *Elunchun zu saman jiao diaocha* [A study of Oroqen shamanism]. Shenyang, China: Liaoning People's Publishing House.

Guenther, Mathias. 1976. "The San Trance Dance: Ritual and Revitalization among the Farm Bushmen of Ghanzi District, Republic of Botswana." *Journal of South West African Scientific Society* 30: 45–55.

———. 1999. *Tricksters and Trancers: Bushman Religion and Society.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Guevara, Tomás. 1908. *Psicología del Pueblo Araucano* [Psychology of the Araucanian People]. Santiago, Chile: Imprenta Cervantes.

Guillemoz, Alexandre. 1992. "Seoul, the Widow, and the *Mudang:* Transformations of Urban Korean Shamanism." *Diogenes* 158 (Summer): 115–127.

Guisso, W. I., and Chai-shin Yu, eds. 1988. *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea.* Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.

Guo Shuyun and Wang Honggang, eds. 2001. *Huo zhuo de saman: Zhongguo saman jiao* [Living shamans: Shamanism in China] (in Chinese and English, with 258 photos). Shenyang, China: Liaoning People's Publishing House.

Gurung, Ganesh Man. 1989. *The Chepang. A Study in Continuity and Change.* Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.

Gusinde, Martin. 1936. "In der Medizinmannschule der Yamana-Feuerlander" (In the Medicineman's School of the Yamana-Fireland People). *Ciba Zeitschrift* (Basel) 4, no. 38: 1307–1310.

Guthrie, Stewart. 1993. *Faces in the Clouds.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gutiérrez-Estevez, Manuel. "Cosmovisión dualista de los mayas yucatecos actuales" [Dual cosmic vision of the present-day Yucatan Mayas]. Pp. 283–321 in *Religión Maya.* Edited by Mercedes de la Garza Camino and Martha Ilia Nájera Coronado. Madrid: Editorial Trotta.

Gutschow, Kim. 1997. "A Case of Madness or 'Wind Disorder' in Zangskar." Pp. 177–202 in *Recent Research on Ladakh* 7. Edited by Thierry Dodin and Heinz Räther. Ulm: Ulmerkulturanthropologische Schriften, Band 9, Universität Ulm.

———. 1998. "An Economy of Merit: Women and Buddhist Monasticism in Zangskar, Northwest India." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.

Guyonvarc'h, Christian-J., and Franse Le Roux. 1986. *Les Druides.* Rennes: Ouest-France.

Haavio, Martti. 1967. *Suomalainen mytologia* [Finnish mythology]. Helsinki: WSOY.

Häbibulla, Abdurähim. 1993. *Uygur Etnografiyisi.* Ürümçi: S̆injañ Xälq Näs̆riyati.

Hadithi, Mwenye. 1990. *Lazy Lion.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Hagedorn, Katherine J. 2001. *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Haginaka Mie. 1980. *Ainu no bungaku yukara eno shotai* [Invitation to Yukar, Ainu literature]. Sapporo: Hokkaidō shuppan kikaku sentā.

Hajdu, P. 1978. "The Nenet Shaman Song and Its Text." Pp. 355–372 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Dioszegi and Mihály Hoppál; translated from the Russian and Hungarian by S. Simon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hajdú, Péter. 1973. *Bevezetés az uráli nyelvtudományba (a magyar nyelv finnugor alapjai)* [Introduction to Uralic linguistics (The Finno-Ugric basis of the Hungarian language)]. 2d ed. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó.

———. 1975. *Finno-Ugrian Languages and Peoples.* London: Deutsch.

———. 1976. "A rokonság nyelvi háttere" [Linguistic Background of Genetic Relationships]. Pp. 11–46 in *Uráli népek nyelvrokonaink kultúrája és hagyományai* [Ancient Cultures of the Uralian Peoples]. Edited by Péter Hajdú. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó.

Halifax, Joan. 1979. *Shamanic Voices: A Survey of Visionary Narratives.* New York: Arkana.

———. 1982. *Shaman: The Wounded Healer.* New York: Crossroads.

Hall, Edwin. 1975. *The Eskimo Storyteller: Folktales from Noatak, Alaska.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee.

Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo. 1992. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Hama, Boubou. 1967. *L'Histoire traditionelle d'un peuple: Les Zarmas-songhay.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

———. 1968. *Histoire des Songhay.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

Hamayon, Roberte. 1990a. *La Chasse à l'âme. Esquisse d'une théorie du chamanisme sibérien* [The hunt for

the soul: Sketch of a theory of Siberian shamanism]. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

———. 1990b. "Pragmatisme et ritualisation dans le chamanisme." Pp. 149–169 in *Essais sur le rituel.* Edited by A-M. Blondeau and K. Schipper. Vol. 2. Louvain-Paris: Peeters (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études, Sciences religieuses).

———. 1994. "Shamanism: A Religion of Nature?" Pp. 109–125 in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

———. 1995a. "Are 'Trance,' 'Ecstasy' and Similar Concepts Appropriate in the Study of Shamanism?" Pp. 17–34 in *Shamanism in Performing Arts.* Edited by Tae-gon Kim and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1995b. "Southern Siberian Religions." In *Encyclopedia of Religion.* Edited by Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillan.

———. 1998. "Ecstasy or the West-Dreamt Shaman." Pp. 175–187 in *Tribal Epistemologies.* Edited by Helmut Wautischer. Averbury Series in Philosophy. Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate.

Hammond-Tooke, W. D. 1974. *The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa.* London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

———. 1989. *Rituals and Medicines. Indigenous Healing in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Ad Donker.

———. 1998. "Selective Borrowing? The Possibility of San Shamanistic Influence in Southern Bantu Divination and Healing Practices." *Southern African Archeological Bulletin* 53: 9–15.

———. 1999. "Divinatory Animals: Further Evidence of San/Nguni Borrowing?" *Southern African Archeological Bulletin* 54: 128–132.

Hancock, Mary. 1995. "The Dilemmas of Domesticity: Possession and Devotional Experience among Urban Smarta Women." Pp. 60–91 in *From the Margins of Hindu Marriage: Essays on Gender, Religion, and Culture.* Edited by Lindsey Harlan and Paul B. Courtright. New York: Oxford University Press.

Handelman, Don. 1967. "The Development of a Washo Shaman." *Ethnology* 6: 444–464.

Hanger, Kimberley S. 1997. *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769–1803.* Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press.

Hanks, William F. 1990. *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hanna, Darwin, and Mamie Henry. 1996. *Our Telling: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlha?kápmx People.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Hanna, J. L. 1979. *To Dance Is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hardman, Charlotte E. 2000. *Other Worlds. Notions of Self and Emotion among the Lohorung Rai.* Oxford and New York: Berg.

Hare, E. M., trans. 1992 [1933]. *The Book of Gradual Sayings [Anguttara Nikāya].* Vol. 2. Oxford, UK: Pali Text Society.

Hariharan, Muthuswamy, and Gowri Kuppuswamy. 1985. *Music in Indian Art.* Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan.

Harlan, Lindsey. 1992. *Religion and Rajput Women: The Ethic of Protection in Contemporary Narratives.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harman, Willis. 1988. *Global Mind Change: The Promise of the Last Years of the Twentieth Century.* Indianapolis, IN: Knowledge Systems.

Harner, Michael J. 1972. *The Jivaro: People of the Sacred Waterfalls.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

———. 1973a. "The Role of Hallucinogenic Plants in European Witchcraft." Pp. 125–150 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1973b. "The Sound of Rushing Water." Pp. 15–27 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael J. Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1980. *The Way of the Shaman: A Guide to Power and Healing.* New York: Harper and Row.

Harner, Michael J., ed. 1973. *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Harner, Michael J., and Sandra Harner. 2001. "Core Practices in the Shamanic Treatment of Illness." *Shamanism* 13, nos. 1 and 2: 19–30.

Harper, Donald. 1998. *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts.* London: Kegan Paul International.

Harper, Edward B. 1957. "Shamanism in South India." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13: 267–287.

Harrington, A. 1997. "Introduction." In *The Placebo Effect: An Interdisciplinary Exploration.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Harris, Annette Suzanne. 1995. "The Impact of Christianity on Power Relationships and Social Exchanges: A Case Study of Change among Tagal Murut, Sabah, Malaysia." Ph.D. diss., Biola University.

Harris, Jack. 1940. "The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada." Pp. 39–116 in *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes.* Edited by R. Linton. New York: Appleton-Century.

Harrisson, Tom. 1965. "The Malohs of Kalimantan: Ethnological Notes." *Sarawak Museum Journal* 12: 236–350.

Harrod, Howard. 2000. *The Animals Came Dancing: Native American Sacred Ecology and Animal Kinship.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Hart, George L. 1975. *The Poems of Ancient Tamil: Their Milieu and Their Sanskrit Counterparts.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harva, Uno (Holmberg). 1938. *Die religiosen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* [The religious conceptions of the Altaic peoples]. Helsinki: Folklore Fellows Communications.

———. 1948. *Suomalaisten muinaisusko* [The ancient beliefs of the Finns]. Helsinki: WSOY.

Harvey, Graham. 2002. *Shamanism: A Reader.* London: Routledge.

Harvey, Graham, and Charlotte Hardman, eds. 2000. *Pagan Pathways: A Guide to the Ancient Earth Traditions.* London: Thorsons.

Harvey, Youngsook Kim. 1979. *Six Korean Women: The Socialization of Shamans.* Saint Paul: West.

Hawkes, David, trans. 1959. *Ch'u Tz'u: "The Songs of the South."* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hawkes, Ernest William. 1913. *The "Inviting-In" Feast of the Alaska Eskimo.* Memoir 45, no. 3. Anthropological Series. Ottawa: Department of Mines.

Heale, Jaye. 1995. *True African Animal Tales.* Cape Town: Struik.

Heber, A. Reeve, and Kathleen M. Heber. 1977. Reprint. *In Himalayan Tibet and Ladakh. A Description of Its Cheery Folk, Their Ways and Religion, of the Rigours of the Climate and Beauties of the Country, Its Fauna and Flora.* New Delhi: Ess Ess. Original edition, 1926.

Hecker, J. F. C. 1970 [1837]. *The Dancing Manias of the Middle Ages.* Trans. B. J. Babington. New York: B. Franklin.

Hedges, Ken. 1976. "Southern California Rock Art as Shamanic Art." Pp. 126–138 in *American Indian Rock Art,* vol. 2. Edited by Kay Sutherland. El Paso, TX: El Paso Archaeological Society.

———. 1985. "Rock Art Portrayals of Shamanic Transformation and Magical Flight." Pp. 83–94 in *Rock Art Papers,* vol. 2. Edited by Ken Hedges. San Diego Museum Papers, vol. 18. San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum of Man.

Hegel, G. W. F. 1975. *Aesthetics. Lectures on Fine Art.* Translated from the German by T. M. Knox. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Originally published 1835.

Heinrich, Clark, and Carl A. P. Ruck. 2001. "Old Gods in New Bottles: Alchemical Pharmacopoeia." *Entheos* 1, no. 1: 55–78.

Heinz, Carolyn Brown. 2000. *Asian Cultural Traditions.* Waveland Press.

Heinze, Ruth-Inge. 1991. *Shamans of the 20th Century.* New York: Irvington Publishers.

———. 1997. *Trance and Healing in Southeast Asia Today.* Rev. ed. Bangkok: White Lotus.

Heissig, Walther. 1944. "Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye Banner." *Folklore Studies* 3: 39–72.

———. 1959. "Invocation of a Female Shaman." *Folklore Studies* 9: 166–175.

———. 1953. "A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the 17th Century." *Anthropos: Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Linguistique* 48, fasc. 1–2: 1–29; fasc. 3–4: 493–536.

———. 1966. "Zur Frage der Homogenität des ostmongolischen Schamanismus." Pp. 81–100 in *Collectanea Mongolica.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

———. 1980. *The Religions of Mongolia.* Translated from the German by Geoffrey Samuel. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Hell, Bertrand. 1999. *Possession et chamanisme* [Possession and shamanism]. Paris: Flammarion.

Helman, Cecil. 1994. *Culture, Health and Illness.* 3d ed. Oxford: Butterworth/Heinemann.

Hemming, John. 1978. *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Henare, Manuka. 2001. "*Tapu, Mana, Mauri, Hau, Wairua:* A Mäori Philosophy of Vitalism and Cosmos." Pp. 197–221 in *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology.* Edited by John A. Grim. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Henderson, James (Sakej) Youngblood. 2000. "Post-Colonial Ghost Dancing." In *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision.* Edited by Marie Battiste. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Henney, Jeannette H., and Esther Pressel. 1974. *Trance, Healing, and Hallucination: Three Field Studies in Religious Experience.* New York: Wiley Interscience.

———. 1981. *The Exorcism of Anneliese Michel.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

———. 1988. *How about Demons? Possession and Exorcism in the Modern World.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1989. "The Neurophysiology of Shamanic Ecstasy." Pp. 377–379 in *Shamanism: Past and Present.* Edited by M. Hoppál and O. J. von Sadovszky. Los Angeles: ISTOR Books.

Herdt, Gilbert. 1987. "Selfhood and Discourse in Sambia Dream Sharing." Pp. 55–85 in *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations.* Edited by Barbara Tedlock. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1989. "Spirit Familiars in the Religious Imagination of Sambia Shamans." Pp. 99–121 in *The Religious Imagination in New Guinea.* Edited by Michele Stephen and Gilbert Herdt. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

———. 1992. "Selfhood and Discourse in Sambia Dream Sharing." Pp. 55–85 in *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations.* Edited by Barbara Tedlock. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Herdt, Gilbert, and Michele Stephen, eds. 1989. *The Religious Imagination in New Guinea.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Hermine, Mafieuh Meido. 1992. *Entre l'angoisse et l'arbre de paix* [Between agony and the tree of peace]. Geneva: Editions Hélios.

Herodotus. 1975. *Herodotus.* Translated by A. D. Godley. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hewat, Matthew. 1970 [1906]. *Bantu Folklore Medical and General.* Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press.

Heyne, Georg F. 1997a. "Die Bedeutung des Schamanen in der Gesellschaft der Rentier-Evenken im Grossen Hinggan (Nordost-China)" [The significance of the shaman in the society of the Reindeer-Evenks in Northeast China]. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrinne* 87: 97–116.

———. 1997b. "Die Schamanische Séanse (Kamlan'e) bei den Rentier-Evenken in der Taiga Nordost-Chinas (Dargestellt unter Verwendung der Feldaufzeichnungen von Frau Dr. Ethel J. Lindgren)" [The Shamanic Séance (Kamlan'e) among the Reindeer-Evenks in the Taiga of Northeast China (Presented in Association with the Field Notes of Frau Dr. Ethel J. Lindgren]. *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 61: 105–112.

Hides, S. 1996. "'Other' Art: Approaching Non-European Cultures." In *Guide to Art.* Edited by S. West. London: Bloomsbury Press.

Higham, Charles. 1989. *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hill, Jane H. 1992. "The Flower World of Old Uto-Aztecan." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 48: 117–144.

Hinojosa, Servando Z. 2002. "'The Hands Know': Bodily Engagement and Medical Impasse in Highland Maya Bonesetting." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 16: 22–40.

Hippler, A. E. 1976. "Shamans, Curers and Personality: Suggestions toward a Theoretical Model." In *Culture-Bound Syndromes, Ethnopsychiatry and Alternative Therapies.* Edited by W. Lebra. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Hirsch, Arnold R., and Joseph Logsdon, eds. 1992. *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Hirst, Manton. 1990. *The Healer's Art: Cape Nguni Diviners in the Township of Grahamstown.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis in anthropology, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Hitchcock, John, and Rex Jones, eds. 1976. *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Warminster, UK: Aris and Phillips.

Hitchcock, John T. 1967. "A Nepalese Shamanism and the Classic Inner Asian Tradition." *History of Religions* 7, no. 2: 149–158.

———. 1974. "A Nepali Shaman's Performance as Theatre." *Artscanada* (30th anniversary issue): 74–80.

———. 1977. "A Nepali Shaman's Performance as Theatre." Pp. 42–48 in *Stones, Bones, and Skin: Ritual and Shamanic Art.* Edited by Anne Trueblood Brodzky. Toronto: Society for Art.

Ho, Ting Jui. 1956. "Tai Ya zu Leihto Hsisu chih Yen Chiu" [A study of the Atayal head-hunters of Taiwan]. *Bulletin of the College of Arts, National Taiwan University* 7, no. 4: 151–208.

Hocquenghem, Anne Marie. 1987. *Iconografía Mochica* [Mochica Iconography]. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Höfer, András. 1981. *Tamang Ritual Texts I. Preliminary Studies in the Folk Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 1994. *A Recitation of the Tamang Shaman.* Bonn: Wissenschaftsverlag.

———. 1997. *Tamang Ritual Texts II. Ethnographic Studies in the Oral Tradition and Folk-Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Hoffman, Mark, Carl A. P. Ruck, and Blaise Daniel Staples. 2001. "Conjuring Eden: Art and the Entheogenic Vision of Paradise." *Entheos* 1, no. 1: 13–50.

———. 2002. "The Entheogenic Eucharist of Mithras." *Entheos* 2, no. 1: 13–50.

Hoffman, Walter J. 1891 "The Midé'wiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa." Pp. 143–300 in Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Hohenthal, William. 2001. *Ethnographic Field Notes: A Baja California Community at Mid Century.* Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press.

Hokkaidō Ainu Culture Research Centre, ed. 1996. "Itak: hanasu" [To speak]. In *Pon Kanpi-sos*, vol. 1. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Ainu Culture Research Centre.

Hokkaidō History Museum. 1973. *Minzokuchosa hokoku-sho, shiryo-hen 1* [A report on cultural study]. Vol. 1. Sapporo: Hokkaidō History Museum.

Holm, Gustav. 1888. *Ethologisk Skizze af Angmagsalikerne* [Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagsalikerne]. Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 9 and 10. København: Rhodes. Reprint, 1972.

———. 1914 [1887]. *Legends and Tales from Angmagsalik.* Collected by G. Holm. Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 39. København: Rhodes.

Holm, Gustav, ed. 1914. *Legends and Tales from Angmagsalik.* Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 39. København: Rhodes.

Holmberg, David H. 1989. *Order in Paradox: Myth, Ritual, and Exchange among Nepal's Tamang.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Holmberg (Harva), Uno. 1922. "The Shaman Costume and Its Significance." *Annales Universitatis Fennicae Aboensis* series B, 1, no. 2: 14–18.

———. 1927. *Finno-Ugric, Siberian* [*Mythology*]. Vol. 4 of *The Mythology of All Races.* Boston: Marshall Jones Company.

———. 1938. "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker" [Religious performances of the Altai folk]. *Folklore Fellows Communications* 52: 125.

Holt, John. 2004. *The Buddhist Visnu.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Hoppál, Mihály. 1978. "Mitologie uraliche" [Uralic mythology]. *Conoscenza Religiosa* 4: 367–395.

———. 1984a. "Contemporary Forms of Shamanism." Pp. 226–230 in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Shamanism.* Edited by Ruth-Inge Heinze. Berkeley: Independent Scholars of Asia.

———. 1984b. "Traces of Shamanism in Hungarian Folk Beliefs." Pp. 430–439 in *Shamanism in Eurasia.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Göttingen: Herodot.

———. 1997. "Tracing Shamanism in Tuva: A History of Studies." Pp. 123–136 in *Shamanic Songs and Myths of Tuva.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál; translated by Aldynai Seden-Khurak et al. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Los Angeles: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

———. 1999. *Shamanism at the Turn of the Millennium.* Pro Ethnologia 8. Tartu, Estonia: Estonian National Museum.

———. 2000a. "Death Experiences in Siberian Shamanism." Pp. 131–142 in *Studies on Mythology and Uraltic Shamanism.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 2000b. *Shaman Traditions in Transition.* Budapest: International Society for Shamanistic Research.

———. 2000c. *Studies on Mythology and Uralic Shamanism.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Hoppál, Mihály, ed. 1980. *A tejút fiai—Tanulmányok a finnusor népek hitirlágáról* [Selected reading on Finno-Ugric mythology]. Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó.

———. 1984. *Shamanism in Eurasia.* Göttingen, Germany: Edition Herodot.

Hoppál, Mihály, and Keith Howard, eds. 1993. *Shamans and Cultures.* Budapest and Los Angeles: Akadémiai Kiadó and ISTOR.

Hoppál, Mihály, and Juha Pentikäinen, eds. 1992. *Northern Religions and Shamanism.* Budapest and Helsinki: Akadémiai Kiadó-Finnish Literature Society.

Hoppál, Mihály, and Otto von Sadovsky, eds. 1989. *Shamanism, Past and Present.* Budapest, Fullerton, Los Angeles: Istor Books.

Hoppe, Thomas. 1998 [1995]. *Die ethnischen Gruppen Xinjiangs: Kulturunterschiede und interethnische Beziehungen* [The ethnic Xuijiang groups: Cultural differences and interethnic Connections]. Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde.

Hori Ichiro. 1968. *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1975. "Shamanism in Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 2: 231–287.

Hornbostel, Erich Moritz, and Curt Sachs. 1961 [1914]. "The Classification of Musical Instruments." *Galpin Society Journal* 14: 3–29. Reprint of the English translation by Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann. Originally published as "Systematik der Musikinstrumente" in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.* Heft 4 u. 5, 1914.

Hornung, Eric, and Betsy Bryan, eds. 2002. *The Quest for Immortality: Treasures of Ancient Egypt.* Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art.

Horton, Robin. 1982. *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoskins, Janet. 1990. "Doubling Deities, Descent, and Personhood: An Exploration of Kodi Gender Categories." Pp. 273–306 in *Power and Difference.* Edited by J. M. Atkinson and S. Errington. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hove, Chenjerai. 1995. *Ancestors.* London: Picador.

Howard, J. H. 1957. "The Mescal Bean Cult of the Central and Southern Plains: Ancestor of the Peyote Cult?" *American Anthropologist* 59: 75–87.

Howard, James H. 1965. *The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi.* Anthropological Papers, no. 1. Vermillion: South Dakota Museum, University of South Dakota.

———. 1977. *The Plains-Ojibwa or Bungi.* Reprints in Anthropology, vol. 7. Lincoln, NE: J and L Reprint.

Howard, Joseph H. 1967. *Drums in the Americas.* New York: Oak Publications.

Howard, Keith. 1990. *Bands, Songs, and Shamanistic Rituals.* Seoul: Seoul Computer Press; Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch.

———. 2002. "Shaman Music, Drumming, and into the 'New Age.'" *Shaman* 10, nos. 1 and 2: 59–81.

Howard, Keith D. 1993. "Without Ecstasy, Is There Shamanism in South-West Korea?" In *Shamans and Cultures.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Keith D. Howard. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Howell, Signe. 1984. *Society and Cosmos: Chewong of Peninsular Malaysia.* Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Howitt, A. W. 1996. Reprint. *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia.* Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press. Original edition, 1904.

Hoyt, Charles. 1981. *Witchcraft.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Hrobjartsson, Asbjorn, and Peter C. Gotzsche. 2001. "Is the Placebo Powerless? An Analysis of Clinical Trials Comparing Placebo with No Treatment." *New England Journal of Medicine* 344, no. 21: 1594–1602.

Hsu, Dolores M. 1984. *The Henry Eichheim Collection of Oriental Instruments.* Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California.

Hubert, Henri, and Marcel Mauss. 1964. Reprint. *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Functions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Original edition, 1898.

Hudson, Charles. 1976. *The Southeastern Indians.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Hugh-Jones, Stephen. 1979. *The Palm and the Pleiades: Initiation and Cosmology in Northwest Amazonia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1994. "Shamans, Prophets, Priests, and Pastors." Pp. 32–75 in *Shamanism, History, and the State.* Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

———. 1997. “Shamans, Prophets, Priests, and Pastors.” Pp. 32–75 in *Shamanism, History, and the State.* Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Huhn, Halla Pai. 1980. *Kut: Korean Shamanist Rituals.* Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym International.

Hultkrantz, Ake. 1963. *Les Religions des Indiens primitifs de l'Amérique* [The religions of the primitive Indians of America]. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell.

———. 1973. “A Definition of Shamanism.” *Temenos* 9: 25–37.

———. 1978. “Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism.” Pp. 27–58 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1984. “Shamanism and Soul Ideology.” Pp. 28–36 in *Shamanism in Eurasia*, pt. 1. Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Göttingen, Germany: Edition Herodot.

———. 1986. “Mythology and Religious Concepts.” Pp. 630–640 in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 11 of *Great Basin.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

———. 1989. “The Place of Shamanism in the History of Religions.” Pp. 43–52 in *Shamanism: Past and Present.* Edited by Otto J. von Sadovszky and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest and Los Angeles/Fullerton: Ethnographic Institute Hungarian Academy of Sciences and International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

———. 1992a. “Aspects of the Saami (Lapp) Shamanism.” Pp. 138–145 in *Northern Religions and Shamanism.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Juha Pentikäinen. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1992b. *Shamanic Healing and Ritual Drama.* New York: Crossroad.

Hume, Lynne. 2002. *Ancestral Power: The Dreaming, Consciousness and Aboriginal Australians.* Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

Humphrey, Caroline. 1994. “Shamanic Practices and the State in Northern Asia: Views from the Center and the Periphery.” Pp. 191–228 in *Shamanism, History, and the State.* Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

———. 1997. “Chiefly and Shamanist Landscapes in Mongolia.” Pp. 135–162 in *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space.* Edited by Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.

Humphrey, Caroline, N. Thomas, and C. Humphrey, eds. 1993. *Shamanism, History and the State.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Humphrey, Caroline, and Onon Urgunge. 1996. *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Dagur Mongols.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon.

Hunt, Harry. 1995. *On the Nature of Consciousness.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hunt, Norman Bancroft. 2003. *Shamanism in North America.* Buffalo, NY: Firefly.

Hunter, Monica. 1979. *Reaction to Conquest: Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa.* Cape Town: David Philip. Originally published 1936.

Hurston, Zora Neale. 1931. “Hoodoo in America.” *Journal of American Folklore* 44, no. 174: 317–417.

———. 1990. *Mules and Men.* New York: HarperPerennial. Original edition, Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott, 1935.

Hurtado, Luis. 2000. “Perfil Cultural del Shamanismo de la Amazonía Peruana” [Cultural Profile of Shamanism in Amazonian Peru]. Pp. 225–269 in *Shamán: La Búsqueda . . .* [Shaman: The Search]. Edited by Walter Alva, Mario Polía, Fabiola Chávez, and Luis Hurtado. Córdoba, Spain: Imprenta San Pablo.

Hutton, Ronald. 1991. *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

———. 1993. *The Shamans of Siberia.* Glastonbury: Isle of Avalon Press.

———. 1999. *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2001. *Shamans: Siberian Spirituality and the Western Imagination.* London and New York: Hambledon.

Hyatt, Harry Middleton. 1970–1978. *Hoodoo–Conjuration–Witchcraft–Rootwork.* 5 vols. Hannibal, MO: Western Publishing.

Hyon, Kiron. 1981. *Chejudo changsu solhwa* [Legends of generals on Cheju Island]. Seoul: Hongsongsa.

Hyon, Yong-jun. 1980. *Chejudo musok charyochip* [Sourcebook of Cheju shamanism]. Seoul: Shinku Munhwasa.

———. 1986. *Cheju musok yonku* [A study of Cheju shamanism]. Seoul: Chipmuntang.

———. 1992. *Musok shinwha wa munhon shinwha* [Shamanic myth and literary myth]. Seoul: Chipmuntang.

Ijzermans, Jan. 1995. “Music and Theory of the Possession Cult Leaders in Chibale, Serenje District, Zambia.” *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 20: 245–274.

Ikegami Yoshimasa. 1994. “Local Newspaper Coverage of Folk Shamans in Aomori Prefecture.” Pp. 9–91 in *Folk Beliefs in Modern Japan.* Translated by Norman Havens. Tokyo: Kokugakuin University.

Ikeya Kazunobu. 1997. “Bear Rituals of the Matagi and the Ainu in Northern Japan.” Pp. 55–63 in *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism.* Edited by Irimoto Takeshi and Yamada Takako. Sapporo: Hokkaidō University Press.

Illinois State Museum. “Journey to Other Worlds: Siberian Collections from the Russian Museum of Ethnography.” http://museum.state.il.us/exhibits/changing/journey/objects/ (cited October 17, 2002).

Indira, Elam. 1998. *Laiharaobagi wakhallon paring* [Series of thoughts on Lai-haraoba]. Imphal: Elam Indira.

Ingerman, Sandra. 1991. *Soul Retrieval: Mending the Fragmented Self.* San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

———. 1994. *Welcome Home: Following Your Spirit's Journey Home.* San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

Inglis, Stephen. 1985. "Possession and Pottery: Serving the Divine in a South Indian Community." Pp. 89–102 in *Gods of Flesh/Gods of Stone: The Embodiment of Divinity in India.* Edited by Joanne Punzo Waghorne and Norman Cutler. Chambersburg, PA: Anima.

Ionov, V. M. 1918. "Kvopros ob izuchenii dokhristianskikh verovanii iakutow" [To the question of the study of pre-Christian Yakut beliefs]. *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii* [Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography] 5, no. 1.

Ipolyi, Arnold. 1987. Reprint. *Magyar mythologia* [Hungarian mythology]. Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó. Original edition, Pest: Kiadja Heckenast Gusztáv, 1854.

Ireland, Rowan. 1991. *Kingdoms Come: Religion and Politics in Brazil.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Ireland, S. 1986. *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook.* London: Routledge.

Irimoto Takashi. 1997. "Ainu Shamanism." Pp. 21–46 in *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Sapporo: Hokkaidō University Press.

Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako, eds. 1994. *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

———. 1997. *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism.* Sapporo: Hokkaidō University Press.

Irwin, Lee. 1994. *The Dream Seekers: Native American Visionary Traditions of the Great Plains.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Ivanov, S. V. 1955. "K voprosu o znachenii izobrazhenii na starinnykh predmetakh kul'ta u narodov Sayano-Altaiskogo nagor'ia" [Regarding the meaning of representations on old cult objects from peoples of the Sayan-Altai uplands]. *Sbornik Muzeia antropologii i etnografii* 16: 165–264.

Iverson, Peter. 2002. *Diné: A History of the Navajos.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Izikowitz, Karl Gustav. 1935. *Musical and Other Sound Instruments.* Göteborg: Elanders Boktruckerei.

Jackson, Michael. 1989. *Paths toward a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Jacobs, Claude V., and Andrew J. Kaslow. 1991. *The Spiritual Churches of New Orleans: Origins, Beliefs, and Rituals of an African-American Religion.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Jacobs, Joseph, coll. 1968. Reprint. *Celtic Fairy Tales.* New York: Dover. Original edition, 1892.

Jacobsen, Johan Adrian. 1977. *Alaskan Voyage 1881–1883.* Translated by Erma Guenther. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Jacobson, E., V. D. Kubarev, and D. Tseevendorj. 2001. *Mongolie du Nord-Ouest: Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor* [Northwest Mongolia: Tsagaan-Salaa/Baga Oigor]. Répertoire des Pétroglyphes d'Asie Centrale, fasc. no. 6. Paris: De Boccard.

Jacobson, Esther. 1993. *The Deer-Goddess of Ancient Siberia: A Study in the Ecology of Belief.* Leiden, the Netherlands: E. J. Brill.

———. 1997. "The 'Bird-Woman,' the 'Birthing Woman,' and the 'Woman of the Animals': A Consideration of the Female Image in Petroglyphs of Ancient Central Asia." *Arts Asiatiques* 52: 37–59.

———. 2001. "Shamans, Shamanism, and Anthropomorphizing Imagery in Prehistoric Rock Art of the Mongolian Altai." Pp. 277–294 in *The Concept of Shamanism. Uses and Abuses.* Edited by Henri-Paul Francfort and Roberte N. Hamayon. Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 10. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Jakobsen, Merete Demant. 1999. *Shamanism. Traditional and Contemporary Approaches to the Mastery of Spirits and Healing.* Oxford: Berghahn.

James, William. 1991. [1902] *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* New York: Triumph Books.

Janzen, John. 1992. *Ngoma: Discourses of Healing in Central and Southern Africa.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jarring, Gunnar. 1961. "A Note on Shamanism in Eastern Turkestan." *Ethnos* 26, nos. 1–2: 1–4.

Jay, Sian. 1993. "Canoes for the Spirits: Two Types of Spirit Mediumship in Central Kalimantan." Pp. 151–168 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumism and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, vol. 2. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Jell-Bahlsen, Sabine. 1997. "Eze Mmiri Di Egwu, The Water Monarch Is Awesome: Reconsidering the Mammy Water Myths." Pp. 103–134 in *Queens, Queen Mothers, Priestesses and Power: Case Studies in African Gender.* Edited by Flora Kaplan. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Jenkins, Della. 1984. "Mamy Wata." Pp. 75–77 in *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos.* Edited by Herbert Cole and Chike Aniakor. Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California.

Jenness, Diamond. 1937. *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia.* Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude.

———. 1943. "The Carrier Indians of the Bulkley River: Their Social and Religious Life." Washington, DC: Anthropological Papers no. 25, BAE Bulletin 133.

———. 1955. "The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian." Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir 3.

———. 1970. Reprint. *The Life of the Copper Eskimo.* New York: Johnson. Original edition, 1922.

Jennings, Sue. 1995. *Theatre, Ritual and Transformation.* London and New York: Routledge.

Jestice, Phyllis G. 2000. *Encyclopedia of Irish Spirituality.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Jilek, Wolfgang. 1974. *Salish Indian Mental Health and Culture Change: Psychohygienic and Therapeutic Aspects of the Guardian Spirit Ceremonial.* Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada.

Jochelson, Waldemar. 1905. *Religion and Myths of the Koryak.* Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 10. New York: G. E. Stechert.

———. 1908. *The Koryak.* Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 6. Leiden and New York: Brill/Stechert.

———. 1924–1926. *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus.* London and New York: American Museum of Natural History, Memoirs.

Johnson, Jerah. 1995. *Congo Square in New Orleans.* New Orleans: Louisiana Landmarks Society.

Johnston, Basil. 1982. *Ojibway Ceremonies.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Johnston, Thomas F. 1992. "The Socio-Mythic Contexts of Music in the Tlingit Shamanism and Potlatch Ceremonials." *World of Music* 34, no. 2: 43–71.

Jones, Leslie Ellen. 1998. *Druid, Shaman, Priest: Metaphors of Celtic Paganism.* Enfield: Hisarlik.

Jones, Rex L. 1976. "Limbu Spirit Possession and Shamanism." Pp. 29–55 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya*s. Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.

Joralemon, Donald. 1990. "The Selling of the Shaman and the Problem of Informant Legitimacy." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 46 (Summer): 105–118.

Joralemon, Donald, and Douglas Sharon. 1993. *Sorcery and Shamanism: Curanderos and Clients in Northern Peru.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Jordaan, Roy E. 1984. "The Mystery of Nyai Lara Kidul, Goddess of the Southern Ocean." *Archipel* 28: 99–116.

Jordan, David, and Daniel Overmyer. 1986. *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jordan, David K. 1972. *Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors: Folk Religion in a Taiwanese Village.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jordan, Richard H. 1994. "Qasqiluteng: Ceremonialism among the Traditional Koniag of Kodiak Island, Alaska." Pp. 147–173 in *Anthropology of the North Pacific Rim.* Edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Valérie Chaussonnet. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Jorgensen, Joseph G. 1972. *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1980. *Western Indians.* San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.

———. 1986. "Ghost Dance, Bear Dance, and Sun Dance." Pp. 660–672 in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 11, *Great Basin.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Jukovskaya, Natal'ya L'vovna. 1965. "Iz istorii religioznogo sinkretizma v Zabaikare" [From the history of religious syncretism in Trans-Baikalia]. *Sovietskaya Etonografiya* [Soviet Ethnography] 6: 120–121.

———. 1969. "Modernizatsiya shamanstva v usloviyakh rasprostraneniya buddizma u mongolov I ikh socedei" [The modernization of shamanism on the condition of the diffusion of Buddhism among the Mongols and their neighbors]. *Etnograficheskii zbornik* [Ethnographical collections] 5: 175–179.

Juli, Edo. "Claiming Our Ancestors' Land: An Ethnohistorical Study of *Seng-Oi* Land Rights in Perak Malaysia." Ph.D. diss., Australian National University.

Kabir, Zainab Sa'id. *Triple Heritage: The Dilemma of the African Muslim Woman.* HausaNet Article. http://biafranigeriaworld.com/ (cited October 30, 2003).

Kaeppler, Adrienne Lois. 1996. "Dance." Pp. 309–313 in *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology.* Edited by David Levinson and Melvin Ember. Vol. 1. New York: Henry Holt.

Kagan, Richard C., trans. and ed. 1980. "The Chinese Approach to Shamanism." *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 12, no. 4.

Kahl, Werner. 2001. "Heilungserfahrungen in westafrikanischen Kirchen und ihr kultureller Kontext—Betrachtet aus neutestamentlicher Perspektive" Pp. 117–141 in *Heilung in Mission und Ökumene,* Studienheft 41, Weltmission Heute. Hamburg: EMW.

Kailasapathy, K. 1968. *Tamil Heroic Poetry.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kakar, Sudhir. 1982. *Shamans, Mystics, and Doctors.* London: Unwin.

Kalweit, Holger. 1988 [1984]. *Dreamtime and Inner Space: The World of the Shaman.* Boston: Shambhala.

Kamata, Hisako. 1966. "Daughters of the Gods: Shaman Priestesses in Japan and Okinawa." Pp. 56–73 in *Folk Cultures of Japan and East Asia.* Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, no. 25. Tokyo: Sophia University Press.

Kanagi Kyōdo-shi hensan iinkai, ed. 1976. *Kanagi kyodo shi* [Kanagi hometown history]. Kanagi, Tsugaru: Kanagi-chō yakuba.

Kapadia, Karin. 1995. *Siva and Her Sisters: Gender, Caste, and Class in Rural South India.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Kapferer, Bruce. 1983. *A Celebration of Demons: Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri Lanka.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Karjalainen, K. T. 1921–1927. *Die Religion der Jugra Völker.* Helsinki: Folklore Fellows Communications, vols. 8, 11, 20.

Karp, Ivan. 1989. "Power and Capacity in Rituals of Possession." Pp. 91–109 in *The Creativity of Power.* Edited by William Arens and Ivan Karp. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Karsten, Rafael. 1935. *The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas.* Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 7, no. 1. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Kasfir, Sidney L., ed. 1988. *West African Masks and Cultural Systems.* Tervuren: Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale.

Katanov, N. Th. 1933–1936. *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan.* Aus den Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philologisch-Historische Klasse 1933 und 1936 [From the proceedings of the Prussian Academy of the Learned (Scientific) Philology—Historical Classes of 1933 and 1936], pp. 1250–1269. Karl Heinrich Menges.

Katz, Richard. 1981. "Education as Transformation: Becoming a Healer among the Kung and Fijians." *Harvard Educational Review* 51: 57–78.

———. 1982. *Boiling Energy: Community Healing among the Kalahari !Kung.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. 1993. "The !Kung Approach to Healing: Spiritual Balance through Dance." *Parabola* 18: 72–81.

———. 1999. *The Straight Path of the Spirit: Ancestral Wisdom and Healing Traditions in Fiji.* Rochester, VT: Park Street Press.

Katz, Richard, Megan Biesele, and Verna St. Denis. 1997. *Healing Makes Our Hearts Happy: Spirituality and Cultural Transformation among the Kalahari Ju|'hoansi.* Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions International.

Kawamura Kunimitsu. 1994. "The Life of a Shamaness: Scenes from the Shamanism of Northeastern Japan." In *Folk Beliefs in Modern Japan.* Contemporary Papers on Japanese Religion, vol. 3. Edited and translated by Norman Havens; edited by Inoue Nobutaka. Tokyo: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University. Online version at http://www.kokugakuin.ac.jp/ijcc/wp/cpjr/folkbeliefs/kawamura.html.

Kayano Shigeru. 1977. *Honoo no uma* [Fire horse]. Tokyo: Suzusawa shoten.

Kealiinohomoku, Joann W. 1980. *The Drama of the Hopi Ogers.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Kearney, Michael. 1978. "Spiritualist Healing in Mexico." In *Culture and Curing: Anthropological Perspectives on Traditional Medical Beliefs and Practices.* Edited by Peter Morley and Roy Wallis. London: Peter Owen.

Kehoe, Alice Beck. 1989. *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization.* Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

———. 1990. "Primal Gaia: Primitivists and Plastic Medicine Men." Pp. 194–209 in *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies.* Edited by James A. Clifton. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

———. 1996. "Eliade and Hultkrantz. The European Primitivism Tradition." *American Indian Quarterly* 20, nos. 3–4: 377–392.

———. 2000. *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Keightley, David. 1983. "Royal Shamanism in the Shang: Archaic Vestige or Central Reality?" Paper prepared for The Workshop on Chinese Divination and Portent Interpretation, Berkeley, June 20–July 1.

———. 1995. "Chinese Religions 4000 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.: Neolithic and Shang Periods." *Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 1: 124–134.

Kein, Sybil, ed. 2000. *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Kellens, Jean. 1995. "L'Âme entre le cadavre et le paradis" [The soul between corpse and paradise]. *Journal Asiatique* 283: 19–56.

Kelly, Isabel T. 1936. "Chemehuevi Shamanism." Pp. 129–142 in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber.* Edited by R. E. Lowie. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1938. "Southern Paiute Shamanism." *University of California Anthropological Records* 2: 151–168.

Kendall, Laurel. 1985. *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

———. 1988. *The Life and Hard Times of a Korean Shaman.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

———. 1989. "Old Ghosts and Ungrateful Children: A Korean Shaman's Story." Pp. 138–157 in *Women as Healers.* Edited by Carol McClain. New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press.

———. 1995. "Initiating Performance: The Story of Chini, a Korean Shaman." Pp. 17–58 in *The Performance of Healing.* Edited by Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman. New York: Routledge.

Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush Borakhovich. 1978. "Funeral Rites of Tuva Shamans." In *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1987. *Obriadovaia Praktika I Folkor Tuvinskogo Shamanstva* [The ritual practice and Folklore of Tuvan shamanism]. Norosibirsk: Nauka.

———. 1993. *Magic of Tuvan Shamans.* Kyzyl: Novosty Tuva.

———. 1995. *Algyshy tuvinskih shamanov* [Algish of Tuvan Shamans]. Kyzyl: Novosti Tuvy.

———. 1997. *Shamanic Songs and Myths of Tuva.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál; translated by Aldynai Seden-Khurak et al. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; Los Angeles: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

———. 1999. *Tuvinskiye shamany* [Tuva shamans]. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Transpersonal'nogo Instituta.

Kennedy, J. G. 1967. "Nubian Zar Ceremonies as Psychotherapy." *Human Organization* 26: 185–194.

Kennedy, John G. 1996. *Tarahumara of the Sierra Madre: Survivors of the Canyon's Edge.* Pacific Grove, CA: Asilomar Press.

Kenney, M. G. 1981. "Multiple Personality and Spirit Possession." *Psychiatry* 44: 337–358.

Kensinger, Kenneth. 1974. "Cashinahua Medicine and Medicine Men." Pp. 283–289 in *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent.* Edited by Patricia J. Lyon. Boston: Little, Brown.

Kerr, George H. 1958. *Okinawa: The History of an Island People.* Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle.

Kershaw, Eva Maria. 2000. *A Study of Brunei Dusun Religion: Ethnic Priesthood on a Frontier of Islam.* Borneo Research Council, Monograph Series no. 4. Phillips, ME: Borneo Research Council.

Khaldūn, Ibn. 1967. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History.* 2d ed. Translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal. London: Routledge and K. Paul.

Khangalov, Matvei Nikolaevich. 1958, 1959, 1960. *Sobranie Soçinenij* I–III. Ulan-Ude: Burjatskoe Knižnoe Izdatel'stvo.

Kharitonova, Valentina I. 1995. "Rol' i znachenie sexual'no-eroticheskogo nachala v magiko-misticheskoj praktike (k probleme ISS)" [The role and meaning of the sexual-erotic nature in magical and mystical practice (on the problem of altered states of consciousness)]. Pp. 180–232 in *Shamanism and Early Indigenous Beliefs.* Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 1. Edited by Dmitriy Funk. Moscow.

———. 2000. "S. G. G. Kazachinivoj beseduet V. I. Kharitonova. Izbrannichestvo i dar tvorchestva: Sud'by khama, khajdzhi, takhpakhchi . . ." [Valentina Kharitonova speaks with Galina Kazachinova: Being a chosen one and a gift of creativity: The destinies of Kham, Khaidgi, Takhpakhchi . . .]. Pp. 79–106 in *Shamanskij dar* [Shamanic gift]. Edited by Valentina Kharitonova. Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 6. Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences.

———. 2001. "The Religious-Magical Practices in Russia at the End of XX–Beginning of XXI Centuries (Khakassiya, Tuva)." Pp. 180–187 (Russian), 187–189 (English) in *Proceedings of the International Interdisciplinary Scientific and Practical Symposium, Ecology and Traditional Religious and Magical Knowledge.* Ethnological Studies of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, vol. 7. Moscow.

Khundaeva, Ye O. 1996. "Shamanistic and Polytheistic Entities in the Spiritual Sources of the Heroic Epos of Mongolian Peoples" (Abstract). In *Proceedings of the International Symposium—Central Asian Shamanism: Philosophical, Historical, Religious and Ecological Aspects,* June 20–26, 1996.

Kidwell, Clara Sue. 1995. *Choctaws and Missionaries in Mississippi, 1818–1918.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kieckhefer, Richard. 1992. *Magie im Mittelalter.* München: Beck.

Kiernan, J. P. 1990. *The Production and Management of Therapeutic Power in Zionist Churches within a Zulu City.* Lewiston, NY: Mellon.

Kim, Bu-shik. 1983. *Samguk Sagi* [The chronicles of the three kingdoms]. Seoul: Ulyumun.

Kim, Jeong-Hak. 1978. *The Prehistory of Korea.* Honolulu: Honolulu University Press.

Kim, Kwang-Ok. 1994. "Rituals of Resistance: The Manipulation of Shamanism in Contemporary Korea." Pp. 195–219 in *Asian Visions of Authority: Religion and the Modern States of East and Southeast Asia.* Edited by Charles Keyes, Laurel Kendall, and Helen Hardacre. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Kim, Seong-nae. 1989a. *Chronicle of Violence, Ritual of Mourning: Cheju Shamanism in Korea.* Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.

———. 1989b. "Lamentations of the Dead: The Historical Imagery of Violence on Cheju Island, South Korea." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 3, no. 2: 251–286.

———. 1992. "Dances of *Toch'aebi* and Songs of Exorcism in Cheju Shamanism." *Diogenes* 158 (Summer): 57–68.

———. 1995. "Iconic Power of Modernity: Reading a Cheju Shaman's Life History and Initiation Dream." Pp. 155–165 in *South Korea's Minjung Movement.* Edited by Kenneth Wells. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

———. 2000. "Mourning Korean Modernity in the Memory of the Cheju April Third Incident." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1, no. 3: 461–476.

Kim, Tae-gon. 1981. *Hankuk Musok Yon-gu* [Studies in Korean shamanism]. Seoul: Chipmundang.

Kim, Tae-gon, and Mihály Hoppál, eds. 1995. *Shamanism in Performing Arts.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

King, Bridget. 1995. *The Magic Drum: Stories from Africa's Savannah, Sea, and Skies.* Nairobi: Jacaranda Designs.

King, Serge Kahili. 1990. *Urban Shaman.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

King, Victor T. 1985. *The Maloh of West Kalimantan: An Ethnographic Study of Social Inequality and Social Change among an Indonesian Borneo People.*

Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, no. 108. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Foris.

Kingsley, Peter. 1995. *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic: Empedocles and Pythagorean Tradition.* New York: Oxford.

Kinsella, Thomas. 1969. *The Táin: The Cattle Raid of Cúailnge and Other Ulaid Stories.* London: Oxford University Press.

Kip, Rita Smith, and Susan Rodgers, eds. 1987. *Indonesian Religion in Transition.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Kirby, E. T. 1975. *Urdrama: The Origins of the Theatre.* New York: New York University Press.

Kister, Daniel A. 1994. "Artaudian Aspects of Korean Shamanist Drama." Pp. 133–145 in *Antonin Artaud and the Modern Theater.* Edited by Gene A. Plunka. London: Associated University Presses.

———. 1997. *Korean Shamanist Ritual: Symbols and Dramas of Transformation.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1999. "Present Day Shamanism in Northern China and the Amur Region." *Shaman* 7, no. 1: 77–95.

Kleinman, Arthur. 1980. *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture: An Exploration of the Borderland between Anthropology, Medicine and Psychiatry.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1991. "Suffering and Its Professional Transformation." In *Writing at the Margin.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kleinmichel, Sigrid. 2000. *Halpa in Choresm (Ëwarazm) und Atin Ayi im Ferghanatal: Zur Geschichte des Lesens in Usbekistan im 20. Jahrhundert* [*Halpa* in Choresm and *Atin Ayi* in the Fergana Valley: On the history of literature in Uzbekistan in the twentieth century]. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch.

Klements, Dmitrii Aleksandrovich. 1910. "O Vzaimnykh Vriyaniyakh mejdu Lamaizmom i Buryatskim Shamanizmom" [On Mutual influence between Lamaism and Buryat Shamanism]. *Etnograficheskoe Ovozrenie* [Ethnographical Views] 83, no. 4: 25–31.

Klüver, Heinrich. 1966 [1928]. Reprint. *Mescal and Mechanisms of Hallucinations.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Knecht, Peter. 1997. "The Ritual of *Kuchiyose* (Calling the Dead)." Pp. 197–213 in *Rituale und ihre Urheber. Invented Traditions in der japanischen Religionsgeschichte* [Rituals and their originators. Invented traditions in Japanese religious history]. Edited by Klaus Antoni. Hamburg: LIT Verlag.

Knight, Chris. 1988. "Menstrual Synchrony and the Australian Rainbow Snake." Pp. 232–255 in *Blood Magic: The Anthropology of Menstruation.* Edited by Thomas Buckley and Alma Gottlieb. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

Knödel, Susanne, and Ulla Johansen. 2000. *Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus* [Symbolism of Tibetan Religion and Shamanism]. Symbolik der Religionen, vol. 23. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.

Knoll, Max. 1958. "Anregung geometrischer Figuren und anderer subjektiver Lichtmuster in elektrischen Feldern." *Zeitschrift für Psychologie* 17: 110–126.

Koentjaraningrat. 1985. *Javanese Culture.* Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Kojima, Yoshimichi Ed. 1915. *The Survey Reports on the Customs of Formosan Aborigines.* Vol. 1. Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokutu.

Kollmann, Bernd. 1996. *Jesus und die Christen als Wundertäter, Studien zu Magie, Medizin und Schamanismus in Antike und Christentum.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Konagaya Yūki. 1999. "Mongoru no sōsō girei" [Mongolian funeral rites]. *Kokuritsu minzoku-gaku hakubutsukan chōsa hōkoku* [Research report of the State Ethnographic Museum in Japan] 8.

Konshin. 1906. *Materialy po Manchurii i Mongolii* [Materials on Manchuria and Mongolia]. Vypusk 1, *Mongolia. Djerimskji seim.* Harbin.

Köprülü, Fuad. 1991. Reprint. *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* [The first Sufis in Turkish literature]. 7th ed. Ankara: Diyanet İs̓leri Bas̓kanlığı. Original edition, 1918.

Korean National Commission for UNESCO, ed. 1983. *Korean Folklore.* Seoul: Sisa Yongosa.

Kornakova, Augusta Dmitrievna. 1903. *Pokhorony Khantszina-lamy-geljuna* [The Funeral of Khantszin-lama-geliun]. The Archives of Orientalists of the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies. Category 1, inventory 3, 26 (manuscript).

———. 1905. "Pokhorony Khantszina-lamy-geljuna" [The Funeral of Khantszin-lama-geliun]. *Trudy Troitskosavsko-Kyakhtinskogo Otdelenija Priamurskogo otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva* 7, no. 1: 6–31.

Kósko, Maria. 1990. *Mitologia ludow Syberii* [Mythology of the people of Siberia]. Warsaw.

Kosslyn, S. M., et al. 1993. "Visual Mental Imagery Activates Topographically Organized Visual Cortex: PET Investigations." *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 5: 263–287.

Kothari, Komal. 1982. "The Shrine: An Expression of Social Needs." Pp. 5–31 in *Gods of the Byways.* Oxford, UK: Museum of Modern Art.

Kotkin, Stephen, and David Wolff. 1995. *Rediscovering Russia in Asia.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Kozak, David, and D. Lopez. 1999. *Devil Sickness, Devil Songs: Tohono O'odham Poetics.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Krader, Lawrence. 1956. "A Nativistic Movement in Western Siberia." *American Anthropologist* 58: 282–292.

Krainskie, Nikolai V. 1990. *Porcha klikushi i biyesnovatye, kak iavleniia russkoi naroduoi zhizni.* Novgorod: Gubernskaia tip-iia.

Kramer, Fritz. 1993. *The Red Fez: Art and Spirit Possession in Africa.* Translated from the German by Malcolm Green. London and New York: Verso.

Kramer, Samuel Noah. 1963. *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krauskopff, Gisèle. 1988. *Maîtres et possédés: Les Rites et l'ordre social chez les Tharu (Dang-Népal).* Paris: Editions der CNRS.

Krige, Eileen J. 1950 [1936]. *The Social System of the Zulus.* Pietermaritz: Shuter and Shooter.

Krippner, Stanley. 1989. "The Use of Dreams in Shamanic Traditions." Pp. 371–381 in *Shamanism Past and Present,* pt. 2. Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Otto von Sadovsky. Budapest: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

———. 2000. "The Epistemology and Technologies of Shamanic States of Consciousness." *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 7: 93–118.

———. 2002. "Conflicting Perspectives on Shamans and Shamanism: Point and Counterpoints." *American Psychologist* 57: 962–977.

Krippner, Stanley, and Peter Welch. 1992. *Spiritual Dimensions of Healing: From Native Shamanism to Contemporary Health Care.* New York: Irvington Publishers.

Kristeva, Julia. 1989. *Language: The Unknown.* Translated from the French by Anne M. Menke. New York: Columbia University Press. Originally published as *La Langue, cet inconnu,* 1981.

Kroeber, Alfred Louis. 1925. *Handbook of the Indians of California.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

———. 1940. "Psychotic Factors in Shamanism." *Character and Personality* 8: 204–215.

———. 1951. "The Yurok." In *The California Indians—A Source Book.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kruuse, Chr. 1912. "Rejser og Botaniske Undersøgelser i Østgrønland mellem 65–30' og 67–20' i Aarene 1898–1902 samt Angmagsalik-egnens Vegetation" [Travels to Botanical Undertaking in East Greenland between 65–30' and 67–20' in Aarene 1898–1902 and also Angmagsalik's Vegetation]. *Meddelelser om Grønland*, bd. 49. København: Rhodes.

Ksenofontov, Gavriil V. 1992. *Shamanism. Izbrannye trudy* [Shamanism. Selected works]. Jakutsk: Sever-Jug.

Kubarev, V. D. 1988. *Drevnie rospisi Karakola* [Ancient rock art of Karakol]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Kubarev, V. D., and E. Jacobson. 1996. *Répertoire des Pétroglyphes d'Asie centrale. Sibérie du Sud 3: Kalbak-Tash I (République de l'Altai)* [Catalog of the Petroglyphs of Central Asia (Altai Republic). Répertoire des Pétroglyphes d'Asie centrale, fasc. no. 3. Paris: De Boccard.

Kubler, George. 1991. *Esthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Kuckertz, Heinz. 1990. *Creating Order: The Image of the Homestead in Mpondo Social Life.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Kümin, Beatrice. 2001. "Climbing Trees: The Transmission of Knowledge in Buryat Shamanism." *Shaman* 9, no. 1 (Spring): 3–18.

Kumlien, Ludwig. 1879. *Contributions to the Natural History of Arctic America.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Kuramochi, Yosuke. 1990. "Contribuciones Etnográficas al Estudio del *Machitun*" [Ethnographic Studies on the Machitun Ritual]. Paper presented at the Cuartas Jornadas de Lengua y Literatura Mapuche.

Kurath, G. P. 1960. "Panorama of Dance Ethnology." *Current Anthropology* 1, no. 3: 233–254.

Kürelša et alii. 1998. *Qorçin böge mörgül-ün sudulul* [Khorchin shamanic studies]. Kökeqota: Ündüsüten-ü Keblel-ün Qoriy-a.

La Barre, Weston. 1971. "Materials for a History of Studies of Crisis Cults: A Bibliographic Essay." *Current Anthropology* 12, no. 1: 3–43.

———. 1972. "Hallucinogens and the Shamanic Origins of Religion." Pp. 261–278 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual use of Hallucinogens.* Rev. ed. Edited by Peter T. Furst. New York: Praeger.

———. 1980. *Culture in Context: Selected Writings of Weston LaBarre.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

———. 1989. *The Peyote Cult.* 5th ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Original edition, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938.

———. 1990a. Reprint. *The Ghost Dance: Origins of Religion.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press. Original edition, New York: Dell, 1972.

———. 1990b. "Hallucinations and the Origins of Religion." Pp. 261–278 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinations.* Edited by Peter T. Furst. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press. Original edition, New York: Praeger, 1972.

Labat, Jean-Baptiste. 1728. *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale* [New narrative of western Africa]. Paris: Chez G. Cavelier.

Labate, Beatriz Caiuby. 2002. "A literatura brasileira sobre as religiôes Ayahuasqueiras" [The Brazilian literature about ayahuasca religions]. In *O uso ritual da Ayahuasca.* Edited by Beatriz Caiuby Labate and Wladimyr Sena Araújo. Campinas: Mercado de Letras.

Lacan, Jacques. 1968. *The Language of the Self.* Translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Originally published as *Fonction et champ de la parole et de la langue en psychanalyse,* 1956.

Laderman, Carol. 1982. "Putting Malay Women in Their Place." In *Women in Southeast Asia.* Edited by Penny Van Esterik. Northern Illinois University Center for Southeast Asia Studies Monograph Series, Occasional Paper no. 9. Dekalb, IL.

———. 1983. *Wives and Midwives: Childbirth and Nutrition in Rural Malaysia.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

———. 1987. "Destructive Heat and Cooling Prayer: Malay Humoralism in Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Postpartum Period." *Social Science and Medicine* 25, no. 4: 357–366. Special issue: *Hot-Cold Food and Medical Theories: Cross-Cultural Perspectives.*

———. 1991a. *Taming the Wind of Desire: Psychology, Medicine and Aesthetics in Malay Shamanistic Performance.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

———. 1991b. "Malay Medicine, Malay Person." *Medical Anthropology* 13, nos. 1–2: 83–98.

———. 1995. "The Poetics of Healing in Malay Shamanistic Performances." Pp. 115–142 in *The Performance of Healing.* Edited by Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman. New York: Routledge.

Laderman, Carol, and Marina Roseman, eds. 1995. *The Performance of Healing.* New York: Routledge.

Lagarriga, Isabel, Jacques Galinier, and Michel Perrin, coords. 1995. *Chamanismo en Latinoamérica. Una revisión conceptual.* México City: Plaza y Valdés.

Lambek, Michael. 1981. *Human Spirits: A Cultural Account of Trance in Mayotte.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lambert, Helen. 1997. "Illness, Inauspiciousness, and Modes of Healing in Rajasthan." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 31: 253–271.

Lamla, Masilo. N.d. "The Knowledge (Stock-in-Trade) of a Traditional Healer." Unpublished paper.

Landy, David, ed. 1977. *Culture, Disease and Healing: Studies in Medical Anthropology.* New York: Macmillan.

Lang, Graeme, and Lars Ragvald. 1993. *The Rise of a Refugee God: Hong Kong's Wong Tai Sin.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

———. 1998. "Spirit Writing and the Development of Chinese Cults." *Sociology of Religion* 59, no. 4: 309–328.

Lang, Graeme, and Josephine Smart. 2002. "Migration and the 'Second Wife' in South China." *International Migration Review* 36, no. 2.

Langdon, E. J. 1979. "Yagé among the Siona: Cultural Patterns in Visions." In *Spirits, Shamans and Stars.* Edited by David Brownman and Ronald A. Schwartz. The Hague: Mouton.

Langdon, E. Jean Matteson. 1992. "Introduction: Shamanism and Anthropology." Pp. 1–21 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Langdon, Jean. 1974. "The Siona Medical System: Beliefs and Behavior." Ph.D. diss., Tulane University.

Langer, Susanne. 1953. *Feeling and Form.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Lanternari, Vittorio. 1963. *The Religion of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults.* Translated from the Italian by Lisa Sergio. New York: Knopf.

Lantis, Margaret. 1946. "The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo." Transactions of the American Philosophical Society n.s. 35, no. 3: 151–323. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

———. 1947. *Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism.* American Ethnological Society Monograph no. 11. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Lapassade, Georges. 1990. *La Transe* [The trance]. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Lapiner, Alan C. 1976. *Pre-Columbian Art of South America.* New York: H. N. Abrams.

Larsen, Helge, and Froelich Rainey. 1948. *Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale Hunting Culture.* New York: American Museum of Natural History.

Last, Murray. 1991. "Spirit Possession as Therapy: *Bori* among Non-Muslims in Nigeria." Pp. 49–63 in *Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond.* Edited by I. M. Lewis, Ahmed Al-Safi, and Sayyid Hurreiz. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Latcham, Ricardo. 1922. *La Organización Social y las Creencias Religiosas. de Los Antiguos Araucanos* [The Social Organization and Religious Beliefs of the Ancient Araucanians]. Santiago, Chile: Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile.

Latta, Frank F. 1977. *Handbook of Yokuts Indians.* Santa Cruz, CA: Bear State Books.

Laughlin, Charles. 1997. "Body, Brain, and Behavior: The Neuroanthropology of the Body Image." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 8, nos. 2 and 3: 49–68.

Laughlin, Charles, John McManus, and Eugene d'Aquili. 1992. *Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neurophenomenology of Consciousness.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Laughlin, Charles, et al. 1990. *Brain, Symbol, and Experience.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Laugrand, Frédéric, Jarich Oosten, and François Trudel. 2000. *Representing Tuurngait.* Iqaluit: Arctic College.

Launay, Robert. 1992. *Beyond the Stream: Islam and Society in a West African Town.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lawrence, Peter. 1964. *Road Belong Cargo.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Lawrence, Peter, and M. J. Meggitt, eds. 1965. *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Lawuyi, O. B. N.d. "The Healing Ancestors of Isinuka, South Africa." Unpublished paper.

Layton, Robert L. 1992. *Australian Rock Art: A New Synthesis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2000. “Shamanism, Totemism, and Rock Art: ‘Les chamanes de la prehistoire’ in the Context of Rock Art Research.” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10: 169–186.

———. 2001. “Ethnographic and Symbolic Analyses.” Pp. 311–331 in *Handbook of Rock Art Research.* Edited by D. S. Whitley. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Lebra, William P. 1966. *Okinawan Religion.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Lecouteux, Claude. 1982. *Mélusine.* Paris: Payot.

———. 1992. *Fées, Sorcières et Loups-garous au Moyen Age: Histoire du double* [Fairies, Sorceresses and Werewolves of the Middle Ages: History of the Double]. Paris: Imago.

Lee, Jung Young. 1981. *Korean Shamanistic Rituals.* Religion and Society, vol. 12. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Lee, Nung-wha. 1991. *Choson Musokko.* Seoul: Tongmunjip.

Lee, Richard. 1968. “The Sociology of Kung Bushman Trance Performances.” Pp. 35–54 in *Trance and Possession States.* Edited by Raymond Prince. Montreal: Raymond M. Bucke Memorial Society.

———. 1984. *The Dobe !Kung.* Toronto: Wadsworth.

———. 2003. *The Dobe Ju/’hoansi.* 2d ed. of *The Dobe !Kung.* Toronto: Wadsworth.

Lee, Richard, and Irven De Vore, eds. 1984. *Man the Hunter.* New York: Aldine Publishing.

Leenhardt, Maurice. 1979. *Do Kamo: Person and Myth in the Melanesian World.* Trans. by B. M. Gulati. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lemoine, Jacques. 1986. “Shamanism in the Context of Hmong Resettlement.” Pp. 337–348 in *The Hmong in Transition.* Edited by G. L. Hendricks, B. T. Downing, and A. S. Deinard. New York and Minneapolis: Center for Migration Studies and Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project, University of Minnesota.

———. 1996. “The Constitution of a Hmong Shaman’s Powers of Healing and Folk Culture.” *Shaman* 4, nos. 1 and 2: 144–165.

Lems-Dworkin, C. 1996. *Videos of African-Related Performances: An Annotated Bibliography.* Evanston, IL: Carol Lems-Dworkin Publishers.

Lenormant, François. 1877. *Magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines accadiennes* English translation. London: Samuel Bagster.

León-Portilla, Miguel. 1973. *Time and Reality in the Thought of the Maya.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Lessa, W. A. 1961. *Tales from Ulithi Atoll.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lesser, Alexander. 1933. *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game.* Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 16. New York: Columbia University Press.

Levi, Carolissa M. 1956. *Chippewa Indians of Yesterday and Today.* New York: Pageant Press.

Levi, Jerome M. 1978. “Wii’ipay: The Living Rocks Ethnographic Notes on Crystal Magic among Some California Yumans.” *Journal of California Anthropology* 5, no. 1: 42–52.

———. 1999a. “Hidden Transcripts among the Rarámuri: Culture, Resistance, and Interethnic Relations in Northern Mexico.” *American Ethnologist* 26, no. 1: 90–113.

———. 1999b. “The Embodiment of a Working Identity: Power and Process in Rarámuri Ritual Healing.” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 23, no. 3: 13–46.

———. 2003. “Indigenous Rights and Representations in Northern Mexico: The Diverse Contexts of Rarámuri Voice and Silence.” Pp. 255–292 in *At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States.* Edited by Bartholomew Dean and Jerome M. Levi. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Levin, M. G., and L. P. Potapow. 1964. *The Peoples of Siberia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levin, M. G., and L. P. Potapow, eds. 1964. *The Peoples of Siberia.* Translated from the Russian by Scripta Technica, Inc. English translation edited by Stephen P. Dunn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1963 [1949]. *Structural Anthropology.* Translated from the French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. New York: Basic Books.

———. 1962. *Totemism.* Translated from the French by Rodney Needham. Boston: Beacon.

———. 1963. “The Effectiveness of Symbols.” Pp. 186–206 in *Structural Anthropology.* Translated from the French by C. Jacobson and B. G. Schoepf. New York: Basic Books. Originally published 1949.

Levtzion, Nehemia. 1979. “Toward a Comparative Study of Islamization.” In *Conversion to Islam*. Edited by N. Levtzion. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Levy, Jerrold E. 1994. “Hopi Shamanism: A Reappraisal.” Pp. 307–327 in *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture.* Edited by Raymond J. DeMallie and Alfonso Ortiz. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Levy, Jerrold E., Raymond Neutra, and Dennis Parker. 1987. *Hand Trembling, Frenzy Witchcraft, and Moth Madness: A Study of Navajo Seizure Disorders.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Lewis, Ioan M. 1966. “Spirit Possession and Deprivation Cults.” *Man* 1, no. 3: 307–329.

———. 1971. *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism.* New York: Penguin Books.

———. 1986. *Religion in Context: Cults and Charisma.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1989. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 2d ed. London: Routledge.

———. 2003. *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession.* 3d ed. London: Routledge. Originally published, Baltimore: Schapera; Penguin, 1971.

Lewis, Ioan M., Ahmed Al-Safi, and Sayyid Hurreiz. 1991. *Women's Medicine: The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Lewis, Leilani. 1991. "Coming Out of the Closet as a Shamanic Practitioner." *Foundation for Shamanic Studies Newsletter* 4, no. 1: 12.

Lewis-Williams, J. David. 1981. *Believing and Seeing: Symbolic Meanings in Southern San Rock Paintings.* New York: Academic Press.

———. 1984. "Ideological Continuities in Prehistoric Southern Africa: The Evidence of Rock Art." Pp. 225–252 in *Past and Present in Hunter-Gatherer Studies.* Edited by C. Schrire. New York: Academic Press.

———. 1995. "Seeing and Construing: The Making and 'Meaning' of a Southern African Rock Art Motif." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5: 3–23.

———. 2001. "Brainstorming Images: Neuropsychology and Rock Art." Pp. 332–360 in *Handbook of Rock Art Research.* Edited by D. S. Whitley. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

———. 2002a. *A Cosmos in Stone: Interpreting Religion and Society through Rock Art.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

———. 2002b. *The Mind in the Cave: Consciousness and the Origins of Art.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Lewis-Williams, J. David, and Thomas A. Dowson. 1988. "The Signs of All Times: Entoptic Phenomena in Upper Paleolithic Art." *Current Anthropology* 29, no. 2: 201–245.

———. 1999 [1989]. *Images of Power: Understanding Bushman Rock Art.* Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers.

———. 1993. "On Vision and Power in the Neolithic: Evidence from the Decorated Monuments." *Current Anthropology* 34: 55–65.

Lewontin, Richard. 1991. *Biology as Ideology.* New York: HarperCollins.

Lex, Barbara. 1979. "The Neurobiology of Ritual Trance." In *The Spectrum of Ritual.* Edited by E. G. d'Aquili, C. D. Laughlin, and J. McManus. New York: Columbia University Press.

Liapunova, Roza G. 1994. "Eskimo Masks from Kodiak Island in the Collections of the Peter the Great Museum." Pp. 175–203 in *Anthropology of the North Pacific Rim.* Edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Valérie Chaussonnet. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Lienhardt, Peter, ed. and trans. 1968. *The Medicine Man.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ligeti, L. 1971. *Histoire secrète des Mongols.* Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta I. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Liljeblad, Sven. 1986. "Oral Tradition: Content and Style of Verbal Arts." Pp. 641–659 in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 11, *Great Basin.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Lin Fushi. 1988a. *Handai de wuzhe* [Mythology and shaman arts of the Shang dynasty]. Baiqiao: Daoxiang chubanshe.

———. 1988b. *Shamans of the Han Dynasty* (*Handai de wuzhe).* Baiqiao: Daoxiang chubanshe.

Lindgren, Ethel John. 1936. "Notes on the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria." Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University.

Lindquist, Galina. 1997. *Shamanic Performances on the Urban Scene. Neo-Shamanism in Contemporary Sweden.* Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology 39. Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Ling, Shu-dong. 1993. "Zhuang zu wu jiao de zhuan yong ji qi zu zhi he liu pai" [Perpetuation of Zhuang shamanism's teaching, its organizations, and its schools]. *Guangxi min zu yan jiu* [Studies of the minorities of Guangxi province] 3: 84–90.

Linton, Ralph. 1956. *Culture and Mental Disorders.* Springfield, IL: C. C. Thomas.

Lipp, Frank J. 1991. *The Mixe of Oaxaca: Religion, Ritual, and Healing.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Liu, Tik-sang. 1995. "Becoming Marginal: A Fluid Community and Shamanism in the Pearl River Delta of South China." Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh.

Loewe, Michael. 1982. *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period (202 B.C.–A.D. 220).* London: George Allen and Unwin.

———. 1987. "The Cult of the Dragon and the Invocation for Rain." In *Chinese Ideas about Nature and Society: Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde.* Edited by Charles Le Blanc and Susan Blader. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Loewe, Michael, and Carmen Blacker. 1981. *Oracles and Divination.* Boulder, CO: Shambhala.

Lohmann, Roger Ivar. 2000a. "Cultural Reception in the Contact and Conversion History of the Asabano of Papua New Guinea." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison.

———. 2000b. "The Role of Dreams in Religious Enculturation among the Asabano of Papua New Guinea." *Ethos* 28, no. 1: 75–102.

———. 2001. "Introduced Writing and Christianity: Differential Access to Religious Knowledge among the Asabano." *Ethnology* 40, no. 2: 93–111.

Lommel, Andreas. 1967. *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Long, Joseph K. 1976. "Shamanism, Trance, Hallucinogens, and Psychical Events: Concepts, Methods, and Techniques for Fieldwork among

Primitives." Pp. 301–313 in *The Realm of the Extra-Human: Agents and Audiences.* Edited by Agehananda Bharati. The Hague: Mouton.

Lönnnot, Elias. 1967. *Kalevala: Das finnische Epos des Elias Lönnnot.* München: Hauser.

Lopez, Miguel Antonio, and Alan R. Sandstrom. 1981. *Historia de la curación antiguo de San Pablito, Pahuatlán, Puebla* [Traditional curing and crop fertility rituals among Otomí Indians of the Sierra de Puebla]. Lopez Manuscripts. Bloomington: Indiana University Museum.

López Austin, Alfredo, and Leonardo López Luján. 2000. "The Myth and Reality of Zuyuá: The Feathered Serpent and Mesoamerican Transformations from the Classic to the Postclassic." Pp. 21–84 in *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacán to the Aztecs.* Edited by Davíd Carrasco, Lindsay Jones, and Scott Sessions. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Lovadina, Michela. 1998. *Manchu Shamanic Material Rediscovered.* Shamanica Manchurica Collecta 6. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Luhrmann, T. M. 1989. *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lumholtz, Carl S. 1902. *Unknown Mexico: A Record of Five Years Exploration among the Tribes of the Western Sierra Madre, in the Tierra Caliente of Tepic and Jalisco, and among the Tarascos of Michoacan.* Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Luna, Luis Eduardo. 1986. *Vegetalismo: Shamanism among Mestizo Populations of the Peruvian Amazon.* University of Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion, no. 27. Stockholm: Almqist and Wirksell International.

Luna, Luis Eduardo, and Pablo Amaringo. 1991. *Ayahuasca Visions: The Religious Iconography of a Peruvian Shaman.* Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Book.

Lyon, G. F. 1824. *The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon of* H.M.S. Hecla*, during the Recent Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry.* London: John Murray.

Lyon, William. 1996. *Encyclopedia of Native American Healing.* Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Ma Minchao and Cui Yan. 1990. "Elunchun zu bufen" [Chapter on the Oroqen people]. Pp. 127–132 in *Zhongguo ge minzu zongjiao yu shenhua da cidian* [Dictionary of religions and myths of all nationalities in China]. Beijing: Xueyuan Press.

Mabuchi Toichi. 1953. "Takasago zoku no bunrui: Gakushi teki Kaiko" [Retrospect on the Classification of the Formosan Aborigines]. *Minzokugaku Kenkyu* [The Study of Ethnography] 18, no. 3: 1–2.

Macalister, R. A. S., ed. and trans. 1938–1954. *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (Book of the Invasions of Ireland). 5 vols. Dublin: Irish Texts Society.

MacCana, Proinsias. 1970. *Celtic Mythology.* New York: Hamlyn.

MacClancy, Jeremy, ed. 1997. *Contesting Art: Art, Politics and Identity in the Modern World.* Oxford: Berg.

Macdonald, Alexander W. 1962. "Notes préliminaires sur quelques *jhākri* du Muglan." *Journal Asiatique:* 107–139. English translation, 1976. "Preliminary Notes on some *jhākri* of Muglan." Pp. 309–341 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya*s. Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.

MacDonald, Mary N. 2002. "The Study of Shamanism: Local and Universal Dimensions." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 16, no. 2: 88–107.

Macrae, Edward John Baptista das Neves. 1992. *Guiado Pela Lua: Xamanismo e uso ritual da ayahuasca no culto do Santo Daime.* Sao Paūlo: Editora Brasiliense.

Madsen, Richard, ed. 2000. *Chinese Law and Government* 33, no. 3 (May/June): 5–11.

Magalova, Natalia Euguenievna. 1996. *Ethnologie française* 26, no. 4: 654–665.

Mageo, Jeannette M., and Alan Howard, eds. 1996. *Spirits in Culture, History, and Mind.* New York and London: Routledge.

Maibi, Ngambam Kumar. 1988. *Kanglei umanglai haraoba* [Rejoice of folk-gods of Kanglei]. Imphal, Manipur, India: Thambal Angou Devi.

Maiskii, Ivan Mikhailovich. 1921. *Sovremennaya Mongolia* [Modern Mongolia]. Irkutsk.

Makowski, Krzysztof, et al., eds. 2000. *Los Dioses del Antiguo Perú* [The Gods of Ancient Peru]. Lima: Banco de Crédito.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1948. *Magic, Science, and Religion, and Other Essays.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Malotki, Ekkehart. 1993. *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwutsi.* Narrated by Michael Lomatuway'ma, Lorena Lomatuway'ma, and Sidney Namingha. Collected, translated, and edited by Ekkehart Malotki. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Malotki, Ekkehart, and Ken Gary. 2001. *Hopi Stories of Witchcraft, Shamanism, and Magic.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Malov, S. E. 1918. "Ostatki shamanstvo u sartov Vostochnago Turkestana" [Remnants of shamanism among the Sarts of East Turkestan]. *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii Imeni Imperatora Petra Velikago pri Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk* 5, no. 1: 1–16.

Mambéty, Djibril Diop. 1973. *Tuuki Buki.* Gennevilliers: Laboratoires CTM.

———. 1992. *Hyènes* [Hyenas]. Paris: Médiathèque des trois mondes.

Mamiya, Michio. 1987. "Sensing Time." Translated by Hugh De Ferranti. *Contemporary Music Review* 1, no. 2: 45–51.

Mandell, Arnold. 1980. "Toward a Psychobiology of Transcendence: God in the Brain." Pp. 379–464 in *The Psychobiology of Consciousness.* Edited by D. Davidson and R. Davidson. New York: Plenum.

Manlajav, Ts. Shagdarsuren, ed. 1990. *The Secret History of the Mongols.* 4th ed. Transcribed by B. Sumyaabaaatar. Ulaanbaatar: Ulsyn Khevleliin Gazar.

Manquilef, Luis. 1914. *Las Misiones Franciscanas y el Importantísimo Rol que Han Desempeñado en la Civilización y Pacificación de la Araucanía* [The Fransiscan Missions and the Role They Played in the Civilization of the Araucanian Province]. Ancud: Imprenta Asilo de Huérfanas.

Marcos, Sylvia. 2000. "Embodied Religious Thought: Gender Categories in Mesoamerica." Pp. 93–114 in *Gender/Bodies/Religions.* Edited by Sylvia Marcos. Cuernavaca, Mexico: Aler Publications.

Marcus, George E., and F. R. Myers, eds. 1995. *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Marcus, Joyce, and Kent V. Flannery. 1978. "Ethnoscience of the Sixteenth Century Valley Zapotec." Pp. 51–79 in *The Nature and Status of Ethnobotany.* Edited by Richard I. Ford. Anthropological Papers, vol. 67. Ann Arbor: Anthropology Museum, University of Michigan.

Marileo, Armando. 1995. "Mundo Mapuche" [The Mapuche World]. In *Medicinas y Culturas en la Araucanía* [Medicine and Cultures in the Araucanian Region]. Edited by Luca Citarella. Editorial Sudamericana.

Marriott, M. 1955. "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization." Pp. 175–227 in *Village India.* Edited by M. Marriott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marshall, Alison R. 2002. "Cooperation and Lingji Performance on Taiwan." Paper presented at the American Academy of Religion National Meeting, Toronto, November 23.

Marshall, Lorna. 1962. "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs." *Africa* 39: 347–381.

———. 1969. "The Medicine Dance of the !Kung Bushmen." *Africa* 39: 347–381.

———. 1999. *Nyae Nyae !Kung Beliefs and Rites.* Boston: Peabody Museum Press.

Martin, Malachi. 1976. *Hostage to the Devil: The Possession and Exorcism of Five Living Americans.* New York: Reader's Digest Press.

Martin, Simon, and Nikolai Grube. 2000. *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering the Dynasties of the Ancient Maya.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Marty, Paul. 1931. *L'Islam et les Tribus dans la Colonie du Niger.* 2d ed. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Martynov, A. I. 1991. *The Ancient Art of Northern Asia.* Translated by Demitri B. Shimkin and Edith M. Shimkin. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Marwick, Max. 1967. "The Sociology of Sorcery in a Central African Tribe." Pp. 101–126 in *Magic, Witchcraft, and Curing.* Edited by John Middleton. Garden City, NJ: Natural History Press.

Maskarinec, Gregory G. 1995. *The Rulings of the Night. An Ethnography of Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

———. 1998. *Nepalese Shaman Oral Texts.* Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 55. Cambridge, MA: Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University.

———. Forthcoming. *Two Generations of Shaman Recitals from Western Nepal.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Masquelier, Adeline. 2001. *Prayer Has Spoiled Everything: Possession, Power, and Identity in an Islamic Town in Niger.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Mathiassen, Therkel. 1933. "Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimos." *Meddelelser om Grønland*, bd. 92: 4. København: Rhodes.

Mathieu, Rémi. 1983. *Étude sur la mythologie de la Chine ancienne* [Study on the mythology of ancient China]. 2 vols. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études Chinoises; Diffusion De Boccard.

Matsui, Hiroko, Kazuya Horike, and Hideshi Ohashi. 1980. "Rorschach Responses of Okinawan Shamans 'Yuta'." *Tohoku Psychologica Folia* 39, nos. 1–4: 61–78.

Matteson, Langdon, E. Jean, and Gerhard Baer, eds. 1992. *Portals of Power. Shamanism in South America.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Matthews, John. 1991. *Taliesin: Shamanism and the Bardic Mysteries in Britain and Ireland.* London: The Aquarian Press/HarperCollins.

Matthews, Washington. 1897. *Navaho Legends.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin.

Matthiessen, Peter. 1983. *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse.* New York: Viking Press.

Mauldin, Barbara. 1999. *Masks of Mexico.* Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.

Maxfield, Melinda. 1990. *Effects of Rhythmic Drumming on EEG and Subjective Experience.* Unpublished diss., Institute of Transpersonal Psychology, Menlo Park, CA.

Maxwell, W. E. 1881. "Folklore of Malays." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch* 7: 11–29.

———. 1883. "Shamanism in Perak." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch* 12: 222–232.

Mayer, Gerhard. 2003. *Schamanismus in Deutschland* [Shamanism in Germany]. Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag.

McCall, John C. 1993. "Making Peace with Agwü." *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly* 18, no. 2: 56–66.

———. 2000. *Dancing Histories: Heuristic Ethnography with the Ohafia Igbo.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

McDaniel, June. 1989. *The Madness of the Saints: Ecstatic Religion in Bengal.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McKenna, Terence. 1992. *Food of the Gods: The Search for the Original Tree of Knowledge.* New York: Bantam Books.

McLeod, Norma. 1971. "The Semantic Parameter in Music: The Blanket Rite of the Lower Kutenai."

Inter-American Institute for Musical Research Yearbook 7: 83–101. Reprinted as pp. 185–204 in *Music as Culture*, vol. 3. Edited by Kay Kaufman Shelemay. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990.

McNaughton, Patrick. 1988. *The Mande Blacksmiths.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

McNeley, James K. 1981. *Holy Wind in Navajo Philosophy.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Mege, Pedro. 1997. *La Imaginación Araucana* [The Mapuche Imagination]. Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Pre-colombino.

Meggitt, M. J. 1965. "The Mae Enga of the Western Highlands." Pp. 105–131 in *Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia.* Edited by P. Lawrence and M. J. Meggitt. London: Oxford University Press.

Meigs, P. 1939. *The Kiliwa Indians of Lower California.* Ibero-Americana no. 15. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Melatti, Julius Cezar. 1974. "Myth and Shaman." Pp. 267–275 in *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent.* Edited by Patricia J. Lyon. Boston: Little, Brown.

Melchakov, A. 2001. "Tuva: From Shaman to Buddha." *Segodny Gazeta,* July 21.

Meñez, Herminia. 1996. *Explorations in Philippine Folklore.* Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Meng Jinfu. 1990. "Zhongyao zai Elunchun minjian de yingyong" [The use of folk remedies among the Oroqen]. Pp. 36–41 in *Tahe wenshi ziliao* [Cultural and historical records of Tahe], vol. 3. Tahe, China: Tahe County Cultural and Historical Records Research Committee.

Mercedes de la Garza, Maria. 1990. *Sueño y alucinación en el mundo náhuatl y maya.* Mexico: Instituto de Estudios Mayas, UNAM.

Merck, Carl Heinrich. 1980. *Siberia and Northwestern America, 1788–1792.* Edited and introduced by Richard A. Pierce. Kingston, ON: Limestone Press.

Merkelbach, Reinhold, ed. 1996. *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts,* vol. 4: *Exorzismen und jüdisch/christlich beeinflusste Texte.* Opladen, Germany: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Merkur, Daniel. 1985. *Becoming Half Hidden: Shamanism and Initiation among the Inuit.* Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 24. Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis.

Merrill, William L. 1988. *Rarámuri Souls: Knowledge and Social Process in Northern Mexico.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

———. 1993. "Conversion and Colonialism in Northern Mexico: The Tarahumara Response to the Jesuit Mission Program, 1601–1767." Pp. 129–163 in *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation.* Edited by Robert Hefner. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Métraux, Alfred. 1941. "Messiahs of South America." *The Inter-American Quarterly* 3, no. 2: 53–60.

———. 1942. "El Chamanismo Araucano" [Araucanian Shamanism]. *Revista del Instituto de Antropología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán* 2, no. 10: 309–362.

———. 1949. "Religion and Shamanism." Pp. 559–599 in *Handbook of South American Indians,* vol. 5. Edited by Julian Steward. Washington, DC: United States Printing Office.

———. 1967. *Religions et magies indiennes d'Amérique du Sud* [Religions and Indian magic of South America]. Paris: Gallimard.

———. 1973. *Religión y Magias Indígenas de América del Sur* [Indigenous Religion and Magic in South America]. Madrid: Ediciones Aguilar.

Meuli, K. 1935. "Scythia." Pp. 121–176 in *Hermes* 35.

Michael, Henry N., ed. 1963. *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Translated from the Russian by Stephen and Ethel Dunn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Michl, Wolf-Dieter. 1976. "Notes on the *jhākrī* of the Ath Hajar Parbat/Dhaulagiri Himal." Pp. 153–164 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalaya*s. Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. New Delhi: Vikas.

Middleton, John. 1992. *The World of the Swahili: An African Mercantile Civilization.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Mikhailovskii, V. M. 1892. *Shamanism.* Moscow: Izvestiia Imperatorskogo obshchestva liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologiia i etnografii, 12.

———. 1894. "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia." Translated from Russian. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 24: 62–100. Originally published 1892. Vol. 1: 126–158.

Mikhajlov, Taras M. 1987. *Buriyatskii shamanizm: Istoriya, struktura i socialniye funkcii* [Buryat shamanism: History, structure, and social functions]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Milbrath, Susan. 1999. *Star Gods of the Maya: Astronomy in Art, Folklore, and Calendars.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Miller, Casper. 1979. *Faith-Healers in the Himalayas.* Kathmandu: Center for Nepal and Asian Studies.

Miller, Elmer S. 1908. *Harmony and Dissonance in Argentine Toba Society.* New Haven, CT: Hieman Relations Area Files.

Miller, Elmer S. 1975. "Shamans, Power Symbols, and Change in Argentine Toba Culture." *American Ethnologist* 2, no. 3: 477–496.

Miller, Elmer S. 1979. *Los Tobas argentinos. Armonia y disonancia en una sociedad* [The Argentine Tobas: Harmony and dissonance in a society]. Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores.

Miller, Jay. 1983. "Basin Religion and Theology: A Comparative Study of Power (*Puha*)." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5, no. 1/2: 66–86.

Miller, Mary, and Karl Taube. 1993. *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya: An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Miller, Wick. 1986. "Numic Languages." Pp. 98–112 in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 11, *Great Basin.* Edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Mills, Antonia. 1982. "The Beaver Indian Prophet Dance and Related Movements among North American Indians." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.

———. 1986. "The Meaningful Universe: Intersecting Forces in Beaver Indian Cosmology and Causality." *Culture* 6, no. 2: 81–91. Reprint, pp. 226–233 in *The First Ones: Readings in Indian/Native Studies.* Edited by David Miller, Carl Beal, James Dempsey, and R. Wesley Heber. Piapot Reserve #75: Saskatchewan Indian Federated College Press, 1992.

———. 1994. *Eagle Down Is Our Law: Witsuwit'en Law Feasts and Land Claims.* Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Mills, D. E. 1970. *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji Shui Monogatari.* Cambridge University Press.

Min, Ju-shik. 1994. "Hanguk Kojon Mihak Sasang-ui Chongae" [The development of ancient Korean aesthetic thought]. In *Hanguk Mihak Sinon* [Essays on Korean aesthetics]. Edited by Kwon Yong-p'il et al. Seoul: Institute for Korean Studies of Korea University.

Miropiev, M. 1888. *Demonologicheskie razskazy Kirgizov'* [Demonological myths of the Kazaks]. Saint Petersburg: Tipografiya V. O. Kirshbauma.

Mithen, Steven. 1996. *The Prehistory of the Mind: A Search for the Origins of Art, Religion and Science.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Mitrani, Philippe. 1992. "A Critical Overview of the Psychiatric Approaches to Shamanism." *Diogenes* 158 (Summer): 145–165.

Miyake Hitoshi. 1970. *Shugendō girei no kenkyū* [A study of Shugendo ritual]. Tokyo: Shunjusha.

———. 1985. *Shugendō shisō no kenkyū* [A study of Shugendo thought]. Tokyo: Shunjusha.

———. 1993. "Religious Rituals in Shugendo." Pp. 31–48 in *Religion and Society in Modern Japan.* Edited by Mark R. Mullins, Shimazono Susumu, and Paul L. Swanson. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.

———. 2001. *Shugendō: Essays on the Structure of Japanese Folk Religion.* Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan.

Moffat, Robert. 1842. *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa.* London: John Snow.

Molé, Marijan. 1967. *La Légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis* [The Legend of Zoroaster according to Pahlavi texts]. Paris: C Klinck si eck.

Money, Mike. 2001. "Deceit and Duality: Jacob's Shamanic Vision." *Shaman,* vol. 9 (Spring)1: 19. Budapest.

"The Mongolian Shamans Association—Passing on the Ancient Traditions. About Mongolian Shamanism." http://www.geocities.com/Rainforest/Vines/2146/Mongolia/cms.htm.

Monteil, Vincent. 1964. *L'Islam noir.* Paris: Seuil.

Monteiro da Silva, Clodomir. 1983. "O Palacio de Juramidan. Santo Daime: Um Ritual de Transcendencia e Despoluição" [The Juramidan Palace: Santo Daime: About the ritual of Transcendence and Purification]. M.A. thesis, Recife, Pernambuco.

Mooney, James. 1891. "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890." Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 2. Washington, DC.

———. 1896. "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890." Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, 14th Annual Report, pt. 2. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1897–1898. "Myths of the Cherokee." 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

———. 1965. Reprint. *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Original edition, 1892.

Moore, J. G. 1982. "Music and Dance as Expressions of Religious Worship in Jamaica." Pp–265–289 in *African Religious Groups and Beliefs.* Edited by S. Ottenberg. Merut, India, and Cupertino, CA: Folklore Institute.

Moore, John H. 1996. *The Cheyenne.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Moore, Omar. 1957. "Divination—A New Perspective." *American Anthropologist* 59, no. 1: 69–74.

Mori, Ushinosuke. 1917. *Ethnography of the Formosan Aborigines.* Vol. 1. Taipei: Rinji Taiwankyūkan Chōsakai.

Morris, H. S. 1993. "Shamanism among the Oya Melanau." Pp. 101–129 in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship, and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert Winzeler. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Morris, Rosalind C. 2000. *In the Place of Origins: Modernity and Its Mediums in Northern Thailand.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Morris, William. 1981. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Mottin, J. 1984. "A Hmong Shaman's Séance." *Asian Folklore Studies* 43: 99–108.

Motzki, Harald. 1977. *Schamanismus als Problem religionswissenschaftlicher Terminologie.* Bonn: Religions Wissen-Schaftliches Seminar der Universität Bonn.

Mousalimas, S. A. 1989. "Shamans-of-Old in Southern Alaska." In *Shamanism Past and Present.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Otto J. von Sadovzsky. Budapest:

Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
Mumford, Stan Royal. 1989. *Himalayan Dialogue: Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Munn, Henry. 1973. "The Mushrooms of Language." Pp. 86–122 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by M. J. Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.
Murdoch, John. 1892. *Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition, 1881–1883.* Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report for 1887–1888, vol. 9. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
Murdock, George Peter. 1967. *Ethnographic Atlas.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
———. 1980. *Theories of Illness: A World Survey.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh.
Murie, James R. 1981. *Ceremonies of the Pawnee.* Edited by Douglas R. Parks. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, no. 27. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Murodov, Otamurod. 1975. "Shamanskiy obriadovyi fol'klor u tajikov srednei chasti doliny Zeravshan" [Shamanic ritual folklore among the Tajiks of the Middle Zeravshan Valley]. Pp. 94–122 in *Drevnie verovaniya i obriady v Srednei Azii* [Ancient beliefs and rituals in Central Asia]. Moscow: Nauka.
———. 1979. *Drevniye obrazy mifologii u tajikov doliny Zeravshana.* [Archaic mythological images among Tajiks of the Zeravshan Valley]. Dushanbe: Donish.
Murphy, Joseph M. 1993. *Santería: African Spirits in America.* Boston: Beacon Press.
———. 1994. *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora.* Boston: Beacon Press.
Murray, Margaret. 1921. *The Witch Cult in Western Europe.* Oxford: University Press.
———. 1933. *The God of the Witches.* London: Oxford University Press.
Myerhoff, Barbara G. 1974. *Peyote Hunt: The Sacred Journey of the Huichol Indians.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
Myers, L. Daniel. 1999. "A Frame for Culture: Observations on the Cultural-Element Distribution of the Snake River Shoshone." Pp. 128–143 in *Julian Steward and the Great Basin.* Edited by R. O. Clemmer, L. D. Myers, and M. E. Rudden. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
Nagai Hiroshi. 1983. *Ainu osan-bachan no upashikuma* [An old Ainu midwife's words of wisdom]. Tokyo: Jushin-sha.
Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi. 1973. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The* Nihon Ryoiki *of the Monk Kyokai.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Nakashima Degarrod, Lydia. 1989. "Dream Interpretation among the Mapuche Indians of Chile." Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Dissertation Information Service.
———. 1996. "Mapuche: Dream Interpretation and Ethnic Consciousness." Pp. 237–264 in *Portraits of Culture.* Edited by David Levinson. Paramus, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
———. 1998. "Female Shamanism and the Mapuche Transformation into Christian Chileans." *Religion* 28: 339–350.
———. 2001. "Aesthetics and Politics in Chilean Mapuche Autobiographical Shamanic Discourse." Paper presented at the Indigenous Amazonia at the Millennium: Politics and Religion Conference at Tulane University.
Nakayama Taro. 1930. *Nihon fujoshi* [History of Japanese women]. Tokyo: Ookayama Shoten.
Nakazawa, Shinichi. 1986. "The Zero Logic of Disease—A Critique of Violence." *Monumenta Serindica* (Anthropological and Linguistic Studies of the Kathmandu Valley and the Gandaki Area in Nepal. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa) 15: 117–166.
Ñanculef, Juan. 1991. "La Labor de la *Machi* en Cuanto Contenido y Forma de Expresión" [The Work of Mapuche Shamans: Content and Forms of Expression]. Documento de Trabajo 4.
Narby, Jeremy, and Francis Huxley, eds. 2001. *Shamans through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge.* London: Thames and Hudson.
Nash, June. 1966. "Living with Nats." Anthropological Studies in Theravada Buddhism. Cultural Report Series, no. 1: New Haven. Yale University Southeast Asia Series.
Ndao, Cheikh Aliou. 1994. *Mbaam Dictateur.* Paris: Présence Africaine.
Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Rene de. 1956. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of Tibetan Protective Deities.* The Hague: Mouton.
———. 1975. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities.* 2d ed. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt.
Neher, A. 1962. "A Physiological Explanation of Unusual Behaviour in Ceremonies Involving Drums." *Human Biology* 6 151–160.
Neher, Andrew. 1961. "Auditory Driving Observed with Scalp Electrodes in Normal Subjects." *Electroencephalography and Neuropsychology* 13: 449–451.
Neihardt, John G. 1932. *Black Elk Speaks.* New York: William Morrow. Reprinted 1961 and 1979, University of Nebraska Press.
———. 1988. Reprint. *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Original edition, 1932.
Nelson, Edward William. 1899. *The Eskimo about Bering Strait.*
Nelson, Richard. *Make Prayers to Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Nevski, Nicholai. 1991. *Ainu Folklore.* Translated by Uoi Kazuyoshi. Sapporo: Hokkaidō shuppan kikaku sentā.

Ngom, Mbissane. 1982. *Le Prix du pardon.* Paris: EDICEF.

Ngubane, Harriet. 1977. *Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine: An Ethnography of Health and Disease in Nyuswa-Zulu Thought and Practice.* London and New York: Academic Press.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. 1965. *The River Between.* Portsmouth, ME: Heinemann.

Nicholas, Colin. 2001. *The Orang Asli and the Contest for Resources.* Subang Jaya and Copenhagen: Center for Orang Asli Concerns and International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.

Nicolas, Guy. 1966. "Essai sur les structures fondamentalle de l'espace dous la cosmologie Hausa." *Journal de la Societés des Africanistes* 36, no. 1.

Nioradze, Georgii. 1925. *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern* [Shamanism of the Siberian Peoples]. Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder.

Nketia, J. H. 1955. *Funeral Dirges of the Akan.* Ghana: Achimota.

Noel, Daniel C. 1997. *The Soul of Shamanism: Western Fantasies, Imaginal Realities.* New York: Continuum.

Nogami Fusako. 1992. *Ureshipa-moshiri eno michi* [The road to the land of harmonious coexistence]. Tokyo: Shinsei-sha.

Noll, Richard. 1983. "Shamanism and Schizophrenia: A State-Specific Approach to the Schizophrenia Metaphor of Shamanic States." *American Ethnologist* 10: 443–459.

———. 1985. "Mental Imagery Cultivation as a Cultural Phenomenon: The Role of Visions in Shamanism." *Current Anthropology* 26: 443–451.

———. 1989. "What Has Really Been Learned about Shamanism?" *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 21, no. 1: 47–50.

Norbeck, Edward. 1976. "Religion and Human Play." In *World Anthropology: The Realm of the Extra-Human,* vol. 1, *Agents and Audiences.* Edited by Agehanda Bharati. The Hague: Mouton.

Norton, Barley. 2000. "Vietnamese Medium Rituals: The Musical Construction of the Spirits." *World of Music* 42, no. 2: 75–97.

Nowak, Margaret, and Stephen Durrant. 1977. *The Tale of the Nišan Shamaness. A Manchu Folk Epic.* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Nudel, Michael, and Eva Nudel. 2000. *Health by Bio-Energy and Mind.* Los Angeles: Bio-Energy System Services.

Nunn, John. 1996. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Nurse, Derek, and Thomas Spear. 1985. *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800–1500.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nyberg, Henrik Samuel. 1938. *Die Religionen des alten Iran.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Obeyesekere, Gannanath. 1969. "The Ritual Drama of the *Sanni* Demons." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11: 174–197.

———. 1975. "The Idiom of Demonic Possession." *Social Science and Medicine* 14: 97–111.

———. 1981. *Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1983. *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

O'Brien, Donal Cruise. 1971. *The Mourides of Senegal: The Political and Economic Organization of an Islamic Brotherhood.* Oxford: Clarendon.

O'Brien, Greg. 2002. *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750–1830.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

O'Connel, M. D. N.d. "Spirit Possession and Role Stress among the Xesibe of the Eastern Transkei." Unpublished paper.

O'Gorman, Frances. 1977. *Aluanda: A Look at Afro-Brazilian Cults.* Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Francisco Alves Editora.

Ohashi Hideshi. 1998. *Okinawa shamanizumu no shakai shinrigakuteki kenkyu* [A socio-psychological study of Okinawan shamanism]. Tokyo: Kobundo.

Ohashi, Hideshi, Shinsuke Sakumichi, and Kazuya Horike. 1984. "A Social Psychological Study of Okinawan Shamanism (1)—Approach and Some Findings." *Tohoku Psychologica Folia* 43, nos. 1–4: 66–79.

Ohlmarks, Åke. 1939. *Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus* [Studies on the Problem of Shamanism]. Copenhagen: Lund.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. 1974. *The Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Southern Sakhalin.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Oka Masao. 1979. *Ijin sono ta. Nihon minzoku bunka no genryu to Nihon kokka no keisei* [About strangers and other topics. The roots of Japanese cultured formation and the Japanese state]. Tokyo: Gensosha.

Okladnikov, Aleksei P. 1966. *Petroglify Angary* [Petroglyphs of the Angara River]. Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka.

———. 1970. *Yakutia Before Its Incorporation into the Russian State.* Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America.

———. 1972. *Petroglify Sredney Leny* [Petroglyphs of the middle Lena River]. Leningrad: Nauka.

———. 1974. *Petroglify Baykala* [Petroglyphs of Lake Baikal]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

———. 1981. *Ancient Art of the Amur Region.* Leningrad: Aurora Publishers.

———. 1986. *Olen' zolotye roga* [The deer with golden antlers]. Khabarovsk: Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo.

Okladnikov, Aleksei P., and A. I. Martynov. 1972. *Sokrovishcha tomskikh pisanits* [The treasure of the Tom River petroglyphs]. Moscow: Iskusstvo.

Okladinikov, Aleksei P., and V. D. Zaporozhskaia. 1970. *Petroglify zabaikaliia Chasti* [Petroglyphs of eastern Baikal]. Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Nauka.

Oliver, Douglas L. 1989. *Oceania: The Native Cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Onians, R. B. 1951. *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time and Fate.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Onwuejeogwu, Michael. 1969. "The Cult of the Bori Spirits among the Hausa." In *Man in Africa.* Edited by M. Douglas and P. H. Raberry. London: Tavistock.

Opler, Marvin. 1959. "Dream Analysis in Ute Indian Therapy." Pp. 97–110 in *Culture and Mental Health.* Edited by Marvin Opler. New York: Macmillan.

Opoku, Kofi A. 1978. *West African Traditional Religion.* Jurong: FEP International Private Ltd.

Oppitz, Michael. 1980. *Schamanen im blinden Land.* 16 mm film. WSK Productions, New York.

———. 1990. "Le Tambour *rē* et son pouvoir." Translated from the German by Isabelle Schulte-Tenckhoff. *Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles* 3: 79–95.

———. 1993. "Wie heilt der Heiler? Schamanische Praxis im Himalaya. Pyschotherapie" [How does the healer heal? Shamanic practice in the Himalayas. Psychotherapy]. *Psychosomatik Medizische Psychologie* 43: 387–395.

Oppong, Christine, ed. 1983. *Male and Female in West Africa.* London: Allen and Unwin. (Includes Enid Schildkrout, "Dependence and Autonomy: The Economic Activities of Secluded Hausa Women in Kano"; Renee Pittin, "Houses of Women: A Focus in Alternative Life-Styles in Katsina City.")

O'Rahilly, Thomas F. 1946. *Early Irish History and Mythology.* Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Orofino, Giacomella. 1994. "Divination with Mirrors. Observations on a Simile Found in the Kālacakra Literature." Pp. 612–628 in *Tibetan Studies*, vol. 2. Edited by Per Kvaerne. Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

Ortiz, Alfonso. 1969. *The Tewa World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1994. *The Pueblo.* New York and Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers.

Ortiz Aponte, Sally. 1977. *La Esoteria en la narrativa hispanoamericana* [The esoteric in Spanish American narrative]. Barcelona: Manuel Pareja.

Ortner, Sherry. 1975. "God's Bodies, God's Food: A Symbolic Analysis of Sherpa Ritual." Pp. 133–169 in *The Interpretation of Symbolism.* Edited by Roy Willis. London: Malaby Press.

Oschman, James, and Candace Pert. 2000. *Energy Medicine: The Scientific Basis.* London: Churchill Livingstone.

Osnes, Beth. 2001. *Acting: An International Encyclopedia.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Oster, Gerald. 1970. "Phosphenes." *Scientific American* 222: 83–87.

Ots, Thomas. 1994. "The Silenced Body—The Expressive *Leib:* On the Dialectic of Mind and Life in Chinese Cathartic Healing." Pp. 116–136 in *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ott, Jonathan. 1993. *Pharmacotheon: Entheogenic Drugs, Their Plant Sources and History.* Kennewick, WA: Natural Products Company.

Ottenberg, Simon. 1959. "Ibo Receptivity to Change." Pp. 130–143 in *Continuity and Change in African Cultures.* Edited by William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Overton, James A. 1998. "Shamanism and Clinical Hypnosis: A Brief Comparative Analysis." *Shaman* 6, no. 2: 151–170.

———. 2000. "Neurocognitive Foundations of the Shamanic Perspective: A Brief Exploration into the Role of Imagination in Cognition and in the Creation of Experience." *Shaman* 8, no. 1: 35–88.

Overton, James Alexander Guerra. 1994. "El chamanismo y la perspectiva chamanica en el analisis de la obra magicorrealista." M.A. thesis, Queen's University.

———. 1999. "Shamanic Realism: Latin American Literature and the Shamanic Perspective." *Shaman* 6, no. 1: 21–55.

Owen, Roger. 1962. "The Indians of Santa Catarina Baja California Norte, Mexico: Concepts of Disease and Curing." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles.

Padoux, André. 1999. "Transe, possession ou absorbtion mystique? L'Āveśa selon quelques textes tantriques cachemiriens" [Trance, possession or mystic absorption? According to several Kashmir tantric texts]. Pp. 133–147 in *La Possession en Asie du Sud: Parole, corps, territoire* [Possession in South Asia: Speech, body, territory]. Edited by Jackie Assayag and Gilles Tarabout. Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales.

Pakaslahti, Antti. 1998. "Family-Centered Treatment of Mental Health Problems at the Balaji Temple in Rajasthan." Pp. 129–166 in *Changing Patterns of Family and Kinship in South Asia.* Edited by Asko Parpola and Sirpa Tenhunen. Studia Orientalia 84. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.

Pandian, Jacob. 1997. "The Sacred Integration of the Cultural Self: An Anthropological Approach to the Study of Religion." Pp. 505–516 in *The Anthropology of Religion.* Edited by S. Glazier. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Pang, Tatjana Aleksandrovna. 1992. *Die sibemandschurische Handschrift "Der Schamanenhof"* [The Sibe-Manchu manuscript "The Shaman's Court"]. Shamanica Manchurica Collecta, no. 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

———. 1993a. "The Kun-ning-gung Palace in Peking: The Manchu Dynasty's Shaman Centre in the 'Forbidden City.' *Shaman* 1, no. 2: 57–70.

———. 1993b. "New Evidence about Shaman Practices among the Sibe-Manchu People in Xinjiang." Pp. 453–462 in *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference.* Edited by Ch'en Chieh-hsien. Taipei: Center for Chinese Studies Materials.

———. 1994. "A 'Classification' of the Sibe Shamans." *Shaman* 2, no. 1: 61–66.

———. 1998. "Materialien zum mandschurischen Schamanismus aus der Sammlung A. V. Grebenshchikov" [Materials pertaining to Manchu shamanism from the collection of A. V. Grebenshchikov]. Pp. 32–46 in *Studia et documenta Manchu-shamanica* [Researches and documents concerning Manchu shamanism]. Edited by G. Stary. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Pantusov, N. N. 1900. *Materialy kizucheniyu narechiya taranchei iliiskago okruga* [Materials for the study of the dialects of the Tarantchin in the Ilisk district], vol. 5. *Molitvy i zagovory taranchinskikh bakshei* [Prayers and exorcisms of the Tarantchin Bakshi]. Kazan: Tipo-Litografiya Imperatorskago Universiteta.

Paper, Jordan. 1996. "Mediums and Modernity: The Institutionalization of Ecstatic Religious Functionaries in Taiwan." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 24: 105–129.

Park, George. 1963. "Divination and Its Social Contexts." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 93, no. 2: 195–209.

Park, Willard Z. 1934. "Paviotso Shamanism." *American Anthropologist* 36: 99–103.

———. 1938. "Shamanism in Western North America." *Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences* 2: 1–166.

Parker, Arthur C. 1909. "Secret Medicine Societies of the Seneca." *American Anthropologist* n.s. 11: 161–185.

Parks, Douglas R. 1981. "Introduction." *Ceremonies of the Pawnee,* by James R. Murie, edited by Douglas R. Parks. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, no. 27. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Parrat, Saroj Nalini Arambam, and John Parrat, 1997. *The Pleasing of the Gods: Meitei Lai Haraoba.* New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Parrinder, Edward Geoffrey. 1967. *A Book of World Religions.* Chester Springs, PA: Dufour Editions.

———. 1983. *World Religions: From Ancient History to the Present.* New York: Facts on File. Original edition 1971.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. 1939. *Pueblo Indian Religion.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Passin, Herbert. 1942. "Sorcery as a Phase of Tarahumara Economic Relations." *Man* 42: 11–15.

Pastron, Alan G. 1977. "Aspects of Witchcraft and Shamanism in a Tarahumara Indian of Northern Mexico." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Paul, Benjamin D. 1976. "The Maya Bonesetter as Sacred Specialist." *Ethnology* 15: 77–81.

Paul, Benjamin D., and Clancy E. McMahon. 2001. "Mesoamerican Bonesetters." Pp. 243–269 in *Mesoamerican Healers.* Edited by Brad E. Huber and Alan R. Sandstrom. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Paul, Robert. 1982. *The Tibetan Symbolic World: Psychoanalytic Explorations.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Paulson, Ivar. 1965. "Les Religions des peuples finnoises" [The religions of the Finnish peoples]. Pp. 147–265 in *Les Religions arctiques et finnoises* [The Arctic and Finnish religions]. Edited by Ivar Paulson, Åke Hultkrantz, and Karl Jettmar. Paris: Payot.

Payne, Helen. 1993. "The Presence of the Possessed: A Parameter in the Performance Practice of the Music of Australian Aboriginal Women." In *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions.* Edited by K. Marshall. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, trans. and comp. 1976. *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma.* New York: AMS Press.

Peek, Philip. 1991. *African Divination Systems: Ways of Knowing.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Peek, Philip, ed. 1991. *African Divination Systems: Ways of Knowing.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Pennick, Nigel, and Prudence Jones. 1995. *A History of Pagan Europe.* London and New York: Routledge.

Pentikäinen, Juha, ed. 1996. *Shamanism and Northern Ecology.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Perrin, Michel. 1992. "The Body of the Guajiro Shaman." Pp. 103–125 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1996. "The *Urukáme,* a Crystallization of the Soul: Death and Memory." Translated from the French by Karin Simoneau. Pp. 403–428 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Perrone, Bobette, H. Henrietta Stockel, and Victoria Krueger. 1989. *Medicine Women, Curanderas, and Women Doctors.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Peters, Larry G., and Douglass Price-Williams. 1981. "Towards an Experiential Analysis of Shamanism." *American Ethnologist* 7: 397–415.

Petersen, Robert. 1964. "The Greenland Tupilak." *Folk* 6, no. 2. København: Dansk Etnografisk Tidsskrift, Dansk Etnografisk Forening, Forlaget Rhodos.

Petri, Berngard E. 1923. "Shkola shamanov u severnykh buriat" [Shamans' school among northern Buryats].

Sbornik trudov professorov i prepodavatelej Gosudarstvennogo Irkutskogo Universiteta 5: 404–424.

Philippart de Foy, Guy. 1976. *Waki, le petit pygmée et les animaux de la forêt.* Paris: F. Nathan.

Phillipi, Donald L. 1982. *Songs of Gods, Songs of Humans: The Epic Tradition of the Ainu.* San Francisco: North Point Press.

Piggott, Stuart. 1985. *The Druids.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Pignède, Bernard. 1966. *Les Gurungs: Une population himalayenne du Népal.* Paris and The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Pilsudski, Bronislav. 1909. "Der Shamanismus bei den Ainu-Stämmen von Sakhalin" [Sakhalin Ainu shamanism]. *Globus* 95: 72–78.

Pinart, Alphonse Louis. 1875. *La Caverne d'Aknanh, île d'Ounga* [The cavern of Aknanh, island of Ounga]. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Piras, Andrea. 2000. "Le tre lance del giusto Wīrāz e la frescia di Abaris. Ordalia e volo estatico tra iranismo ed ellenismo" [The three spears of the right Viraz and the arrow of Abaris. Ordeal and ecstatic flight between Iranism and Hellenism]. *Studi Orientali e Linguistica* 7: 95–109.

Pittin, Renee. 1979. "Marriage and Alternative Strategies: Career Patterns of Hausa Women in Katsina City." Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Plotnikoff, Gregory A., Charles Numrich, Chu Wu, Deu Yang, and Phua Xiong. 2002. "Hmong Shamanism: Animist Spiritual Healing in Minnesota." *Minnesota Medicine* 85, no. 6: 29–34.

Pocs, Eva. 1995. "Traces of Indo-European Shamanism in South East Europe." In *Folk Beliefs Today.* Edited by Mare Koiva. Tallinn: Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Poewe, Karla. 1999. "Scientific Neo-Paganism and the Extreme Right Then and Today: From Ludendorff's *Gotterkenntnis* to Sigrid Hund's *Europas Eigene Religion.*" *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 14, no. 3: 387–400.

Pollock, Donald. 1993a. "Culina Shamanism: Gender, Power, and Knowledge." Pp. 25–40 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. Jean Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1993b. "Death and the Afterdeath among the Kulina." *Latin American Anthropology Review* 5, no. 2: 61–64.

Polosmak, Natalia B. 1996. "La Prêtresse Altaïque" [The Altai Priestess]. Pp. 28–35 in *Tombes Gelées de Sibérie* [Frozen Tombs of Siberia]. Edited by B. Bioul, A. Jeannelle, H. Durand, and V. Maily. Dossiers Archéologie 212. Dijon: Editions Faton SA.

Pommaret, Françoise. 1989. *Les Revenants de l'au-delà dans le monde tibétain* [Ghosts from the afterlife in the Tibetan world]. Paris: Editions du Centre national de las recherche scientifique.

———. 1996. "Returning from Hell." Pp. 796–818 in *Religions of Tibet in Practice.* Edited by Donald S. Lopez. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Poppe, Nikolai N. 1932. "Opisanie mongol'skih šamanskih rukopisei Instituta Vostokovedeniya." *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk* 1: 151–200.

Porteous, Laura. 1934. "The Gris-Gris Case." *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1: 48–63.

Potanin, Grigorji Nikolaevich. 1881. "Ocherki Severo-Zapadnoi Mongolii. Rezul'taty puteshestvija, ispolnennogo v 1879 godu po porucheniju IRGO" [The Sketches on North-West Mongolia. The results of the journey of 1879 on the instructions of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society]. Issue 2, *Materialy etnograficheskije* [Ethnographical materials]. Saint Petersburg.

———. 1883. "Ocherki Severo-Zapadnoi Mongolii. Rezul'taty puteshestvija, ispolnennogo v 1879 godu po porucheniju IRGO" [The Sketches on North-West Mongolia. The results of the journey of 1879 on the instructions of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society]. Issue 4, *Materialy etnograficheskije* [Ethnographical materials]. Saint Petersburg.

Potapov, Leonid P. 1935. "Sledy totemisticheskikh predstavlenii u altaitsev" [Traces of totemic beliefs among Altaic peoples]. *Sovetskaia Etnografiia* 4, no. 5: 134–152.

———. 1963. "Die Schamanentrommel bei den Altaischen Völkerschaften" [The shaman's drum of the Altaic peoples]. Pp. 228–232 in *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* [Belief world and Folklore of the Siberian people]. Edited by Vilmos Dioszegi. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1964. "The Tuvans." Pp. 380–422 in *The Peoples of Siberia.* Edited by M. G. Levin and Leonid Potapov. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1968. "Shamans' Drums of the Altaic Ethnic Groups." Pp. 205–237 in *Popular Beliefs in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1978. "The Shaman Drum as a Source of Ethnographical History." Pp. 169–180 in *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Dioszegi and Mihály Hoppál; translated from the Russian and Hungarian by S. Simon. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Potter, Jack M. 1978. "Cantonese Shamanism." In *Studies in Chinese Society.* Edited by Arthur P. Wolf. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Potter, Sulamith H., and Jack M. Potter. 1990. *China's Peasants: The Anthropology of a Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pottier, Richard. 1973. "Note on Shamans and Mediums and Some Other Thai Groups." *ASEMI* 4, no. 1: 99–109.

Pouwels, Randall. 1987. *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African*

Coast, 800–1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Powers, John. 1995. *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications.

Powers, Stephen. 1877. “Tribes of California.” *Contributions to North American Ethnology* 3. U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region.

Powers, William K. 1986. *Sacred Language: The Nature of Supernatural Discourse in Lakota.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Pozdneev, Alexei Matveevich. 1887. *Ocherki byta buddijskich monastyrei i buddjiskogo duchovenstva v Mongolii v sviazi s otnoshenijami poslednego k narodu* [The sketches of the life of Buddhist monasteries and Buddhist clergy in Mongolia in connection with the attitude of the latter to the people]. Saint Petersburg.

Pozzi, Alessandra. 1992. *Manchu-Shamanica Illustrata.* Shamanica Manchurica Collecta 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Press, Irwin. 1971. “The Urban Curandero.” *American Anthropologist* 73: 741–756.

Price, Neil S., ed. 2001. *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* London and New York: Routledge.

Price-Williams, Douglass. 1992. “The Waking Dream in Ethnographic Perspective.” Pp. 246–262 in *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations.* Edited by Barbara Tedlock. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Price-Williams, Douglass, and Lydia Nakashima Degarrod. 1989. “Communication, Context, and Use of Dreams in Amerindian Societies.” *Journal of Latin American Lore* 15: 195–209.

Prince, Raymond. 1979. “Variations in Psychotherapeutic Procedures.” Pp. 291–349 in *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol. 6. Edited by H. C. Triandis and J. G. Draguns. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

———. 1982. “The Endorphins: A Review for Psychological Anthropologists.” *Ethos* 10, no. 4: 299–302.

———. 1982c. “Shamans and Endorphins in Altered States of Consciousness.” ETHOS: *Journal of the Society for Psychological Anthropology* 10: 410–421.

Privratsky, Bruce G. 2001. *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory.* Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.

Prokofyeva, Yelizaveta D. 1961. “Shamanskije bubny” [The shamanic drums]. Pp. 435–490 in *Istoriko-etnograficheskij atlas Sibiri* [Historical-ethnographic atlas of Siberia]. Edited by Maxim Lewin and Leonid Potapov. Moscow and Leningrad.

———. 1963. “The Costume of an Enets Shaman.” Pp. 124–156 in *Studies in Siberian Shamanism.* Edited by Henry N. Michael. Arctic Institute of North America, Anthropology of the North: Translations from Russian Sources, no. 4. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 1971. “Shamanskie kostiumy narodov Sibiri” [Shamans’ costumes among the peoples of Siberia]. *Religiznye predstavleniia i obriady narodov Sibiri, v XIX-nachale XX veka* [Religious conceptions and rituals of Siberian peoples in the nineteenth–early twentieth century]. Edited by L. P. Potapov and S. V. Ivanov. *Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii* 27: 5–100.

Puhvel, Jaan. 1989. *Comparative Mythology.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Purev, Otgony. 1998. *The Mongol böögiin Shashin* [The religion of Mongolian shamanism]. Ulaanbaatar: Sukhbaatar.

———. 1999. *Mongol böögiin šašin* [Mongolian shamanism]. Ulaanbaatar: ADMON.

———. 2000. *The Mongol böögiin shashin* [The religion of Mongolian shamanism]. 2d ed. Ulaanbaatar: ADMON.

———. 2002a. *The Mongol böögiin Shashin [The religion of Mongolian Shamanism].* 3d ed.Ulaanbaatar: ADMON.

———. 2002b. *The Religion of Mongolian Shamanism* (English version). Ulaanbaatar: GENCO.

Pyatkin, B. N., and A. I. Martynov. 1985. *Shalabolinskie Petroglify* [Petroglyphs of Shalabolin]. Krasnoyarsk: Izd-vo Krasnoyarskogo Universiteta.

Qi Cheshan. 1997. “Contemporary Shamans and the ‘Shaman’s Handbook’ of the Sibe.” *Shaman* 5, no. 1: 69–90.

Qiu Xigui. 1983–1985. “On the Burning of Human Victims and the Fashioning of Clay Dragons in Order to Seek Rain as Seen in the Shang Dynasty Oracle Bone Inscriptions.” Translated by Vernon K. Fowler. *Early China* 9–10: 290–306.

Quezada, Noemi. 1991. “The Inquisition’s Repression of *Curanderos.*” Pp. 37–57 in *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World.* Edited by Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Rabgyay, L. 1985. “*Rlung* Diseases and Their Treatment.” *gSo rig: Tibetan Medicine* 9: 47–68.

Radin, Paul. 1956. *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology.* New York: Philosophical Library.

———. 1990. Reprint. *The Winnebago Tribe.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Original edition, pp. v–511 in 37th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1923.

Radlov, Vasili Vasilevich. 1893. *Aus Siberien, Lose Bläter aus meinem Tagebuche.* Leipzig: T. O. Weigel. Quoted in Mircea Eliade. 1964. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy.* London: Routledge and K. Paul.

Rai, Nivak. 1985. *People of the Stones.* Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University.

Randall, Maxine, Koichi Naka, Aiko Ikei, Hiroshi Ishizu, William Randall, and Toshihiro Takaishi. 1989. “High Spirit Rank Birth *(Saadaka Unmari)* in Okinawa: Toward a Medical Anthropological

Approach to Mental Health." Paper presented at the 1989 World Congress for Mental Health, Auckland, New Zealand.

Rasmussen, Knud. 1908. *The People of the Polar North.* A record compiled from the Danish originals and edited by G. Herring. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.

———. 1929. "Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos." *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924*, vol. 7. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

———. 1930. "Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos. Iglulik and Caribou Eskimo Texts." *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–24*, vol. 7 (2–3). Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

———. 1931. "The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Cultures." *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921–1924*, vol. 8. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

———. 1932. "Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos." *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–24*, vol. 9. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

———. 1938. *Knud Rasmussen's Posthumous Notes on the Life and Doings of the East Greenlanders in Olden Times.* Edited by Hother Ostermann. 6 and 7. Thule-Expedition til Sydøstgrønland 1931–33. Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 109. København: C. A. Reitzels Forlag.

Rasmussen, Susan J. 1995. *Spirit Possession and Personhood among the Kel Ewey Tuareg.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1998. "Only Women Know Trees: Medicine Women and the Role of Herbal Healing in Tuareg Culture." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 54, no. 2: 147–171.

———. 2001. *Healing in Community: Medicine, Contested Terrains, and Cultural Encounters among the Tuareg.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Ratchnevsky, Paul. 1992. *Genghis Khan—His Life and Legacy.* Oxford, UK, and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Rattray, Robert S. 1927. *Religion and Art in Ashanti.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Raxman, Abdukerim, Räwäydulla Hämdulla, and S̓erip Xus̓tar. 1996. *Uyggŭr Örp-Adätliri.* Ürümçi: S̓injañ Yas̓lar-Ösmürlär Näs̓riyati.

Ray, Dorothy Jean. 1977. *Eskimo Art: Tradition and Innovation in North Alaska.*Vancouver: J. J. Douglas.

———. 1981. *Aleut and Eskimo Art: Tradition and Innovation in South Alaska.* London: C. Hurst.

———. 1982. "Mortuary Art of the Alaskan Eskimos." *American Indian Art* 7, no. 2: 50–57.

Ray, Oakley, and Charles Ksir. 1999. *Drugs, Society, and Human Behavior.* New York: WCB McGraw-Hill.

Ray, Sohini. 2000. "The Sacred Alphabet and the Divine Body: The Case of Meitei Mayek in North-Eastern India." Ph.D. diss., Department of Anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles.

Reed, A. W. 1966. *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Life.* Wellington, Auckland, Sydney: A. H. and A. W. Reed. Original edition 1963.

Rees, Alwyn, and Brinley Rees. 1961. *Celtic Heritage.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Reichard, Gladys A. 1950. *Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1971. *Amazonian Cosmos: The Sexual and Religious Symbolism of the Tukano Indians.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1975. *The Shaman and the Jaguar: A Study of Narcotic Drugs among the Indians of Columbia.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

———. 1976. "Training for the Priesthood among the Kogi of Colombia." Pp. 265–288 in *Enculturation in Latin America: An Anthology.* UCLA Latin American Studies Series, no. 37. Edited by Johannes Wilbert. Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California.

———. 1978. *Beyond the Milky Way: Hallucinatory Imagery of the Tukano Indians.* Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, University of California.

———. 1979. "Desana Shamans' Rock Crystals and the Hexagonal Universe." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 5, no. 1: 117–128.

———. 1997. *Rainforest Shamans: Essays on the Tukano Indians of the Northwest Amazon.* Dartington, UK: Themis Books.

Reid, Janice. 1983. *Sorcerers and Healing Spirits.* Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Reinhard, Johan. 1976. "Shamanism among the Raji of Southwest Nepal." Pp. 263–292 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Renondeau, Gaston. 1965. *Le Shugendō: Histoire, doctrine et rites des anachorètes dits Yamabushi* [The Shugendo: History, doctrine and rites of the anchorites called Yamabushi]. *Cahiers de la Société Asiatique* 18. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Revunenkova, Elena V. 1980. *Narody Malaizii Zapadnoi Indonezii: Nekotorye aspekty dukhovnoi kultury* [People of Malaysia and Western Indonesia: Some aspects of spiritual culture]. Moscow: Nauka.

———. 1992. *Mif, obriyad, religiiya: Nekotorye aspekty problemy na materiale narodov Indonezii* [Myth, rite, and religion: Some aspects of problems in the material on the people of Indonesia]. Moscow: Nauka.

Reyburn, William D. 1954. *The Toba Indians of the Argentine Chaco: An Interpretative Report.* Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities.

Rhine, Gary, producer. 1992. *Wiping the Tears of Seven Generations.* Video recording. San Francisco: Kifaru Productions.

Rhum, Michael R. 1994. *The Ancestral Lords: Gender, Descent, and Spirits in a Northern Thai Village.* De Kalb, IL: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University.

Riboli, Diana. 1993. “Shamanic Paraphernalia and Dances among the Chepang Shamans.” Pp. 122–127 in *Shamanism and Performing Arts.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Tae-gon Kim. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

———. 1994. “Shamanic Rites of the Terai Chepangs.” *East and West* 44: 327–352.

———. 2000. *Tunsuriban: Shamanism in the Chepang of Southern and Central Nepal.* Translated from the Italian by Philippa Currie. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point.

———. 2002. “Trances of Initiation, Incorporation and Movement: Three Different Typologies of the Shamanic Trance.” *Shaman* 10: 161–180.

Ricardo, Carlos Alberto, ed. 2000. *The Indigenous People of Brazil* [Povos Indigenas no Brasil 1996/2000]. Sao Paũlo: Instituto Socioambiental.

Ridington, Robin. 1978. *Swan People: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance.* Ottawa: National Museum of Civilization.

Rigby, Peter. 1981. “Pastors and Pastoralists: The Differential Penetration of Christianity among East African Cattle Herders.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23: 96–129.

Rinçen, Byambiin. 1959. *Les Matériaux pour l’étude du chamanisme mongol I. Sources litteraires.* Asiatische Forschungen 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

———. 1961. *Les Matériaux pour l’étude du chamanisme mongol II. Textes chamanistes bouriates.* Asiatische Forschungen 8. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

———. 1962. *Doma duhov Prikosogoliya* [Spirit houses of shamans of Hubsugul]. Budapest.

Rivière, Peter. 1969. *Marriage among the Trio: A Principle of Social Organisation.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Roberts, Mary N., and A. F. Roberts. 1996. *The Shape of Belief: African Art from the Dr. Michael R. Heide Collection.* San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

Robinet, Isabelle. 1993. *Taoist Meditation.* Translated by Norman Girardot and Julian Pas. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Robinson, Harry. 1992. *Native Power: In the Spirit of an Okanagan Storyteller.* Compiled and edited by Wendy Wickwire. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Robles, J. Ricardo. 1991. “Los Rarámuri-Pagótuame.” Pp. 43–132 in *El Rostro Indio de Dios.* Edited by Manuel Marzal. Lima, Perú: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Robles Rodriguez, Eulogio. 1911. “Costumbres y Creencias Araucanas. *Neigurehuen* Baile de *Machi*s” [Araucanian Customs and Beliefs: Neigurehuen—Dance of the Shamans]. *Revista de Folklore Chileno.* Entrega 3ra. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes.

———. 1912. “Costumbres y Creencias Araucanas. *Machiluhun* Iniciación de *Machi*” [Araucanian Customs and Beliefs: Machiluhun Shamanic Initiation]. *Revista de Folklore Chileno.* Entrega 4ta. Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes.

Rock, Joseph R. 1950. “Contributions to the Shamanism of the Tibetan-Chinese Borderland.” *Anthropos* 54: 796–818.

Rodrigue, Yves. 1992. *Nat-Pwe: Burma’s Supernatural Subculture.* Translated by Roser Flotats. Gartmore, Scotland: Kiscadale.

Roger, Baron. 1829. *Recherches philosophiques sur la langue oulofe.* Paris: Moreau.

Róheim, Géza. 1952. *The Gates of the Dream.* New York: International Universities Press.

———. 1966. *Hungarian and Vogul Mythology.* 2d ed. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Rolleston, T. W. 1990. Reprint. *Celtic Myths and Legends.* New York: Dover. Original edition, 1917.

Roscoe, Will. 1991. *The Zuni Man-Woman.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1998. *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Rose, Deborah Bird. 1992. *Dingo Makes Us Human: Life and Land in an Aboriginal Australian Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roseman, Marina. 1991. *Healing Sounds from the Malaysian Rainforest: Temiar Music and Medicine.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1998. “The Indigenous Peoples (Orang Asli) of the Malay Peninsula.” (Subsection titled “Animistic Religious Philosophy and Shamanistic Practice.”) Pp. 560–589 in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, vol. 4, *Southeast Asia.* Edited by Terry E. Miller and Sean Williams. New York and London: Garland.

———. 2001. “Engaging the Spirits of Modernity: The Temiars.” Pp. 109–129 in *Healing Powers and Modernity: Traditional Medicine, Shamanism, and Science in Asian Societies.* Edited by Linda H. Connor and Geoffrey Samuel. Westport, CT, and London: Bergin and Garvey.

Rosing, Jens. 1963. *Sagn og saga fra Angmagssalik.* Udgivet af Nationalmuseet og Det Grønlandske Selskab i samarbejde med Forlaget Rhodos. København: National Museum.

Ross, Anne. 1967. *Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rotermund, Hartmut O. 1968. *Die Yamabushi: Aspekte ihres Glaubens, Lebens und ihrer sozialen Funktion im japanischen Mittelalter* [The Yamabushi: Aspects of their beliefs, lives and their social function in the Japanese Middle Ages]. Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter.

Roth, Gabrielle. 1998. *Maps to Ecstasy.* Novato, CA: New World Library.

Rouch, Jean. 1982 [1960]. *La Religion et la magie songhay.* 2d ed. Brussels: University of Bruxelles.
Rouget, Gilbert. 1980. *La Musique et la transe* [Music and trance]. Paris: Gallimard.
———. 1985. *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession.* Revised and translated from the French by Brunhilde Biebuyck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Originally published in French as *La Musique et la trance* by Editions Gallimard, 1980.
Rousseau, Jérôme. 1998. *Kayan Religion: Ritual Life and Religious Reform in Central Borneo.* Leiden: KITLV Press.
Rousselot, Jean-Loup. 1990. "Walfängergemeinschaften der Eskimo in Alaska" [Whale-hunting society of the Eskimo in Alaska]. Pp. 225–230 in *Männerbände-Männerbunde.* Edited by Gisela Völger and Karin von Welck. Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum.
———. 1996. "Yupik Eskimo Ceremonial and Masks of the Nineteenth Century." Pp. 78–91 in *The Object as Mediator.* Edited by Mireille Holsbeke. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum.
Rousselot, Jean-Loup, B. Abel, J. Pierre, and C. Bihl. 1991. *Masques Eskimo d'Alaska. Art et Ethnologie* [Eskimo masks of Alaska. Art and ethnology]. Éditions Danièle Amez: F-25410 Saint-Vit, France.
Rousselot, Jean-Loup, and Veronika Grahammer. 2002. "Catalogue raisonné de la collection du Château-Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer" [Descriptive catalog of the collection of the Castles-Museum of Boulogne-sur-Mer]. Pp. 206–243 in "Kodiak, Alaska. Les Masques de la collection Alphonse Pinart" [The masks from the collection of Alphonse Pinart]. Edited by Emmanuel Désveaux. Paris: Musée du quai Branly.
Rozwadowski, Andrzej. 2001. "Sun Gods or Shamans? Interpreting the 'Solar-Headed' Petroglyphs of Central Asia." Pp. 65–86 in *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* Edited by N. Price. London: Routledge.
———. 2002. "Disappearing into the Rock: Shamanistic Aspects of Indo-Iranian Mythology as a Context for Interpreting Central Asian Petroglyphs." Pp. 49–79 in *Spirits and Stones.* Edited by Andrzej Rozwadowski and Maria M. Kosko. Poznan: Instytut Wscliodin UAM.
Rozwadowski, A., and M. M. Kosko, eds. 2002. *Spirits and Stones: Shamanism and Rock Art in Central Asia and Siberia.* Poznan: Adam Mickiewicz University.
Ruben, Walter. 1940. "Schamanismus im alten Indien" [Shamanism in ancient India]. *Acta Orientalia* 18: 164–205.
Ruck, Carl A. P. 1986. "Poets, Philosophers, and Priests: Entheogens in the Formation of the Classical Tradition." Pp. 151–257 in *Persephone's Quest: Entheogens and the Origins of Religion.* Edited by R. Gordon Wasson. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Ruck, Carl A. P., and (Blaise) Danny Staples. 1995. *The World of Classical Myth: Gods and Goddesses, Heroes and Heroines.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
Ruck, Carl A. P., Blaise Daniel Staples, and Clark Heinrich. 2001. *The Apples of Apollo: Pagan and Christian Mysteries of the Eucharist.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
Ruck, Carl A. P., et al. 1979. "Entheogens." *Journal of Psychedelic Drugs* 11, nos. 1–2: 145–146.
Rudenko, Sergei. I. 1970. *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Rudgley, Richard. 1993. *Essential Substances: A Cultural History of Intoxicants in Society.* New York: Kodansha International.
———. 1999. *The Lost Civilizations of the Stone Age.* New York: Free Press.
Ruiz Moras, Ezequiel. 1990. "Communitas, crisis y configuraciones de la identidad entre los Toba Taksek del Chaco Central" [Community, crisis and configurations of identity between the Toba Taksek of Central Chaco]. Pp. 309–320 in *Propuestas para una antropologia argentina*, vol. 5. Edited by Carlos E. Berbeglia. Buenos Aires: Biblos.
Russell, Frank. 1975. Reprint. *The Pima Indians.* 26th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. Original edition 1908.
Russell, John R. 1990. "Kartīr and Mīnī: A Shamanistic Model of Their Conflict." Pp. 180–193 in *Iranicavaria: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater.* Acta Iranica 30. Leiden: Brill.
Ryan, W. Francis. 1999. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Rydving, Håkan. 1987. "Shamanistic and Postshamanistic Terminologies in Saami (Lappish)." Pp. 185–207 in *Saami Religion.* Edited by Tore Ahlbäck. Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 12. Åbo: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History.
———. 1990. "Scandinavian-Saami Religious Connections in the History of Research." In *Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place-Names.* Edited by Tore Ahlbäck. Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 13. Åbo: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History.
———. 1991. "The Saami Drums and the Religious Encounter in the 17th and 18th Centuries." Pp. 28–51 in *The Saami Shaman Drum.* Edited by Tore Ahlbäck and J. Bergman. Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 14. Åbo: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History.
———. 1993. *The End of Drum-Time: Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670–1740s.* Historia Religionum 12. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
Sackey, Brigid M. 1989. "Aspects of Continuity in the Religious Roles of Women in Spiritual Churches of

Ghana." *Research Review* 5, no. 2: 18–33. Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.

———. 1998. "Asafo and Christianity: Conflicts and Prospects." *Transactions of the Historical Society* 1, no. 2.

———. 2000. Interview with Maame Aba Tum, an okomfo in Enyan Abaasa, a Fante town in the central region of Ghana. October.

———. 2001. "Charismatics, Independents, and Missions: Church Proliferation in Ghana." *Culture and Religion* 2, no. 1: 41–59.

Sagalaev, A. M. 1984. *Mifologiia i verovaniia Altaitsev: Tsentral'no-aziatskie vliianii* [Mythology and beliefs of Altaians: Central Asian influences] Novosibirsk, Russia: "Nauka."

St. Pierre, Mark, and Tilda Long Soldier. 1995. *Walking in the Sacred Manner: Healers, Dreamers, and Pipe Carriers—Medicine Women of the Plains Indians.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Sakumichi, Shinsuke, Hideshi Ohashi, Hiroko Horike, and Nobuya Tohyama. 1984. "A Social Psychological Study of Okinawan Shamanism (II): An Investigation of the Health-Seeking Process in the Traditional Society under the Infiltration of Modern Western Culture." *Tohoku Psychologica Folia* 43, nos. 1–4: 80–90.

Sakurai Tokutarō. 1988. *Nippon no shamanizumu* [Shamanism in Japan]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbundō.

Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard. 1992. "La 'Troisième' sexe." *Ethnologie* 23: 836–844.

———. 1994a. "From Foetus to Shaman: The Construction of an Inuit Third Sex." Pp. 82–106 in *Amerindian Rebirth.* Edited by A. Mills and R. Slobodin. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 1994b. "Tretij pol" [The third sex]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 2: 77–88.

———. 1997. "A New Look on Shamanism, Possession and Christianization." *Inuit Studies* 21, nos. 1–2: 21–36.

Salamone, Frank A. 1975. "Becoming Hausa—Contributions to a Theory of Cultural Pluralism." *Africa* 45: 401–424.

———. 1977. "Religion as Play: Bori—A Friendly 'Witchdoctor.'" Pp. 158–167 in *The Study of Play: Problems and Prospects.* Edited by David Lancy and B. Allan Tindall. West Point, NY: Leisure Press.

Salmond, Anne. 1976. *HUI: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings.* Wellington, Sydney, London: A. H. and A. W. Reed.

Sampildendev, Pr. H. 2000. "Mongolian Custom of Worshipping Nature." Pp. 54–55 in *First Bulletin of the International Institute for the Study of Nomadic Civilizations.* Nomadic Studies. Ulaanbator, Mongolia.

Samuel, Geoffrey. 1993. *Civilized Shamans. Buddhism in Tibetan Societies.* Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

———. 1997a. "Some Reflections on the Vajrayāna and Its Shamanic Origins." Pp. 325–342 in *Les Habitants du toit du monde. Études recueillies en hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald* [Inhabitants on the roof of the world. Studies collected in homage to Alexander W. Macdonald]. Edited by Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.

———. 1997b. "The Vajrayāna in the Context of Himalayan Folk Religion." Pp. 843–850 in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, vol. 2. Edited by Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner, and Helmut Tauscher. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2000. "The Indus Valley Civilization and Early Tibet." Pp. 651–670 in *New Horizons in Bon Studies.* Edited by Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

San Martín, René. 1976. "*Machitun:* Una Ceremonia Mapuche" [Machitun: A Mapuche Ceremony]. In *Estudios Antropológicos Sobre los Mapuches de Chile sur-central* [Anthropological Studies about the Mapuches of South-Central Chile]. Edited by Tom Dillehay. Temuco: Universidad Católica.

Sanderson, Alexis. 1994. "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function." Pp. 87–102 in *Buddhism into the Year 2000.* Bangkok: Dhammakaya Foundation.

Sando, Joe S. 1976. *The Pueblo Indians.* San Francisco: Indian Historian Press.

Sandschejew, Garma. 1927, 1928. "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten" [Worldview and Shamanism of the Alar Buryat]. *Anthropos* 22: 576–614, 933–956; 23: 538–561, 967–987.

Sandstrom, Alan R., and Pamela E. Sandstrom. 1986. *Traditional Papermaking and Paper Cult Figures of Mexico.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Sanjeev, G. D. 1930. *Darhads.* Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), Russia.

Sanneh, Lamin. 1989. *The Jahanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious and Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia.* Lanham, MD, and London: University Press of America.

———. 1997. *The Crown and the Turban: Muslims and West African Pluralism.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Santaro, Mikhail (Magsarshav). 1995. *Proud Sons of the Broad Earth.* Published in Old Mongolian, English, and Chinese. Author.

Sanžeev, Garuna. 1927–1928. "Weltanshauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten" [Worldview and Shamanism of the Alan Buryats]. Translated from the Russian by R. Augustin. *Anthropos* 27: 576, 613, 933–955; 28: 538–560, 967–986.

Sarangerel (Julie Ann Stewart). 2000. *Riding Windhorses: A Journey into the Heart of Mongolian Shamanism.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

———. 2001. *Chosen by the Spirits—Following Your Shamanic Calling.* Rochester, VT: Destiny Books.

Sarpong, Peter. 1974. *Ghana in Retrospect: Some Aspects of Ghanaian Culture.* Tema: Ghana Publishing.

Sarris, Greg. 1993. *Keeping Slug Woman Alive.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sasaki Kokan. 1984. *Shamanizumu no jinruigaku* [Anthropology of shamanism]. Tokyo: Kobundo.

Sasamori, Takefusa. 1989. "The Original Text and Variants of the Itako Sutra 'Kamiyose' [Invocation]." *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education* (Hirosaki University) 62: 43–56.

———. 1995. "The Use of Music in the Ritual Practices of the Itako, a Japanese Shaman." *Shaman* 3, no. 1 (Spring): 41–54.

———. 1997a. "Healing Arts of the Itako." Pp. 47–55 in *Circumpolar Animism and Shamanism.* Edited by Iromoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Sapporo: Hokkaidō University Press.

———. 1997b. "Therapeutic Rituals Performed by Itako (Japanese Blind Female Shamans)." *The World of Music* 39, no. 1: 85–96.

Sather, Clifford. 2001. *Seeds of Play, Words of Power: An Ethnographic Study of Iban Shamanic Chants.* Kuala Lumpur: Tun Jugah Foundation (in cooperation with the Borneo Research Council).

Sauer, Martin. 1802a. *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia.* London: T. Cadell.

———. 1802b. *Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia.* London: T. Cadell, Jun., and W. Davies.

Saunders, Nicholas. 2001. "Shamanism in Pre-Hispanic Cultures." Pp. 141–142 in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures*, vol. 3. Edited by David Carrasco. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sauneron, Serge. 1980. Reprint. *The Priests of Ancient Egypt.* Translated by Ann Morrissett. New York: Grove Press.

Sawatzky, Sheldon. 1990. "Chinese Shamanism." In *Taiwan Journal of Theology* [Taiwan shen xue lun kan], no. 12. Taibei.

Schaafsma, Polly, ed. 1994. *Kachinas in the Pueblo World.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Schaefer, Stacy B. 1993. "The Loom as a Sacred Power Object in Huichol Culture." Pp. 118–130 in *Art in Small-Scale Societies: Contemporary Readings.* Edited by Richard Anderson and Karen L. Field. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

———. 1996a. "The Crossing of the Souls: Peyote, Perception, and Meaning among the Huichol Indians." Pp. 138–168 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1996b. "Pregnancy and Peyote among the Huichol Indians of Mexico: A Preliminary Report." *Yearbook for Ethnomedicine and the Study of Consciousness/Jahrbuch für Ethnomedizin und Bewusstseinsforschung* 5: 67–78.

———. 1998. "Freedom of Expression: Huichol Indians, Their Peyote-Inspired Art and Mexican Drug Laws." *Yearbook for Ethnomedicine and the Study of Consciousness/Jarbuch für Ethnomedizin und Bewußtseinsforschung* 7: 205–221.

———. 2002. *To Think with a Good Heart: Wixárika Women, Weavers, and Shamans*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Schaefer, Stacy B. and Peter T. Furst, eds. 1996. *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian Story, Religion, and Survival.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Schafer, Edward H. 1951. "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14: 130–184.

Schärer, Hans. 1963. *Ngaju Religion: The Conception of God among a South Borneo People.* Translated by Rodney Needham. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Schechner, Richard. 1976. "From Ritual to Theater and Back." Pp. 196–222 in *Ritual, Play and Performance.* Edited by R. Schechner. New York: Seabury Press.

Schele, Linda, and David Freidel. 1990. *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya.* New York: William Morrow and Company.

Schele, Linda, David Freidel, and Joy Parker. 1993. *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path.* New York: William Morrow.

Schele, Linda, and Mary Ellen Miller. 1986. *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art.* Fort Worth, TX: Kimbell Art Museum.

Schenk, Amélie. 2000. *Herr des schwarzen Himmels. Zeren Baawai—Schamane der Mongolei.* Bern, München, Wien: O. W. Barth.

Schiller, Anne. 1997. *Small Sacrifices: Religious Change and Cultural Identity among the Ngaju of Indonesia.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Schimmel, A. 1975. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

———. 1995. *Mystische Dimensionen des Islam.* München: Die Geschichte des Sufismus.

Schindler, Helmut. 1989. "Con Reverencia Nombreys al Pillan y Huecuvoe" [With Reverence You Shall Name the Pillar and the Huecuvoe]. (Sermón IV, Luis de Valdivia, 1621). *Revindi* 1: 15–27.

———. 1996. "*Amulpüllün:* Un Rito Funerario de los Mapuche Chilenos." *Lengua y Literatura Mapuche* 7: 165–180.

Schipper, Kristofer. 1993. *The Taoist Body.* Translated from the French by Karen C. Duval. Foreword by Norman Girardot. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schluchter, W., ed. 1987. *Max Webers Sicht des Islams.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkampf.

Schmidt, Wilhelm. 1931, 1949, 1955. *Die Ursprung der Gottesidee* [The origin of the Idea of God]. Vols. 3, 9, 11. München.

Schultes, Richard E., and Albert Hofmann. 1979. *Plants of the Gods: Their Sacred, Healing and Hallucinogenic Powers.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Schultes, Richard Evans, and Robert F. Raffauf. 1990. *The Healing Forest: Medicinal and Toxic Plants of the Northwest Amazon.* Portland, OR: Dioscorides Press.

Scott, Joan. 1999. *Gender and the Politics of History.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Sébillot, Paul-Yves. 1983. *Le Folklore de France.* Paris: Imago.

Seeberg, Jens. 1995. "Spirits, Words, Goods, and Money: Substance and Exchange at the Balaji Temple." *Folk* 36: 39–59.

The Sekoddeśaṭīkā of Naḍapāda (Nāropā). 1941. Edited by Mario Carelli. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

Sellato, Bernard. 1994. *Nomads of the Borneo Rainforest: The Economics, Politics and Ideology of Settling Down.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Senghor, Léopold Sédar, and Sadji Abdoulaye. 1953. *La Belle histoire de Leuk-le-Lièvre.* Paris: Hachette.

Seo, Maria Kongju. 2000. "Ritual Music of Hanyang kut by Spirit-Possessed Shamans in Korea." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, Seattle.

Sered, Susan. 1999. *Women of the Sacred Groves: Divine Priestesses of Okinawa.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Serov, S. Ia. 1988. "Guardians and Spirit Masters of Siberia." Pp. 241–255 in *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska.* Edited by Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Shaman. An International Journal for Shamanistic Research. 1993–. Szeged: Molnar and Kelemen Oriental Publishers.

Shamanism. 2000. *Journal of the Foundation for Shamanic Studies* 13 (Fall/Winter), nos. 1, 2. Mill Valley, CA.

Shaman's Drum. A Journal of Experiential Shamanism and Spiritual Healing. 1985–. Ashland, OR: Cross-Cultural Shamanism Network.

Shapiro, A., and E. Shapiro. 1997. *The Powerful Placebo: From Ancient Priest to Modern Physician.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sharon, Douglas. 1978. *Wizard of the Four Winds: A Shaman's Story.* New York: Free Press.

———. 1990. "The San Pedro Cactus in Peru." Pp. 114–135 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens.* Edited by Peter Furst. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

———. 2000. *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus.* San Diego Museum Papers, no. 37. San Diego, CA: San Diego Museum.

Sharp, Lesley A. 1993. *The Possessed and Dispossessed: Spirits, Identity, and Power in a Madagascar Migrant Town.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Shaw, Ian. 2000. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Shepard, Glenn H., Jr. 1998. "Psychoactive Plants and Ethnopsychiatric Medicines of the Matsigenka." *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 30, no. 4: 321–332.

Sherrat, Andrew. 1991. "Sacred and Profane Substances: The Ritual Use of Narcotics in Later Neolithic Europe." Pp. 50–64 in *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion,* Monograph 32. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

———. 1995. "Alcohol and Its Alternatives: Symbol and Substance in Pre-Industrial Cultures." Pp. 11–46 in *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology.* Edited by J. Goodman, P. E. Lovejoy, and A. Sherratt. London: Routledge.

Sheykin, Yuri. 1980. "Siberian Peoples: Traditional Instruments." P. 26 in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2d ed., vol. 2. Edited by Stanley Sadie. London: Grove's Dictionaries of Music.

Shibata Shigeo. 1995. "Iwakisanchimeiko" [Thoughts on the Place Name of Mount Iwaki]. Pp. 53–57 in *Hokuo bunkakō*, no. 16. Goshogawara: Hokuōbunka kenkyūkai.

Shimamura, Ippei. 1998. "Daruhado zoku no ongodo shinko" [The cult of Ongod among the Darkhads]. Thesis, National University of Mongolia.

———. 2000a. "Darkhad Shamanism—The Cult of Vengeful Dead Spirits of Shamans." *Bulletin of the IAMS (International Association for Mongol Studies)* 25.

———. 2000b. "Heigen ni kiku, shamanism no ibuki" [The Breath of shamanism in the steppe land]. *Kikan Minzokugaku* [Quarterly Ethnology] 93.

———. 2002. "The Roots Seeking Movement among the Aga-Buryats: New Lights on Their Shamanism, History of Suffering, and Diaspora." Pp. 88–110 in *A People Divided: Buryat Mongols in Russia, Mongolia and China.* Edited by Konagaya Yuki. Cologne, Germany: International Society for the Study of the Culture and Economy of the Ordos Mongols.

Shimony, Annemarie Anrod. 1994. *Conservatism among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve.* Rev. ed. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Shindō Yukihiko. 1970. "Tsugaru no minzoku buyō" [Tsugaru folk dances]. Pp. 395–415 in *Tsugaru no minzoku.* Edited by Wakamori Tarō. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

Shipley, William F. 1978. "Native Languages of California." Pp. 80–90 in *California,* vol. 8, *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Shirokogoroff, Sergei M. 1919. *Opyt issledovanija osnov shamanstva u tungusov* [The study of shamanhood among the Tungus]. Vladivostok.

———. 1935. *Psychomental Comples of the Tungus.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.

———. 1982. Reprint. *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* New York: AMS Press. Original edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935.

Shortland, Edward. 1856. *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts.

———. 1882. *Maori Religion and Mythology.* London: Longmans, Green.

Shorto, H. L. 1967. "The Dewatan Sutapan, a Mon Prototype of the 37 Nats." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30: 127–141.

Shostak, Marjorie. 1981. *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Shternberg, Leo Ja. 1925. "Divine Election in Primitive Religion." Pp. 472–512 in *Proceedings of the Twenty-First International Congress of Americanists.* Göteborg.

Siddle, Richard. 1999. "Ainu History: An Overview." Pp. 67–73 in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People.* Edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil. Washington, DC: Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Sidky, M. H. 1994. "Shamans and Mountain Spirits in Hunza." *Asian Studies Journal* 53: 67–96.

Siegel, Ronald, Peter Collings, and J. Diaz. 1977. "On the Use of *Tagetes lucida* and *Nicotiana rustica* as a Huichol Smoking Mixture: The Aztec '*Yahuatil'* with Suggestive Hallucinogenic Effects." *Economic Botany* 31: 16–23.

Siegel, Taggart, and Dwight Conquergood. 1985. *Between Two Worlds: The Hmong Shaman in America.* Film. Riverwoods, IL: Film Ideas.

Siegel, Taggart, and Jim McSilver. 2000. *Split Horn: Life of a Hmong Shaman in America.* Film. San Francisco: Teri Lang Alchemy Films.

Sieroszewski, Wenceslas. 1902. "Du chamanisme d'après les croyances des Yakoutes." *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 46: 204–233, 299–338.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1978. "The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman." *Folklore Fellows Communication* 220. Helsinki: Soumalainen Tiedeskaremia Academia.

———. 1992a. "Finnish Rock Art, Animal Ceremonialism and Shamanic Worldview." Pp. 56–67 in *Studies on Shamanism.* Edited by Anna-Leena Siikala and Mihály Hoppál. Helsinki and Budapest: Finnish Anthropological Society and Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1992b. *Suomalainen šamanismi. Mielikuvien historiaa.* Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

———. 2002. *Mythic Images and Shamanism: A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry.* Folklore Fellows Communications 280. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Siikala, Anna-Leena, and Mihály Hoppál. 1992. *Studies in Shamanism.* Helsinki and Budapest: Finnish Anthropological Society and Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. 1998. *Studies in Shamanism.* Helsinki and Budapest: Finnish Anthropological Society and Akadémiai Kiadó.

Silverman, Julian. 1967. "Shamanism and Acute Schizophrenia." *American Anthropologist* 69: 21–31.

Simmons, David R. 1976. *The Great New Zealand Myth.* Wellington, Sydney, London: A. H. and A. W. Reed.

Simmons, Geoffrey. 1974. *The Witchcraft World.* New York: Barnes and Noble.

Singh, Khumujam Ratan Kumar. 1995. "The Lai-Haraoba of Manipur: A Social, Cultural and Historical Study." Diss. Manipur University, Imphal.

Singh, Ngariambam Kulachandra. 1963. *Meitei Laiharaoba.* Imphal: Keishamthong Leirak Machin.

Siskind, Janet. 1973. "Visions and Cures among the Sharanahua." Pp. 28–39 in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism.* Edited by Michael Harner. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sivathamby, Karthigesu. 1981. *Drama in Ancient Tamil Society.* Madras: New Century Book House.

Slaney, Frances. 1997. "Double Baptism: Personhood and Ethnicity in the Sierra Tarahumara of Mexico." *American Ethnologist* 24, no. 2: 306–310.

Slezkine, Yuri. 1994. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Sljusarev, Sergei, and Ai-Tchourek Oyun. 2001. "Shaman Kontaknie Chelovek." *Semeyniy Doctor* 12.

Slotkin, James S. 1956a. *The Peyote Religion: A Study in Indian-White Relations.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

———. 1956b. "The Peyote Way." *Tomorrow: Quarterly Review of Psychical Research* 4, no. 3: 64–70.

Smith, Huston, and Reuben Snake. 1996. *One Nation under God: The Triumph of the Native American Church.* Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.

Smith, Morton. 1978. *Jesus the Magician.* San Francisco: Barnes and Noble.

The Smithsonian's *Handbook of North American Indians,* organized into volumes by geographical areas, indexes "medicine societies" and also "shamans," making these volumes a convenient source for summary descriptions and for references to longer descriptions.

Snesarev, Gleb. 1983. *Khorezmskie legendy kak istochnik po istorii religioznykh kul'tov Sredney Azii* [Khorem legend as source for the history of religious cults in Central Asia]. Moskva: Nauka.

Snodgrass, Jeffrey G. 2002a. "Imitation Is Far More Than the Sincerest of Flattery: The Mimetic Power of Spirit Possession in Rajasthan, India." *Cultural Anthropology* 17, no. 1: 32–64.

———. 2002b. "A Tale of Goddesses, Money, and Other Terribly Wonderful Things: Spirit Possession, Commodity Fetishism, and the Narrative of Capitalism in Rajasthan, India." *American Ethnologist* 29, no. 3: 602–636.

Socé Diop, Ousmane. 1962. *Contes et légendes d'Afrique Noire.* Paris: Présence Africaine.

Sodnom, B. 1962. "Mongoliin xariin jügiin böögiin duudlagiin tuxai" [On the invocations of Mongolian Black shamans]. *Studia Mongolica* 4: 59–110.

Sommarström, Bo. 1989. "The Sāmi Shaman's Drum and the Holographic Paradigm Discussion." Pp. 125–137 in *Shamanism: Past and Present,* pt 2. Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Otto von Sadovsky. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Sonne, Birgitte. 1988. "Agayut." *Report of the 5th Thule Expedition* 10, no. 4. Gyldendal: Copenhagen.

Sontheimer, Günther-Dietz. 1989. *Pastoral Deities in Western India.* Translated from the German by Anne Feldhaus. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sosa, John. 1986. "The Maya Sky, the Maya World: A Symbolic Analysis of Yucatec Maya Cosmology." Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Albany.

Speake, G. 1980. *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Speck, Frank. G. 1935. *Naskapi: The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula.* Norman: University of Oklahoma.

———. 1949. "How the Dew Eagle Society of the Allegheny Seneca Cured Gahehdagowa." *Primitive Man: Quarterly Bulletin of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* 22, nos. 3 and 4: 39–59.

———. 1995. Reprint. *Midwinter Rites of the Cayuga Longhouse.* Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press. Original edition 1949.

Spencer, Baldwin, and F. J. Gillen. 1904. *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia.* London: Macmillan.

Spevakovsky, A. B. 1994. "Animal Cults and Ecology: Ainu and East Siberian Examples." Pp. 103–109 in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Spier, Leslie. 1933. *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1935. *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance.* General Series in Anthropology, no. 1. Menasha, WI: George Benta.

Spiro, Howard. 1998. *The Power of Hope.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Spiro, Melford E. 1967. *Burmese Supernaturalism: A Study in the Explanation and Reduction of Suffering.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

———. 2001. "Cultural Determinism, Cultural Relativism, and the Comparative Study of Psychopathology." *Ethos* 29, no. 2: 218–234.

Spuler, Bertold. 1972. *History of the Mongols.* Islamic World series, G. E. Von Grunebaum, General Editor. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Srinivas, Smriti. 1998. *The Mouths of People, the Voice of God: Buddhists and Muslims in a Frontier Community of Ladakh.* Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Stablein, William. 1976. "Mahākāla the Neo-Shaman: Master of the Ritual." Pp. 361–375 in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas.* Edited by John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Stafford, Anita M. 1978. "Application of Clinical Anthropology to Medical Practice." In *The Anthropology of Health.* Edited by Eleanor Bauwens. Saint Louis, MO: Mosby.

Staniszewski, Mary A. 1995. *Believing Is Seeing: Creating the Culture of Art.* New York: Penguin Books.

Stanner, W. E. H. 1966. *On Aboriginal Religion.* Oceania monograph 36. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Stark, Rodney. 1997. "A Taxonomy of Religious Experience." Pp. 209–221 in *The Psychology of Religion: Theoretical Approaches.* Edited by B. Spilka and D. McIntosh. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Stary, Giovanni. 1980. "Mandschurische Schamanengebete" [Manchu Shamanic Prayers]. *Zeutralasiatische Stadien* 14, no. 2: 1–28.

———. 1985. "Schamanentexte der Sibe-Mandschuren aus Sinkiang" [Shamanic texts of the Sibe-Manchus from Xinjiang]. *Zentralasiatische Studien* 18: 165–191.

———. 1992. *Das "Schamanenbuch" der Sibe-Mandschuren* [The "Shaman's Book" of the Sibe-Manchus]. Shamanica Manchurica Collecta, no. 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

———. 1993a. "Recurring Elements in Manchu Shaman Prayers." Pp. 453–462 in *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference.* Edited by Ch'en Chieh-hsien. Taipei: Center for Chinese Studies Materials.

———. 1993b. "The 'Secret Handbook' of a Sibe Shaman." Pp. 229–239 in *Shamans and Cultures.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál and Keith D. Howard. Los Angeles: International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

———. 1998. *Studia et documenta Manchu-shamanica.* Shamanica Manchurica Collecta, 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Steedly, Mary Margaret. 1989. "Innocence as Authority: Shifting Gender Roles in Karonese Curing Ritual." In *Changing Lives, Changing Rites: Ritual and Social Dynamics in Philippine and Indonesian Uplands.* Edited by Susah D. Russell and Clark E. Cunningham. Michigan Studies of South and Southeast Asia, no. 1. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies.

———. 1993. *Hanging without a Rope: Narrative Experience in Colonial and Postcolonial Karoland.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Stefansson, V. 1938. *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in Search of a Passage to Cathay and India by the North-West, A.D. 1576–8. From the Original 1578 Text of George Best.* London: Argonaut Press.

Stein, Rolf A. 1981. *La Civilization tibétain.* Paris: Le Sycomore.

Stephen, Alexander. 1894. "The Po-voc-tu among the Hopi." *American Antiquarian* 16: 212–214.

———. 1936. *Hopi Journal.* 2 vols. Edited by Elsie Clews Parsons. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology 23.

Stephen, Michele. 1996. “Dreams and Self-Knowledge among the Mekeo of Papua New Guinea.” *Ethos* 24, no. 3: 465–490.

Sternberg, Leo. 1925. “Devine Election in Primitive Religion.” Pp. 472–512 in *Compte-Rendu de la XXIe session*, pt. 2 (1924). Göteborg: Congrès International des Américanistes.

Sternberg, Lev Ya. 1925. “Divine Election in Primitive Religion.” In *XXI Congrès International des Américanistes.* Göteborg: Göteborg Museum.

Stevenson, Matilda Cox. 1985. Reprint. *The Zuni Indians.* 23rd Annual Report 1901–02, Bureau of American Ethnology. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press. Original edition, Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904.

Steward, Julian H. 1938. “Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups.” *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 120: 1–346.

———. 1940. “Native Cultures of the Intermountain (Great Basin) Area.” *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 100: 445–502.

———. 1955. *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———. 1970. “The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society.” Pp. 113–151 in *Language and Culture of Western North American.* Edited by E. H. Swanson. Caldwell, ID: Caxton.

Stewart, Omer C. 1987. *Peyote Religion: A History.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Stoller, Paul. 1981. “Social Political Interaction and the Management of Songhay Socio-Political Change.” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 51: 765–780.

———. 1989a. *Fusion of the Worlds: An Ethnography of Possession among the Songhay of Niger.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1989b. *The Taste of Ethnographic Things.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Stoller, Paul, and Cheryl Olkes. 1987. *In Sorcery's Shadow: A Memoir of Apprenticeship among the Songhay of Niger.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Strathern, Andrew. 1989. “Melpa Dream Interpretation and the Concept of Hidden Truth.” *Ethnology* 28, no. 4: 301–315.

———. 1995. “Trance and the Theory of Healing: Sociogenic and Psychogenic Components of Consciousness.” In *Questions of Consciousness.* Edited by Anthony P. Cohen and Nigel Rapport. London: Routledge.

Strickmann, Michel. 1996. *Mantras et mandarins. Le Bouddhisme tantrique en Chine.* Paris: Gallimard.

———. 2002. *Chinese Magical Medicine*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

———. 2003. *Schamanismus und Esoterik: Kultur- und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Betrachtungen.* Leuven: Peeters.

Sui Shujin. 1988. *Elunchun minjian gushi xuan* [A collection of Oroqen folktales]. Shanghai: Shanghai Literature and Art Press.

Sukhareva, O. 1960. *Islam v Uzbekistane.* Taschkent: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk UzSSR.

Sukhareva, Olga. 1975. “Perezjitki demonologii i shamanstva u ravninnyh tajikov” [Vestiges of demonology and shamanism among the Plains Tajiks]. Pp. 5–93 in *Drevniye verovaniya i obryady v Credney Azii* [Ancient beliefs and rituals in Central Asia]. Moscow: Nauka.

Sukhu, Gopal. 1999. “Monkeys, Shamans, Emperors and Poets: The Chuci and Images of Chu during the Han Dynasty.” In *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China.* Edited by Constance A. Cook and John S. Major. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Sullivan, Lawrence E. 1988. *Icanchu's Drum: An Orientation to Meaning in South American Religions.* New York and London: Macmillan.

Sundkler, Bengt. 1948. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa.* London: Lutterworth.

Surgy, Albert de. 1994. *Nature et fonction des fetiches en Afrique Noire* [Nature and function of fetishes in Black Africa]. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Suslov, I. M. 1983. *Materialien zum Schamanismus der Evenki-Tungusen an der mittleren und unteren Tunguska* [Materials on the Shamanism of the Evenk-Tungus in Middle and Lower Tunguska]. Studies in Oriental Religions, vol. 8. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

Sutherland, P. 2001. “Shamanism and the Iconography of Paleo-Eskimo Art.” Pp. 135–145 in *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* Edited by N. Price. London: Routledge.

Suttles, Wayne. 1957. “The Plateau Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish.” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13: 352–395.

Sutton, Donald. 1990. “Rituals of Self-Mortification: Taiwanese Spirit-Mediums in Comparative Perspective.” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 4, no. 1 (Winter): 99–119.

Suzuki, Valentina U. 1995. “Shamanism and Musical Folklore.” *Tuva State Xoomei Magazine:* 33–34.

Sviderskaya, Nina Ye, et al. 2001. “Sposob aktivizatsii tvorcheskih protsessov s uchastiem ‘sverhsoznaniya’” [Way of the activation of creative processes with the participation of “superconsciousness”]. Pp. 85–93 in *Proceedings of the International Interdisciplinary Scientific and Practical Symposium “Ecology and Traditional Religious and Magical Knowledge.”* Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology RAS.

Swanson, Guy. 1973. “The Search for a Guardian Spirit: The Process of Empowerment in Simpler Societies.” *Ethnology* 12: 359–378.

Swanson, Paul L., and Royall Tyler, eds. 1989. *Shugendo and Mountain Religion in Japan. Japanese Journal of Religious Studies,* special issue, 16, nos. 2–3.

Swanton, John R. 1928. *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy.* Pp. 23–472 in 42nd Annual Report, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1931. *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 103. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

———. 1946. *Indians of the Southeastern United States.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Tacitus. 1989. *The Annals of Imperial Rome.* Translated by Michael Grant. New York: Penguin.

Tae-dong, Lee, trans. 1978. "Princess Pari." *Korea Journal* 18 (June): 52–57.

Takara, Kurayoshi. 1994. "King and Priestess: Spiritual and Political Power in Ancient Ryukyu." Paper presented at the International Society for Ryukyuan Studies, Harvard University, Reischauer Institute.

Taksami, Chuner M. 2001. "The Shaman's Path to Heaven." Pp. 11–19 in *Shamanhood: Symbolism and Epic.* Edited by Juha Pentikäinen. Bibliotheca Shamanistica, vol. 9. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Tambiah, Stanley. 1970. *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand.* Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, no. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1990. *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tanaka Sakurako. 2000. "The Ainu of Tsugaru: Indigenous History and Shamanism of Northern Japan." Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Tanner, John. 1994. *The Falcon: A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner.* New York: Penguin Putnam. Original edition, G&C&H Carvill, 1830.

Tapp, Nicholas. 1989. "Hmong Religion." *Asian Folklore Studies* 48: 59–94.

———. 2000. "Ritual Relations and Identity: Hmong and Others." Pp. 84–103 in *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States.* Edited by A. Turton. Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press.

Tarn, Nathaniel, and Martin Prechtel. 1997. *Scandals in the House of Birds: Shamans and Priests on Lake Atitlán.* New York: Marsilio.

Tart, Charles. 1986. *Waking Up—Overcoming the Obstacles to Human Potential.* Boston: Shambhala.

Taube, Karl. 1994. "The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya Myth and Ritual." Pp. 650–685 in *The Maya Vase Book*, vol. 4. Edited by Justin Kerr. New York: Kerr Associates.

Taussig, Michael. 1981. "El curanderismo popular y la estructura de la conquista en el suroeste de Colombia." *Amerída Indígena* 47, no. 4: 559–614.

———. 1984. "History as Sorcery." *Representations* 7: 87–109.

———. 1987. *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1997. *The Magic of the State.* New York: Routledge.

———. 1998. "Viscerality, Faith, and Skepticism: Another Theory of Magic." Pp. 221–256 in *In Near Ruins: Cultural Theory at the End of the Century.* Edited by Nicholas B. Dirks. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Taves, Ann. 1999. *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tedlock, Barbara. 1982. *Time and the Highland Maya.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1992. *Time and the Highland Maya.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1999. "Maya Astronomy: What We Know and How We Know It." *Archaeoastronomy* 14: 39–58.

———. 2001. "Divination as a Way of Knowing: Embodiment, Visualization, Narrative, and Interpretation." *Folklore* 112, no. 2: 189–197.

Tedlock, Dennis. 1972. *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

———. 1976. "In Search of the Miraculous at Zuni." Pp. 273–283 in *The Realm of the Extra-Human: Ideas and Actions.* Edited by Agehananda Bharati. World Anthropology Series. The Hague: Mouton.

———. 1979. "Zuni Religion and World View." Pp. 499–513 in *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest.* Edited by Alfonso Ortiz. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

———. 1996. *Popol Vuh.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Tedlock, Dennis, ed. and trans. 1985. *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Teitelbaum, Myron. 1978. *Hypnosis Induction Tecnics.* Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Temple, Richard Carnac. 1906. *The Thirty-Seven Nats, a Phase of Spirit-Worship Prevailing in Burma.* London: W. Griggs.

Thalbitzer, William. 1923. *The Ammasalik Eskimo. Contribution to the Ethnology of the East Greenland Natives.* Meddelelser om Grønland, bd. 40. København: Bianco Luno.

Thao, P. 1986. "I Am a Shaman." Pp. 164–200 in *The Hmong World.* Edited by Brenda Johns and David Strecker. New Haven, CT: Council on Southeast Asia Studies.

Thomas, David John. 1982. *Order without Government: The Society of the Pemon Indians of Venezuela.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Thomas, Keith. 1971. *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1988. "Marginal Powers: Shamanism and the Disintegration of Hierarchy." *Critique of Anthropology* 8, no. 3: 53–74.

Thompson, George. 2003. "Soma and Ecstasy in the Ṛgveda." *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 9, no. 1. Available at http://www1.shore.net/~India/ejus/issues.html (cited June 29, 2004).

Thompson, Lana. 1999. "Bodies from the Dark Side: Paradoxes of Female Anatomy in the Renaissance." M.A. thesis, Florida Atlantic University.

Thompson, Laurence G. 1969. *Chinese Religion: An Introduction.* Belmont, CA: Dickenson.

Thornton, John. 1998. *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Thornton, John K. 1987–1988. "On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas." *Americas* 44, no. 3: 261–278.

Thornton, Russell. 1993. "Boundary Dissolution and Revitalization Movements: The Case of the Nineteenth-Century Cherokees." *Ethnohistory* 40, no. 3: 359–383.

Thurman, Melburn D. 1973. "The Delaware Indians: A Study in Ethnohistory." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. 1896–1901. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791.* 73 vols. Cleveland: Burrows Bros.

Tindale, Norman B. 1937. "Native Songs of South-East Australia." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 61: 107–120.

Titiev, Mischa. 1972. *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Tkacz, Virlana, Sayan Zhambalov, Wanda Phipps, and Alexander Khantaev. 2002. *Shanar.* New York: Parabola.

Tokarev, S. A. 1957. *Religioznye Verovanja Vostocnoslavjanskovo Naroda XIX Veka i Nachala XX Veka* [Religious Beliefs of the Eastern Slavic People in the Nineteenth Century and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century]. Moscow and Leningrad: Institute of the Academy of Sciences USSR.

Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku, Ongaku Gakubu. 1987. *Catalog of the Musical Instrument Collection of the Koizumi Fumio Memorial Archives.* Tokyo: Geijutsu Kenkyu Shinko Zaidan.

Tooker, Elisabeth. 1978. "Iroquois since 1820." Pp. 449–465 in *Northeast,* vol. 15, *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Bruce G. Trigger. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

———. 1986. *An Iroquois Source Book.* Vol. 3, *Medicine Society Rituals.* New York and London: Garland Publishing.

———. 1991. *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615–1649.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

———. 1994. *The Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Topan, Farouk Mohamedhussein T. 1971. "Oral Literature in a Ritual Setting: The Role of Spirit Songs in a Spirit-Mediumship Cult in Mombasa, Kenya." Ph.D. diss., University of London.

Torii Ryuzo. 1976. "Nihon shui minzoku no genshi shukyo" [Primitive religions of the peoples that surround Japan]. *Torii Ryuzo zenshu*, vol. 7. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha.

Torres, Constantino M. 1998. "Psychoactive Substances in the Archaeology of Northern Chile and NW Argentina." *Chungara* 1: 49–63.

Torrey, E. Fuller. 1986. *Witch Doctors and Psychiatrists.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Townsend, Joan B. 1984. "Anthropological Perspectives on New Religious Movements." Pp. 137–151 in *The Return of the Millennium.* Edited by Joseph Bettis and S. K. Johannesen. Barrytown, NY: New ERA Books.

———. 1988. "Neo-Shamanism and the Modern Mystical Movement." Pp. 73–83 in *Shaman's Path: Healing, Personal Growth and Empowerment.* Edited by Gary Doore. Boston: Shambhala.

———. 1997a. "Shamanism." Pp. 429–469 in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook.* Edited by Stephen Glazier. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

———. 1997b. "The Globalization of Neo-Shamanism." Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, November 7–9, San Diego, CA.

———. 1999a. "Core Shaman and Neopagan Leaders of the Mystical Movement in Contemporary Society." *Dialogue and Alliance: A Journal of the International Religious Foundation* 13, no. 1: 100–122.

———. 1999b. "Shamanism." Pp. 429–469 in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook.* Edited by Stephen D. Glazier. Westport, CT: Praeger.

———. 1999c. "Western Contemporary Core and Neo-Shamanism and the Interpenetration with Indigenous Societies." Pp. 223–231 in *Proceedings of the International Congress: Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices*, vol. 5, pt. 2. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

———. 2001. "Modern Non-Traditional and Invented Shamanism." Pp. 257–264 in *Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic.* Edited by Juha Pentikäinen. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

———. Forthcoming. "Shamanic Spirituality: Core Shamanism and Neo-Shamanism in Contemporary Western Society."

Townsley, Graham. 1993. "Song Paths: The Ways and Means of Yaminahua Shamanic Knowledge." *L'Homme* 33, nos. 2–4: 449–468.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. 1959. *Islam in West Africa.* London: Oxford University Press.

———. 1964. "Popular Religion." Pp. 112–125 in *Islam in East Africa.* Edited by J. Spencer Trimingham. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Trinkunas, Jonas, ed. 1999. *Of Gods and Holidays: The Baltic Heritage.* Vilnius, Lithuania: Tverme Press.

Troeltsch, Ernst. 1931. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches.* Vol. 2. Translated by Olive Wyon. Halley Stewart Publications I. London: George Allen and Unwin. Originally published as *Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen,* 1911.

Trompf, Garry W. 1991. *Melanesian Religion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Troyes, Chrétien de. 1987. [1975] *Arthurian Romances.* Translated by W. W. Comfort. Introduction and notes by D. D. R. Owen. London: Dent; New York: Dutton.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 1987. "A Rhetoric of Centres in a Religion of the Periphery." Pp. 187–210 in *Indonesian Religions in Transition.* Edited by Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Tucci, Giuseppe. 1949. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls.* 3 vols. Rome: ISMEO.

———. 1988. *Ruichenbzapo* English version of *Indo-Tibetica* 2. Translated by Nancy Kipp Smith; edited by Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashau.

Tucker, Michael. 1992. *Dreaming with Open Eyes: The Shamanic Spirit in Contemporary Art and Culture.* London: HarperCollins.

Tungilik, Victor, and Rachel Uyarasuk. 1999. *The Transition to Christianity.* Edited by Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand. Iqaluit, Nunavut: Language and Culture Program Arctic College.

Turnbull, Colin. 1990. "Luminosity: A Synthesis of Subjective and Objective Experience." Pp. 50–81 in *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual.* Edited by Richard Chechen and Willa Appel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turner, Bryan S. 1974. *Weber and Islam. A Critical Study.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Turner, Edith. 1987. "The Fish Eagle." Pp. 88–108 in *The Spirit and the Drum: A Memoir of Africa.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 1996. *The Hands Feel It.* DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.

Turner, Edith, with William Blodgett. 1992. *Experiencing Ritual: A New Interpretation of African Healing.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Turner, Victor. 1967a. *The Forest of Symbols.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

———. 1967b. "Muchona the Hornet, Interpreter of Religion." In *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual.,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

———. 1968. *The Drums of Affliction: The Study of Religious Processes among the Ndembu of Zambia.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

———. 1975. "Ritual as Communication and Potency." Pp. 58–81 in *Symbols and Society: Essays on Belief Systems in Action.* Edited by Carole E. Hill. Athens, GA: Southern Anthropological Society.

———. 1982. *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play.* New York: Performing Arts Journal.

Turton, Andrew. 1984. "People of the Same Spirit: Local Matrikin Groups and Their Cults." *Mankind* 14, no. 4: 272–285.

Uccusic, Paul. 1991. *Der Schamane in uns: Schamanismus als neue Selbsterfahrung, Hilfe und Heilung* [The Shaman within us: Shamanism as new Self-Knowledge, Help and Healing]. Geneva: Ariston.

Uchendu, Victor C. 1965. *The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Umeh, John A. 1997. *After God Is Dibïa.* London: Karnak House.

Underhill, Ruth Murray. 1938. *Singing for Power: The Song Magic of the Papago Indians of Southern Arizona.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1946. *Papago Indian Religion.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Underwood, Guy. 1972. *The Pattern of the Past.* London: Sphere/Abacus.

University of Madras. 1936. *Tamil Lexicon.* 8 vols. Madras: University of Madras.

Unnithan-Kumar, Maya. 1997. *Identity, Gender and Poverty: New Perspectives on Caste and Tribe in Rajasthan.* Providence: Berghahn Books.

Uray-Kohalmi. 1995. "Marriage to the Mountain." P. 211 in *Tibetan Mountain Deities—Their Cults and Representations.* Paper presented by Anne-Marie Blondeau at a panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz.

Urbanaeva, Irina S. 1996. "Shamanism of Mongolian Peoples as the Expression of Central Asia Tengrian Esoteric Tradition" (Abstract). In *Proceedings of the International Symposium—Central Asian Shamanism: Philosophical, Historical, Religious and Ecological Aspects,* June 20–26, 1996.

Ustinova, Yulia. 1999. *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Vajnstejn, Sevyan I. 1968. "The Tuvan (Soyot) Shaman's Drum and the Ceremony of Its 'Enlivening.'" Pp. 331–338 in *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Traditions in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Valadez, Susana (Eger). 1996. "Wolf Power and Interspecies Communication in Huichol Shamanism." Pp. 267–305 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Valdivia, Oscar. 1986. *Hampicamayoc: Medicina Folklórica y su Substrato Aborígen en el Perú* [Folkloric

Medicine and Its Native Substratum in Peru]. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
Valeri, Valerio. 1985. *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
———. 2000. *The Forest of Taboos: Morality, Hunting, and Identity among the Huaulu of the Moluccas.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Valikhanov, Chokan (Shoqan Wälīḥanulı). 1985. *Tangdamalı* [Selected works]. Edited and translated into Kazak by E. Jarmuḥanbetov from the Russian *Sobranie sochinenii.* Alma-Ata: Jazūshı.
van Beek, Martijn. 1996. "Identity Fetishism and the Art of Representation: The Long Struggle for Regional Autonomy in Ladakh." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University.
van der Geest, Sjaak. 2000. "Funerals for the Living: Conversations with Elderly People in Kwahu, Ghana." *African Studies Review* 43, no. 3: 103–129.
Van Deusen, Kira. 1996. "Shamanism and Music in Tuva." Unpublished manuscript.
Van Gennep, Arnold. 1903. "De l'emploi du mot 'chamanisme.'" *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 47: 51–57.
Van Ness, Edward C., and Shita Prawirohardjo. 1982. *Javanese Wayang Kulit: An Introduction.* Kuala Lumpur and New York: Oxford University Press.
Vançikova, C. P., ed. 1996. *Xüxe Münxe Tengeri. Sbornik šamanskih prizyvanij.* Ulaan-Ude: Respublikanskaya Tipografiya.
Vasilevich, G. M. 1969. *Evenki. Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki (XVIII nachalo XX v.)* [The Evenki: Historical-ethnographic essays (eighteenth–twentieth century)]. Leningrad: Izdarelstvo "Nanka."
Vasttokas, Joan M. 1977. "The Shamanic Tree of Life." Pp. 93–177 in *Stones, Bones, and Skin: Ritual and Shamanic Art.* Edited by Anne Trueblood Brodzky. Toronto: Society for Art.
Velasco Rivero, Pedro de, S.J. 1983. *Danzar o morir: Religión y resistencia a dominación en la cultura Tarahumar.* Mexico City: Centro de Reflexión Teológica.
Veniaminof, Ivan. 1840. "Notes on the Atkin Aleuts and the Koloshi." Pp. 1–35 in *Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska District*, vol. 3. In Russian. St Petersburg.
Verbitsky, V. I. 1893. *Altaiskie Inorodtsy* [Altai Natives]. Moscow.
Vergouwen, J. C. 1993. [1964] *The Social Organisation and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak of Northern Sumatra.* Translated from the Dutch by J. Scott-Kemball and with a Preface by J. Keuning. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
Vidal, Laurent. 1990. *Rituels de possession dans le Sahel: Exemples peul et zarma du Niger.* Paris: Harmattan.
Viertler, Renate Brigitte. 1991. *A refeição das almas: Una interpretação ethnológica do funeral dos índios Bororo–Mato Grosso* [The meal of the souls: An ethnological interpretation of the funeral of the Bororo Indians–Mato Grosso]. São Paulo: Editora Hucitec.
Villoldo, Alberto. 1990. *The Four Winds: A Shaman's Odyssey into the Amazon.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.
Vinogradov, Andreī. 2002. "Changes in Shamanic Discourse in Post-Soviet Southern Siberia." Paper presented at the Conference on Post-Soviet Studies, February 27, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
Vitashevskiy, Nikolay A. 1890. "Material dlja izucheniya shamanstva u yakutov" [Material for studying shamanism among Yakuts]. *Zapiski Vostochno-Sibirskogo otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshestva po etnografii* 2, no. 2: 36–48.
Vitebsky, Piers. 1993. *Dialogues with the Dead: The Discussion of Mortality among the Sora of Eastern India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
———. 1995a. *The Shaman: Voyages of the Soul, Trance, Ecstasy, and Healing from Siberia to the Amazon.* Boston: Little, Brown; London: Duncan Baird.
———. 1995b. *Shamanism.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
———. 2001a. *The Shaman: Voyages of the Soul. Trance, Ecstasy and Healing from Siberia to the Amazon.* London: Duncan Baird. First American edition, Boston: Little, Brown, 1995.
———. 2001b. *Shamanism.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. First American edition, Boston: Little, Brown, 1995.
Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1992. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society.* Translated from the Portuguese by Catherine V. Howard. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
———. 1998. "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society* n.s. 4, no. 3: 469–488.
Vogt, Evon Zartman. 1976. *Tortillas for the Gods: A Symbolic Analysis of Zinacantecan Rituals.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Volf, Pavel. 1994. *Seger āt gudarna. Rituell besatthet hos ladakhier* [*Victory to the gods. Ritual possession among Ladakhis*]. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International.
Vollweiler, Lothar, and Alison Sanchez. 1983. "Divination—'Adaptive' from Whose Perspective?" *Ethnology* 22, no. 3: 193–209.
von Langsdorff, Georg Heinrich. 1812. *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807* [Remarks on a trip around the world in the years 1803 to 1807]. Frankfurt am Main: Friedrich Wilmans.
von Sadovszky, Otto J., and Mihály Hoppál, eds. 1995. *Vogul Folklore Collected by Bernát Munkácsi.* Budapest and Los Angeles: Akadémiai Kiadó and International Society for Trans-Oceanic Research.

von Stuckrad, Kocku. 2002. "Reenchanting Nature: Modern Western Shamanism and Nineteenth Century Thought." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70, no. 4: 771–799.

Voth, Henry R. 1905. "The Traditions of the Hopi." Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, vol. 8. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum.

Voyages chamaniques I & II. 1977 and 1982. *L'Ethnographie,* 74–75 and 87–88, Paris.

Vuoto, Patricia. 1986. "Los movimientos de Pedro Martínez y Luciano: Dos cultos de transición entre los toba takshek." *Scripta Ethnologica* 10: 13–46.

Wade, Mansour Sora. 1995. *Fary l'ânesse* [Fary the she-ass]. San Francisco: California Newsreel.

———. 2002. *Le Prix du pardon* [The price of pardon]. San Francisco: California Newsreel.

Wafer, Lionel. 1729. *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America.* 3d ed. London: J. and J. Knapton. Original edition 1699.

Wagley, Charles. 1977. *Welcome of Tears: The Tapirape Indians of Central Brazil.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Waite, Gloria. 1987. "Public Health in Pre-Colonial East-Central Africa." *Social Science Medicine,* 24, no. 3: 197–208.

———. 1988. "Some Useful Plants in East-Central Africa: A Cross-Cultural Ethnobotanical Survey." Pp. 423–428 in *Modern Systematic Studies in African Botany.* Edited by Peter Goldblatt and Porter P. Lowry II. Monographs in Systematic Botany, Missouri Botanical Garden, no. 25. Saint Louis: The Garden.

———. 1992. *A History of Traditional Medicine and Health Care in Pre-Colonial East-Central Africa.* Lewiston, ME: Edwin Mellen.

———. 2000. "Traditional Medicine and the Quest for National Identity in Zimbabwe." *Zambezia* 27, no. 2: 235–268.

Wajnschtejn, S. I. 1996. *Die Welt der Nomaden im Zentrum Asiens.* Berlin: Reinhold Schletzer Verlag.

Waley, Arthur. 1973 [1955]. *The Nine Songs: A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China.* San Francisco: City Lights Books.

Walker, Barbara. 1988. *The Woman's Dictionary of Symbols and Sacred Objects.* San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Walker, Deward E., Jr. 1969. "New Light on the Prophet Dance Controversy." *Ethnohistory* 16, no. 3: 245–255.

Walker, James R. 1991. *Lakota Belief and Ritual.* 2d ed. Edited by Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Walker, Sheila. 1972. *Ceremonial Spirit Possession in Africa and Afro-America.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Wall, Steve. 1995. *Shadowcatchers.* New York: HarperPerennial.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. 1956a. "New Religions among the Delaware Indians, 1600–1900." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12, no. 1: 1–21.

———. 1956b. "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist* 58: 264–281.

———. 1958. "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul: A Type of Psychoanalytic Theory among the Seventeenth-Century Iroquois." *American Anthropologist* 60: 234–247.

———. 1966. *Religion: An Anthropological View.* New York: Random House.

Wallace, William. 1978. "Post-Pleistocene Archaeology, 9000 to 2000 B.C." Pp. 25–36 in *California,* vol. 8, *Handbook of North American Indians.* Edited by Robert F. Heizer. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Wallin, Nils, Bjorn Merker, and Steven Brown, eds. 2000. *The Origins of Music.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Wallis, Robert J. 2002. "The *Bwili* or 'Flying Tricksters' of Malakula: A Critical Discussion of Recent Debates on Rock Art, Ethnography and Shamanisms." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8, no. 4: 753–778.

———. 2003. *Shamans/Neo-Shamans: Ecstasy, Alternative Archaeologies and Contemporary Pagans.* London: Routledge.

Wallis, Wilson D. 1943. *Messiahs: Their Role in Civilization.* Washington, DC: American Council on Public Affairs.

Walraven, B. C. A. 1983. "Korean Shamanism." *Numen* 30 (December): 240–264.

Walsh, Roger N. 1990. *The Spirit of Shamanism.* Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher.

———. 1995. "Phenomenological Mapping: A Method for Describing and Comparing States of Consciousness." *Transpersonal Psychology* 27, no. 1: 25–56.

———. 1997. "The Psychological Health of Shamans: A Reevaluation." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 65, no. 1: 101–124.

———. 2001. "Shamanic Experiences: A Developmental Analysis." *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 41, no. 3: 31–52.

Walton, Kenneth, and Debra Levitsky. 1994. "A Neuroendocrine Mechanism for the Reduction of Drug Use and Addictions by Transcendental Meditation." *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly* 11, nos. 1 and 2: 89–117.

Wang Kang, Li Jiangzhong, and Wang Qingyu. 1992. *Shen Mi De Bai Shi Chong Bai—Qiang Zu De Xin Yang He Li Su* [Mysterious white stone worship—beliefs and social customs of Qiang nationality]. Translated by Tang Qinquan, 1997. Chengdu, Sichuan Province, China: Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House.

Warren, William W. 1984. *History of the Ojibway People.* Saint Paul: Minnesota Historic Society Press.

Wasson, R. Gordon. 1968. *Soma: Divine Mushroom of Immortality.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

———. 1990. "The Divine Mushroom of Immortality." Pp. 185–200 in *Flesh of the Gods: The Ritual Use of*

Hallucinogens. Edited by Peter Furst. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
Wasson, R. Gordon, and Carl A. P. Ruck. 1986. *Persephone's Quest: Entheogens and the Origins of Religion.* New Haven: Yale University Press.
Wasson, R. Gordon, Carl A. P. Ruck, and Albert Hofmann. 1998. *The Road to Eleusis: Unveiling the Secret of the Mysteries.* 20th anniversary ed., augmented, with a preface by Huston Smith. Los Angeles: Hermes Press. Original edition, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.
Wasson, R. Gordon, et al. 1986. *Persephone's Quest: Entheogens and the Origins of Religion.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Watanabe, H. 1994. "The Animal Cult of Northern Hunter-Gatherers: Patterns and Their Ecological Implications." Pp. 47–69 in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
Watson, Aaron. 2001. "The Sounds of Transformation: Acoustics, Monuments and Ritual in the British Neolithic." Pp. 178–192 in *The Archaeology of Shamanism.* Edited by Neil S. Price. London and New York: Routledge.
Watterson, Barbara. 1997. *The Peoples of Africa: The Egyptians.* Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
Wavell, Stewart, Audrey Butt, and Nina Epton. 1966. *Trances.* London: George Allen and Unwin.
Weber, M. 1972. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.* Tübingen: Studienausgabe.
Wedenoja, William. 1989. "Mothering and the Practice of Balm in Jamaica." Pp. 76–98 in *Women as Healers.* Edited by Carol McClain. New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press.
Wee, Vivienne. 1976. "'Buddhism' in Singapore." Pp. 155–188 in *Singapore: Society in Transition.* Edited by Riaz Hassan. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
———. 1977. "Religion and Ritual among the Chinese of Singapore: An Ethnographic Study." M.S.S. thesis, University of Singapore.
Weigand, Phil C. 1981. "Differential Acculturation among the Huichol Indians." Pp. 9–21 in *Themes of Indigenous Acculturation in Northwest Mexico.* Edited by Phil Weigand and Thomas Hinton. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
Weigand, Phil C., and Acélia Garcia de Weigand. 2000. "Huichol Society before the Arrival of the Spanish." *Journal of the Southwest* 42, no. 1: 13–36.
Weil, A. 1972. *The Natural Mind: A New Way of Looking at Drugs and Higher Consciousness.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Weinstock, Joseph A. 1987. "Kaharingan: Life and Death in Southern Borneo." Pp. 71–97 in *Indonesian Religions in Transition.* Edited by R. Smith Kipp and S. Rodgers. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
Weiss, Jerome. 1977. "Folk Psychology of the Javanese of Ponorogo." Ph.D. diss., Yale University.
Welch, Holmes. 1973. *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Wessing, Robert. 1986. *The Soul of Ambiguity: The Tiger in Southeast Asia.* DeKalb: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University.
West, Harry. 1997. "Creative Destruction and Sorcery of Construction: Power, Hope, and Suspicion in Post-War Mozambique." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 37, no. 3: 675–698.
———. 2001. "Sorcery of Construction and Socialist Modernization: Ways of Understanding Power in Postcolonial Mozambique." *American Ethnologist* 28, no. 1: 119–150.
Weyer, Edward M. 1932. *The Eskimos. Their Environment and Folkways.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Whitehead, Neil L. 2001. "Kanaimà: Shamanism and Ritual Death in the Pakaraima Mountains, Guyana." Pp. 235–246 in *Beyond the Visible and the Material.* Edited by Laura Rival and Neil L. Whitehead. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
———. 2002. *Dark Shamans: Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death.* Durham: Duke University Press.
Whitehead, Neil L., and Robin Wright, eds. 2003. *In Darkness and Secrecy—The Anthropology of Assault Sorcery and Witchcraft in Amazonia.* Durham: Duke University Press.
Whiting, Alfred F. 1966. *Ethnobotany of the Hopi.* Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press.
Whiting, Beatrice Blythe. 1950. "Paiute Sorcery: Sickness and Social Control." Pp. 27–66 in *Culture, Disease, and Healing.* Edited by D. Landy. New York: Macmillan.
Whitley, David S. 1994a. "By the Hunter, for the Gatherer: Art, Social Relations and Subsistence Change in the Prehistoric Great Basin." *World Archaeology* 25: 356–372.
———. 1994b. "Shamanism, Natural Modeling and the Rock Art of Far Western North America." Pp. 1–43 in *Shamanism and Rock Art in North America.* Edited by S. Turpin. Special Publication 1. San Antonio, TX: Rock Art Foundation, Inc.
———. 1998. "Cognitive Neuroscience, Shamanism and the Rock Art of Native California." *Anthropology of Consciousness* 9: 22–36.
———. 2000. *The Art of the Shaman: Rock Art of California.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
Whitley, David S., Ronald I. Dorn, Joseph M. Simon, Robert Rechtman, and Tamara K. Whitley. 1999. "Sally's Rockshelter and the Archaeology of the Vision Quest." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9: 221–247.
Wicker, Kathleen O'Brien. 2000. "Mami Water in African Religion and Spirituality." Pp. 198–222 in *African Spirituality: Forms, Meanings, and Expressions.* Edited by Jacob Olupona. New York: Crossroad Publishing Company.

Wijeyewardene, Gehan. 1986. *Place and Emotion in Northern Thai Ritual Behavior.* Bangkok: Pandora.

Wilbert, Johannes. 1972. "Tobacco and Shamanistic Ecstasy among the Warao of Venezuela." Pp. 55–83 in *Flesh of the Gods.* Edited by Peter T. Furst. New York: Praeger.

———. 1987. *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

———. 1993. *Mystic Endowment: Religious Ethnography of the Warao Indians.* Harvard University Press for the Harvard Divinity School Center for the Study of World Religions.

Wilbert, Werner. 1996. "Environment, Society and Disease: The Response of Phytotherapy to Disease among the Warao Indians of the Orinoco Delta." Pp. 366–385 in *Medicinal Resources of the Tropical Forest: Biodiversity and Its Importance to Human Health.* Edited by Michael J. Balick, Elaine Elisabetsky, and Sarah A. Laird. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wilhelmi, Barbara. 2000. "The Prophetic Performance in the Bible and the Shamanic Ritual." Pp. 11–19 in *Discovery of Shamanic Heritage.* Edited by Mihály Hoppál. Budapest: European Folklore Institute.

Willett, Frank. 1993. *African Art.* New York: Thames and Hudson.

Williams, Denis. 1993. "Forms of the Shamanic Sign in the Prehistoric Guianas." *Archaeology and Anthropology: Journal of the Walter Roth Museum of Anthropology* 9: 3–21.

Williams, Walter L. 1986. *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture.* Boston: Beacon Press.

———. 1991. *Javanese Lives: Women and Men in Modern Indonesian Society.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Willis, Roy, with K. B. S. Chisanga, H. M. K. Sikazwe, Kapembwa B. Sikazwe, and Sylvia Nanyangwe. 1999. *Some Spirits Heal, Others Only Dance: A Journey into Human Selfhood in an African Village.* Oxford: Berg.

Wilson, P. J. 1967. "Status Ambiguity and Spirit Possession." *Man* 2, no. 4: 366–378.

Wilson, Peter Lamborn. 1999. *Ploughing the Clouds: The Search for Irish Soma.* San Francisco: City Lights Books.

Wilson, Robert R. 1980. *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel.* Philadelphia: Fortress.

Wilson, Sheryl C., and Theodore X. Barber. 1981. "Vivid Fantasy and Hallucinatory Abilities in the Life Histories of Excellent Hypnotic Subjects ('Somnambules'): Preliminary Report with Female Subjects." Pp. 133–149 in *Imagery: Concepts, Results, and Applications.* Edited by Eric Klinger. New York: Plenum.

Winkelman, Michael. 1986a. "Magico-Religious Practitioner Types and Socioeconomic Conditions." *Behavior Science Research* 20: 17–46.

———. 1986b. "Trance States: A Theoretical Model and Cross-Cultural Analysis." *Ethos* 14: 76–105.

———. 1990. "Shaman and Other 'Magico-Religious Healers': A Cross-Cultural Study of Their Origins, Nature and Social Transformation." *Ethos* 18, no. 3: 308–352.

———. 1992. "Shamans, Priest and Witches: A Cross Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners." Anthropological Research Papers, no. 44. Tempe: Arizona State University.

———. 1996. "Psychointegrator Plants: Their Roles in Human Culture and Health." Pp. 9–53 in *Yearbook of Cross-Cultural Medicine and Psychotherapy,* vol. 6. Edited by M. Winkelman and W. Andritzky. Berlin: Verlag und Vertrieb.

———. 1997. "Altered States of Consciousness and Religious Behavior." Pp. 393–428 in *Anthropology of Religion: A Handbook of Method and Theory.* Edited by S. Glazier. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

———. 1999. "Altered States of Consciousness." Pp. 32–38 in *Encyclopedia of Human Emotions.* Edited by D. Levinson, J. Ponzetti, and P. Jorgensen. New York: Macmillan Reference.

———. 2000. *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing.* Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

———. 2002. "Shamanism and Cognitive Evolution." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12: 71–101.

Winkelman, Michael, and Doug White. 1987. "A Cross-Cultural Study of Magico-Religious Practitioners and Trance States: Data Base." In *Human Relations Area Files Research Series in Quantitative Cross-Cultural Data*, vol. 3D. Edited by D. Levinson and R. Wagner. New Haven: HRAF Press.

Winkelman, Michael, and Cindy Winkelman. 1991. "Shamanistic Healers and Their Therapies." Pp. 163–182 in *Yearbook of Cross-Cultural Medicine and Psychotherapy 1990.* Edited by W. Andritzky. Berlin: Verlag und Vertrieb.

Winslow, M. 1979. *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary.* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

Winstedt, Richard O. 1947. *The Malays: A Cultural History.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

———. 1951. Reprint. *The Malay Magician.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Original edition 1925.

———. 1961. *The Malay Magician: Being Shaman, Saiva and Sufi.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Winzeler, Robert L. 1993. "Shaman, Priest and Spirit Medium: Religious Specialists, Tradition and Innovation in Borneo." Pp. xi–xxxiii in *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumship and Possession in Borneo.* Edited by Robert L. Winzeler. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Winzeler, Robert L., ed. 1993. *The Seen and the Unseen: Shamanism, Mediumism and Possession in Borneo.* Borneo Research Council Monograph Series, vol. 2. Williamsburg, VA: Borneo Research Council.

Wirz, Paul. 1954. *Exorcism and the Art of Healing in Ceylon.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Wissler, Clark. 1912. "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians." American Museum of Natural History. *Anthropological Papers* 2: 71–85.

Witherspoon, Gary. 1977. *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1979. *Remarks on Frazer's Golden Bough.* Retford, UK: Brymill Press.

Woldt, Adrian. 1884. *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas 1881–1883. [. . .] für den deutschen Leserkreis bearbeitet von A. Woldt* [Captain Jacobsen's voyage to the northwest coast of America 1881–1883 . . . prepared for the German reader by A. Woldt]. Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr.

Wolf, Margery. 1992. "The Woman Who Didn't Become a Shaman." Pp. 93–116 in *A Thrice Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Wolff, Janet. 1981. *The Social Production of Art.* London: Macmillan.

Woodward, Mark R. 1985. "Healing and Morality: A Javanese Example." *Social Science and Medicine* 21, no. 9: 1007–1021.

Worsley, Peter. 1957. *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia.* London: Margibbon and Kee.

Wright, Barton. 1986. *Pueblo Cultures.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Wright, Pablo G. 1992. "Dream, Shamanism and Power among the Toba of the Province of Formosa (Argentina)." Pp. 149–172 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. J. Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1997. "Being-in-the-Dream. Postcolonial Explorations in Toba Ontology." Ph.D. diss., Temple University.

Wright, Robin M. 1998. *Cosmos, Self, and History in Baniwa Religion: For Those Unborn.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Wright, Robin M., and Jonathan D. Hill. 1992. "Venancio Kamiko: Wakunai Shaman and Messiah." Pp. 257–286 in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America.* Edited by E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Wulff, David M. 1991. *Psychology of Religion: Classics and Contemporary Views.* New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Wyman, Leland C. 1936. "Navaho Diagnosticians." *American Anthropologist* 38: 236–246.

Xu Changhan, Sui Shujin, and Pang Yutian. 1993. *Elunchun zu wenxue* [Literature of the Oroqen people]. Harbin, China: Beifang Literature and Art Press.

Xue, Ruolin, ed. 1996. *The Art of Chinese Ritual Masks.* Beijing: Jiangxi Fine Arts Publishing House.

Yamada Hidezō. 1982. *Ainu-go chimei no kenkyū* [Study of Ainu place names]. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Sōfūkan.

———. 1993. *Tohoku Ainu-go chimei no kenkyu* [A study of Ainu place names in northern Honshū]. Tokyo: Sōfūkan.

Yamada Takako. 1994. "Animals as the Intersection of Religion and Ecology: An Ainu Example." Pp. 69–103 in *Circumpolar Religion and Ecology.* Edited by Irimoto Takashi and Yamada Takako. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

———. 1999. *An Anthropology of Animism and Shamanism.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Yamada Toshiaki. 2000. "The Lingbao School." Translated by Livia Kohn. In *Daoism Handbook.* Edited by Livia Kohn. Leiden: Brill.

Yamashita, Kin'ichi. 1979. *Amami-Setusa no Kenkyu* [Study of Amami Legends]. Tokyo: Hosei-daigaku Shuppan-kyoku.

Yanagita Kunio. 1969. "Miko ko" [On shamans]. In *Teihon Yanagita Kunio shu* [Collective essays by Yanagita Kunio], vol. 9. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo.

Yang, C. K. 1967. *Religion in Chinese Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yapko, Michael. 1990. *Trancework: An Introduction to the Practice of Clinical Hypnosis.* New York: Brunner/Mazel.

Yasumoto, Masaya. 1996. "The Psychotropic *Kiéri* in Huichol Culture." Translated from the Japanese by Kunie Miyahara. Pp. 235–263 in *People of the Peyote: Huichol Indian History, Religion and Survival.* Edited by Stacy B. Schaefer and Peter T. Furst. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Yi, Du-hyun. 1988. "Role Playing through Trance Possession in Korean Shamanism." In *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea.* Edited by Richard W. I. Guisso and Chai-shin Yu. Berkeley: Asian Humanities.

Yousouf, Ghulam-Sarwar. 1994. *Dictionary of South-East Asian Theatre.* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Yuan Ke. 1982. *Shanhaijing jiaozhu.* Taipei: Liren.

Yurayaco Declaration. 1999. *Encuentro de Taitas en la Amazonía Colombiana. Ceremonias y Reflexiones.* Yurayaco, Colombia. See also http://www.ethnobotany.org.

Zaplicka, M. A. 1914. *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology.* Oxford.

Zaroff, Roman. 1999. "Organized Pagan Cult in Kievan Rus'. The Invention of Foreign Elite or Evolution of Local Tradition." *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 2: 47–76.

Zelenin, Dmitrii K. 1936. *Kult ongonov v Sibiri* [Cult of Ongon in Siberia]. Moskva and Leningrad: Nauka.

Zevik, Emma. 2001. "Lao BeiZhi Never Had a Gaigua." *Shaman* 9, no. 1: 61–72.

Zhang, Weiwen, and Qingnan Zeng. 1993. *In Search of China's Minorities.* Beijing: New World Press.

Zhao Fuxing. 1991. *Elunchun youlie wenhua* [The nomadic culture of the Oroqen]. Hohhot, China: Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House.
Zhukovskaia, N. L. 1993. "The Republic of Kalmykia: A Painful Path of National Renewal." *Anthropology and Archaeology of Eurasia* 31, no. 4: 85–101.
Zingg, Robert. 1938. *The Huichols: Primitive Artists.* New York: G. E. Stechert.
Znamenski, Andrei A. 1999. *Shamanism and Christianity: Native Encounters with Russian Orthodox Missions in Siberia and Alaska, 1820–1917.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.
Zoetmulder, P. J. 1974. *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
Zolotariov, Aleksandr M. 1964. *Rodovoi stroi i pervobytnaya mifologiya* [Clan organization and primitive mythology]. Moskva: Nauka.

ADVISORY BOARD

Douglas D. Anderson
American Arctic, Circumpolar
Department of Anthropology, Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

Roberte N. Hamayon
Mongolia and Inner Asia
Religious Studies Department, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE)
Paris, France

Mihály Hoppál
Finno-Ugric, Uralic, Altaic Turkic, and Siberian Shamanism
European Folklore Institute
Budapest, Hungary

Åke Hultkrantz
General
Emeritus
Department of Comparative Religion, University of Stockholm
Stockholm, Sweden

Alice Beck Kehoe
North America
Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Peter Knecht
Japan
Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University
Nagoya, Japan

Alison R. Marshall
China
Department of Religion, Brandon University
Brandon, Manitoba, Canada
Gender and Women's Studies Programme, Brandon University
Brandon, Manitoba, Canada

Gregory Gabriel Maskarinec
Nepal and South Asia
Department of Family Practice and Community Health, John A. Burns School of Medicine, University of Hawaii
Mililani, Hawaii

James R. Russell
Near East and Iran
Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Barbara Tedlock
Central and South America
Department of Anthropology, State University of New York–Buffalo
Buffalo, New York

Edith L. B. Turner with assistance by Lisa Toccafondi Shutt
Africa
Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Michael Winkelman
Southwestern United States, Psychological and Biological Aspects
Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

CONTRIBUTORS

Veikko Anttonen
Comparative Religion Department, University of Turku
Finland

Daniel Avorgbedor
School of Music and Department of African American & African Studies, Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Ana Mariella Bacigalupo
Department of Anthropology, State University of New York–Buffalo
Buffalo, New York

Donald Bahr
Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

Andrew Beatty
Department of Human Sciences, Brunel University
Uxbridge, England

Ildikó Bellér-Hann
Institute for Oriental Studies, Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg
Halle (Saale), Germany

Per-Arne Berglie
Department of Comparative Religion, Stockholm University
Stockholm, Sweden

Jay H. Bernstein
Robert J. Kibbee Library, Kingsborough Community College
Brooklyn, New York

Ágnes Birtalan
Department of Inner Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)
Budapest, Hungary

Elena Boykova
Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences
Moscow, Russia

Erika Bourguignon
Emerita, Department of Anthropology, Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Vinícius Braga Martins da Costa
Brazilian Society of Ethnopsychiatry
Itabira, Minas Gerais, Brazil

Noah Butler
Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

Tim Byard-Jones
Independent scholar
Reading, England

James Taylor Carson
History Department, Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario, Canada

Christey Carwile
Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Josiane Cauquelin
Laboratoire Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Austronésien, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (LASEMA/CNRS)
Paris, France

César Ceriani Cernadas
Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET)
Universidad de Buenos Aires
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Ismaël Achirri Chi-Bikom
Visual Anthropology Program, University of Tromso
Tromso, Norway

David Chidester
Department of Religious Studies, University of Cape Town
Rondebosch, South Africa

Simon M. Coleman
Department of Anthropology, University of Durham
Durham, England

Beth A. Conklin
Department of Anthropology, Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee
Department of Religious Studies, Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Carla Corradi Musi
Department of Foreign Modern Languages and Literature, University of Bologna
Bologna, Italy

Jeannine Davis-Kimball
Center for the Study of Eurasian Nomads
Berkeley, California

Lydia Nakashima Degarrod
Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Cruz
Santa Cruz, California

René Devisch
Africa Research Centre, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Leuven, Belgium

Jennifer L. Dornan
Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California

James W. Dow
Department of Social Anthropology, Oakland University
Rochester, Michigan

Sendenjav Dulam
Department of Mongolian Literature and Center for the Study of Nomadic Civilizations, National University of Mongolia
Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

Gloria Emeagwali
History Department, Central Connecticut State University
New Britain, Connecticut

Matthew Engelke
Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science
London, England

Anthony Ephirim-Donkor
World Civilizations Program, Department of History, University of Akron
Akron, Ohio

Betty Bernice Faust
College of Environmental Science and Forestry, State University of New York
Syracuse, New York

Anne Ferlat
Bath Spa University College
Bath, England

Kade M. Ferris
Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians
Belcourt, North Dakota

Tina R. Fields
New College–North Bay Campus
Santa Rosa, CA

Jay C. Fikes
Anthropology Department, Yeditepe University
Istanbul, Turkey

Roger Finch
Independent scholar
Saitama, Japan

Peter Finelli
Department of Neurology, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Gregory Forth
Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Richard A. Frasca
Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Rodney Frey
American Indian Studies Program, University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho

Eva Jane Neumann Fridman
Independent scholar
Sudbury, Massachusetts

Jojo M. Fung
Independent scholar
Masai, Johore, Malaysia

Dmitriy Funk
Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences
Moscow, Russia

Martin Gaenszle
South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg
Heidelberg, Germany

Elliott A. Gehr
Que Pasa Research Alliance
Eugene, Oregon

Patric V. Giesler
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Gustavus Adolphus College
St. Peter, Minnesota

Philippe Gignoux
Religious Studies Department, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE)
Paris, France

Linda L. Giles
Independent scholar
Normal, Illinois

Bonnie Glass-Coffin
Department of Sociology, Social Work, and Anthropology, Utah State University
Logan, Utah

Felicitas D. Goodman
Cuyamungue Institute
Columbus, Ohio

Olga Gorshunova
Department of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences
Moscow, Russia

John A. Grim
Religion Department, Bucknell University
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

Kim Gutschow
Department of Religion, Williams College
Williamstown, Massachusetts

Roberte N. Hamayon
Religious Studies Department, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE)
Paris, France

Carolyn Brown Heinz
Department of Anthropology, California State University, Chico
Chico, California

Servando Z. Hinojosa
Department of Psychology and Anthropology, University of Texas–Pan American
Edinburg, Texas

John Ting Jui Ho
Department of Anthropology, Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Mark Hoffman
Editor, *Entheos: The Journal of Psychedelic Spirituality*
Taos, New Mexico

Chris Hogarth
Department of French and Italian, Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

John Clifford Holt
Department of Religion, Bowdoin College
Brunswick, Maine

Constantine Hriskos
Independent scholar
Waterville, Maine

Lynne Hume
Department of Studies in Religion, University of Queensland
Brisbane, Queensland, Australia

Esther Jacobson-Tepfer
Department of Art History, University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

Merete Demant Jakobsen
Independent scholar
Oxford, England

Seth Josephson
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Alice Beck Kehoe
Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Eliza F. Kent
Department of Philosophy and Religion, Colgate University
Hamilton, New York

Valentina Kharitonova
Center for the Study of Shamanism and Other Indigenous Spiritual Beliefs and Practices, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences
Moscow, Russia

Seong-nae Kim
Department of Religious Studies, Sogang University
Seoul, Korea

Takeshi Kimura
Institute of Philosophy, University of Tsukuba
Tsukuba, Japan

Daniel Kister
Emeritus, Department of English, Sogang University
Seoul, Korea

Peter Knecht
Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University
Nagoya, Japan

Maria Kósko
Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu
Poznan, Poland

Stanley Krippner
Saybrook Graduate School
San Francisco, California

Carol Laderman
Department of Anthropology, City College, City University of New York
New York, New York

Graeme Lang
Department of Applied Social Studies, City University of Hong Kong
Kowloon, Hong Kong

Charles D. Laughlin
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

Trisha Lepp
Independent scholar
Austin, Texas

Jerome M. Levi
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton College
Northfield, Minnesota

Todd T. Lewis
Religious Studies Department, College of the Holy Cross
Worcester, Massachusetts

David Lewis-Williams
Rock Art Research Institute, University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg, South Africa

Roger Ivar Lohmann
Department of Anthropology, Trent University at Durham
Oshawa, Ontario, Canada

Tanya Luhrmann
Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Luis Eduardo Luna
Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration
Helsinki, Finland
Wasiwaska Research Center for the Study of Psychointegrator Plants, Visionary Art and Consciousness
Florianópolis, Brazil

Mary N. MacDonald
Department of Religious Studies, Le Moyne College
Syracuse, New York

Tara Maginnis
Theater Department, University of Alaska Fairbanks
Fairbanks, Alaska

Ekkehart Malotki
Department of Modern Languages, Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff, Arizona

Alison R. Marshall
Department of Religion, Brandon University
Brandon, Manitoba, Canada
Gender and Women's Studies Programme, Brandon University
Brandon, Manitoba, Canada

Gregory G. Maskarinec
Department of Family Practice and Community Health, John A. Burns School of Medicine, University of Hawaii
Mililani, Hawaii

Gerhard Mayer
Department for Cultural Studies and Social Research, Institut für Grenzgebiete der Psychologie und Psychohygiene
Freiburg, Germany

John C. McCall
Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Antonia Mills
First Nations Studies, University of Northern British Columbia
Prince George, British Columbia, Canada

Hilary Moore
Music Department, University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Carol Muller
Music Department, University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

L. Daniel Myers
Epochs Past
Tracys Landing, Maryland

Richard Noll
Psychology Department, DeSales University
Center Valley, Pennsylvania

Jarich Oosten
School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies, CNWS, University of Leiden
Leiden, The Netherlands

James Alexander G. Overton
Alliant International University–San Diego
San Diego, California

Daniel R. Plumley
Consultant on Cultural Ecology
Keene Valley, New York

Camilla Power
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of East London
Essex, England

Bruce G. Privratsky
Turkistan Academic Research Associates
Knoxville, Tennessee

Otgony Purev
Center of Mongolian Shaman Studies
Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

Susan J. Rasmussen
Department of Anthropology, University of Houston
Houston, Texas

Sohini Ray
University of California Humanities Research Institute, University of California, Irvine
Irvine, California

Michael R. Rhum
Independent scholar
Chicago, Illinois

Diana Riboli
Independent scholar
Athens, Greece

Thomas Riccio
Theater Department, University of Alaska Fairbanks
Fairbanks, Alaska

Jean-Loup Rousselot
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde
Munich, Germany

Carl A. P. Ruck
Department of Classical Studies, Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

Brigid M. Sackey
Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana
Legon, Ghana

Frank A. Salamone
Department of Sociology, Iona College
New Rochelle, New York

Takefusa Sasamori
Faculty of Social Work, Hirosaki Gakuin University
Hirosaki-shi, Japan

Stacy B. Schaefer
Department of Anthropology, California State University, Chico
Chico, California

Anne Schiller
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Juliane Schober
Department of Religious Studies, Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

Susan Sered
Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

David Shefferman
Department of Religious Studies, Programs in Cultural Studies and Latin American Studies, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Glenn H. Shepard Jr.
Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia
Department of Botany, National Institute of Amazonian Research (INPA) [Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas da Amazonia]
Manaus, Amazonas, Brazil

Kun Shi
Independent researcher
Columbus, Ohio

Ippei Shimamura
Graduate University for Advanced Studies, National Museum of Ethnology
Suita City, Osaka, Japan

Bahodir Sidikov
Institute for Oriental Studies, Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg
Halle (Saale), Germany

Frederick M. Smith
Department of Religious Studies, University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Jeffrey G. Snodgrass
Department of Anthropology, Colorado State University
Fort Collins, Colorado

David Somfai Kara
Department of Inner Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)
Budapest, Hungary

Giovanni Stary
Department of Far Eastern Studies, University of Venice
Venice, Italy

Michael F. Strmiska
Miyazaki International College
Miyazaki City, Kyushu, Japan

Linea Sundstrom
Independent scholar
Shorewood, Wisconsin

Paul L. Swanson
Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture
Nagoya, Japan

Sakurako Tanaka
Canadian International College
North Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

Barbara Tedlock
Department of Anthropology, State University of New York–Buffalo
Buffalo, New York

Lana Thompson
Department of Anthropology, Florida Atlantic University
Boca Raton, Florida

C. Jason Throop
Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California

Joan B. Townsend
Emerita, Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

Edith L. B. Turner
Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Paul Valentine
Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of East London
Essex, England

Andrei Vinogradov
Department of Religious Studies, University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada

Gloria M. Waite (1947-2000)†
University of Massachusetts Dartmouth
North Dartmouth, Massachusetts

Robert J. Wallis
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Richmond–The American International University in London
London, England
Visiting Research Fellow, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton
Southampton, England

Mariko Namba Walter
East Asian Languages and Civilizations Department, Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Martha C. Ward
Department of Anthropology, University of New Orleans
New Orleans, Louisiana

Vivienne Wee
Department of Applied Social Studies, City University of Hong Kong
Kowloon, Hong Kong

Neil L. Whitehead
Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Madison, Wisconsin

David S. Whitley
International Scientific Committee on Rock Art, International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS-CAR)
Fillmore, California

Barbara Wilhelmi
Institut für Kirchenbau und Kunst der Gegenwart an der Philips-Universitaet
Marburg, Germany

Michael Winkelman
Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

Robert L. Winzeler
Department of Anthropology, University of Nevada
Reno, Nevada

Pablo G. Wright
Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET)
Universidad de Buenos Aires
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Emma Zevik
Lesley University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Hong Zhang
Department of East Asian Studies, Colby College
Waterville, Maine

INDEX

!Kung, 5, 6, 63, 205, 247, 886, 889, **891–894,** 919

Abafundisi, 915
Abakan, 573
Abam Kofi, 944, 945, 946
Abaris, 478, 479
Abathandazeli, 915
Abhinavagupta, 244
Aborigines (Australia), **860–865**
Abosom (obosom), 900, 910–911, 943
Abosom'ba, 944
Acerbi, Giuseppi, 46
Achebe, Chinua, 925
Ackerknecht, Erwin Heinz, 212
Acoma, 348
Adbhan Trireach, 472
Adolf Dattan collection, 176
Aeschylus, 482
Afanassev, A. N., 511, 517
Afghanistan, 241, 629, 741
Africa, 3–7, 20, 24–25, 30, 40, 45, 46 (illus.), 46–47, 75–76, 81, 118, 153, 219–220, 222, 247, **885–961**
  traditional medicine in, **895–899**
  See also individual countries and peoples
Afro-Brazilian Shamanism, **371–375**
Afro-Cuban tradition, 449–453
Aga, 539
Agapitov, Nikolai Nikolaevich, 651
Agricultural societies, 65, 74, 115–116, 205, 272, 276, 277–278, 279, 457, 790, 850
Aguaruna Jivaro, 388
Agwü, 926
Ahanta, 943
Aiko Aoki, 659, 660, 661
Ainu, 12, 95, 99–100, 562, **657–666,** 700, 703
Akan, 888, 899, 900, 901, 905, 910, 911, 942–946
Akawaio, 153, 157, 158, 384, 406, 407
Akom, 910–912, 913
Akomfo (okomfo), 888, 901–903, 911, 913, 943 (illus.), 944, 945 (illus.)
Akuapim, 943
Akwamu, 943
Akyem, 943
Alaska, 42, 44, 161, 164, 165, 176, 358, 359, 362
Alberta, 334
Albigensian heresy, 466
Aleuts, 44, 275
Alexander III (czar of Russia), 175
Alexie, Sherman, 289
Alexis Mikhailovitch, Czar, 517
Algeria, 113
Algonquian Indians, 288, 334
Allende, Isabel, 414, 415
Altai Turks, 14, 95, 97, 98
Altaians, 13, 14, 15, 43, 95, 148, 536, 537, 538, 549, 551, 557, 558, 562, 574, 653
Altai-Sayan, 14
Altan Khan, 649
Altered states of consciousness, 166–167, 207–209, 269
  animal symbolism and, 4–5
  Core and Neo-Shamanism and, 49, 145, 265
  divination and, 79, 80–81
  drumming and, 51, 103, 189–190, 209
  in Eurasia, 553, 554, 603, 631
  hallucinogens and, 52, 111–112, 115, 116, 167, 299, 306, 355, 419, 456
  healing and, 67, 295
  induction of, 52, 63–65, 188, 189–190, 214, 227, 237, 247, 251, 269, 555, 554, 631
  in Latin America, 419–420, 455–456
  mental illness and, 27, 64–65
  Native Americans and, 295, 299, 306, 355
  Neo-Shamanism and, 514
  physical responses of, 24, 75, 79, 117–118, 187, 188, 192, 215, 247, 248, 252
  possession and, 228–229
  rock art and, 219, 220, 222–223
  See also Trance
Alutiiq, 176
Amabukuluzinti, 959
Amagqira, 914, 918
Amaiba, Nodiachand, 765
Amaprofeti, 915
Amathambo, 959
Amatola (itola), 915
Amaxhwele, 914
Amazon funeral rites, **375–378**
Amazonia, 375–378, 379, 396, 406
Ambululayo, 914
Amergin, 473
American Indian Movement (AIM), 290, 318
American Indians. *See* Native Americans

American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), 177
Americas, 7–11, 18–21, 54, 55, 103, 171–173. *See also* Central America; North America; South America; *and individual countries and peoples*
Amhara, 66
Amina, 921
Amoghasiddhi, 245
Amulets, 59, 162, 555 (illus.), 910, 923, 939
Amundsen, Roland, 176
Anagnost, A. S., 756
Analects, 710–711
Anatolia, 240
Ancestor worship in Africa, 893, **899–906,** 915
Ancient Egypt, 888, **906–910**
Andean civilization, 383
Andersen, Johannes, 872
Andritzky, Walter, 181, 380
Androgyny, 261
Angakkut (angakkuq), 156, 297–299, 301, 302, 308–310, 333
Angákut, 8, 10
Angola, 952
Animal People, 7, 8, 9, 10, 331–333
Animal symbolism
  African, **3–7**
  in the Americas, **7–11,** 166
  Asian, **11–16**
  in Chinese shamanism, 736
  in Eurasia, 534, 535, 547–551, 553, 606, 620–622
  in Europe, 472–473, 474, 476, 479, 487, 510
  totems, 487, 510
Animals
  in creation myths, 7–8, 10, 11
  Latin American shamanism and, 377, 401, 422, 437, 440
  Native American shamanism and, 282, 295–296, 305, 347, 351, 352, 354
  in rock art, 220
  sacrifice of, 4, 6, 14, 33, 95, 97, 141, 148, 159, **197–200,** 230, 403, 419, 454, 458, 491, 537, 585, 623, 631, 644, 750, 849, 887, 918, 926, 928
  shamanic power and, 4, 63, 147–148, 188, 190–191, 282, 295–296, 354
  as totems, 580
  transformation and, 255–259
  transmogrification, 472–473
  worship of in Egypt, 906
Animism, 107, 108, 122, 190, 191, 239, 362, 487, 499, 800, 933
Anisimov, Arkadii, 108
Anlo-Ewe, 182
Anokhin, A. V., 549
Anokye, Okomfo, 910
Antelope Shamans, 295–296
Anthologie de Zādspram, 531
Anthropology and art, 22–24
The Anthropology of Shamanism (Sasaki), 675
Antilles, 365
Anti-Superstition Campaign, 666, 669
Anwartha, 803
Apache, 121 (illus.), 206, 336
Apinaye, 217
Apollo 11 Cave, 20
Apollonios of Tyana, 466, 483
Apology (Socrates), 481
Appeasement of spirits, 231, 232
Appiah-Kupi, Kofi, 911
Apsaroke shamans, 7 (illus.)
Apulin, 908
Aquash, Mikmaq Ana Mae, 290
Aqubulayo, 914
Aragon, Jesusita, 395
Arapaho, 171, 209
Araucanian shamans, 159, 257
Arawa, 872
Arawete, 377
Arawkan groups, 399
Archaeology and shamanism, **16–21,** 24–25, 329, 428
The Archaeology of Shamanism (Andritzky), 181
Archaic cultures, 276
Arctic, Central, 307–312
"Arctic hysteria," 212
Argentina, 365, 394, 410–411, 461
Århem, Kay, 202
Aristeas, 478–479
Aristophanes, 481
Arizona, 303, 318, 339
Arkadi, Dedushka, 566 (illus.)
Art and shamanism, **21–28,** 113 (illus.), 114 (illus.), 442 (illus.), 604, 607 (illus.). *See also* Cave art; Rock art
Artaud, Antonin, 84, 85
Arthurian cycle, 472, 474
Aryshtaev, K., 575
Asabano, 867 (illus.), 868
Asante, 899, **910–914,** 943
Asatchq, 133
Ásatrú, 508
Aschmann, Homer, 355
Asia, 11–16, 257–258
  South, 741–777, **778–784,** 785–798
  Southeast, 799–833, **834–842,** 842–850
  See also Eurasia; Siberia; Sino-Asia; *and individual countries*
Atkinson, Jane, 110, 198, 814, 839
Atua, 876
Atyal, 855, **857–860**
Āveśa, 244–245, 246
Aua, 309, 310
Australia, 127, 153, 154, 155, 159
  rock art in, 219, 222, 851–855, **860–865**
Austronesian groups, 834, 835, 851
Avesta, 529, 531
Avgo, 302
Avvakum, 142, 681
Awamathambo, 914
Awemilozi, 914
Awemvula, 915
Awenyddion, 473–474
Awezipili, 914
"Axolotl" (Cortázar), 415
Ayahuasca, 366, 368, **378–382,** 390, 440, 444
Aybibi, 571
Ayimbuki, 935
Azande (Zande), 81, 272, 273, 397, 947–948
Aztec, 134, 337, 389

Baba Yaga, 510–511
Babalao, 450
Bai san po, 706, 729
Baining masks, 877 (illus.)
Bakairi, 217
Bakánowi, 456
Bālājī, 781–782, 785, 787
Balger, 570
Bali, 231, 232, 249
Balien, 843, 844, 845–846, 846 (illus.)
Balm healing, 166
Baltic Finns, 486, 487, 488
Baluy Kayan, 840
Balzer, Marjorie M., 170, 608
Bamiléké, 4
Bangladesh, 741
Baniwa, 159, 376, 397
Banks, Dennis, 290
Banman (Barnmarn), 861
Bantu-speaking people, 896, 951
Baraka, 931
Barasana, 159, 389
Barber, Theodore, 207
Bards, 470, 471–472, 473
Barguzin Tungus, 100

Barong, 817
Barong dragon, 231–232
Barquinha, 381
Baruya, 867
Bashkirs, 602
Basilov, Vladimir N., 255, 527, 528, 647
Bastian, Misty, 949
Batchelor, John, 100
Batek, 258
Bear Ceremony (Tsugaru), 700–701
Bear Dance, 281
Bear Society, 312
Bears as imagery, 12, 13, 255, 349, 492, 700–701
Beaver Indians, 288, 290
Beir, Léon de, 951
Belize, 365, 428, 432
Bell, John, 143
Belo, Jane, 231
Benin, 248
Benue-Congo group, 925
Benveniste, Emile, 516
Berman, Morris, 207
Berndt, C. H., 864
Berndt, R. M., 864
Bernheim, Hippolyte, 150
Bernstein, Jay, 840
Berreman, Gerald, 754
Besmer, Fremont, 923
Beuys, Joseph, 26
Bhakti, 752
Bhutan, 529, 530, 741, 790
Bi, 726
Biblical texts, 36–39, 77
Bidans, 822–823
Bidat, 829
Bierman, Steve, 150, 151
Bighorn sheep, 220
Billings, Joseph, 45
Bini, 288, 290
Bioenergetic healing, **29–30**
Biosocialization, 193–194
Bird imagery, 8, 11, 13, 255, 331, 332, 351, 474, 487, 512, 534, 548, 549, 585, 859
Bird-David, Nurit, 107
Birua, 855, 881
"Blacamán the Good, Vendor of Miracles" (García Marquez), 416
Black diaspora, 901
Black Elk, Nicholas, 109, 110, 289, 290, 316
Black Elk Speaks, 316
Black Hawk, 330
Black Road, 109
Black shamans, **536–539,** 540, 541, 650, 651
Black shamans and white shamans, 536
Black shamans in Mongolia, 649
Blacker, Carmen, 201
Blackfeet, 92, 315, 332
Blake, William, 476
Boadicea, 474
Boas, Franz, 99, 100, 308, 309
Bodka, 252 (illus.), 256
Bogoraz, Vladimir G., 122, 260
Bolivia, 365, 378, 386, 389
Bomoh, 818–819, 821, 822, 837
Bon, 96, 98, 104, 679 (illus.)
Bones, 9–10, 79, **425–426,** 531, 562, 620, 959
Bonesetters, 367, 425–426, 561–562
Bono, 943
Bonpo shamans, 122
Book of Ardā Vīrāz, 530
Book of Invasions, 470
The Book of the Dead, 906, 908, 910
Book of Vles, 514
Boorchi, 545
Bora, 389
Bori, 888, 920, 921–923
Borneo, 813, 814, 824–831, 834, 835, 838 (illus.), 839–840, 841, 842–847
Bororo, 217, 376–377
Boulet, Susan Seddon, 266
Bourgeois, Arthur, 951
Bourguignon, Erika, 115, 207, 208, 228, 230, 232, 237, 269
Boyer, L. B., 206
Bradley, Richard, 17
Brahma shrine, 847
Brahmanical Hinduism, 483, 751, 752, 754–755, 788
Braid, James, 150
Brannovices, 473
Brawer, F. B., 206
Brazil, 91, 131, 172, 173, 230, 231, 249, 365, 366, 371–374, 375, 378, 385, 386, 387, 387 (illus.), 389, 390, 394, 412, 450
Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 779–780
British Columbia, 123
British Museum, 174, 175
Brody, Howard, 138
Bronze Age, 16, 113, 474, 502, 532, 533, 534, 535, 603, 604
Brulé, 315
Brunei, 840
Buddhism and shamanism, **30–34**
  in China, 32, 60, 706–707, 713, 714, 722, 726
  in Eurasia, 42, 122, 524, 545, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564–569, 583, 617, 627, 628, 629, 649–650
  in Himalayas, 33, 741, 756–757, 758, 759–760
  in India, 32, 751, 752, 781
  in Japan, 201, 689, 690, 691, 701
  in Korea, 654, 687
  in Nepal, 60, 741, 767, 775, 781
  in Oceania, 852
  in Southeast Asia, 799, 800, 803, 804, 805, 812, 847, 849
  in Sri Lanka, 31, 773
  tantric, 32, 243–244, 245–246
  in Tibet, 33, 514, 60, 790, 791
Budge, Wallis, 907, 908
Buffalo Dance, 10, 281
Buginja, 861
Buid, 197
Bulgakova, Tatyana, 514
Bulls as imagery, 4, 6, 220, 474, 479
Burkhanism, 538
Burma, 225, 741, 799, **803–806,** 840
Burnakova, T. S., 576
Burnham, Forbes, 398
Buryats, 12, 14, 42, 87, 119, 127, 148, 153, 158, 159, 178, 225, 255, 264, 510, 514, 536, 537, 538, **539–545,** 548, 558–559, 564, 587, 619, 621, 628, 651
Bushmen, 20, 24, 30, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 197, 219, 891. *See also* San
Bylins, 509–511

Calavia, Oscar, 378
Caledonia, 874
California, 131, 221, 289, 292, 350
Cambodia, 799
Cambrensis, Giraldus, 473, 474
Cameroon, 4, 949
Campbell, Joseph, 869
Canadian Native Americans, 99, 100, 123, 334
Candomblé, 230, 231, 249, 366, 371, 374, 412, 450, 901
Canizares, Raul, 450
Cannabis, 436
Cannon, Walter, 151
Cape Nguni, **914–920**
Cargo cults, 879
Carib groups, 384, 399, 406, 407

Caribbean, 176, 230. *See also individual countries and peoples*
Carlisle Indian School, 121 (illus.)
Carmina Gadelica, 474
Carpentier, Alejo, 414, 416
Carpocratianism, 466
Cashinahua, 386
Castagné, Joseph, 570
Casteneda, Carlos, 50, 52, 145, 162, 265, 498, 513
Catherine the Great (Russia), 268
Catholic Church and Catholicism
in Africa, 898, 952
Afro-American tradition and, 249, 323, 324, 327
in Europe, 44, 267, 273, 466, 500
in Latin America, 27, 40, 366, 371, 386, 389, 391, 404–405, 406, 409–414, 423, 441, 449, 454, 455
in North America, 286, 346
possession and, 76, 230, 232
in Southeast Asia, 799, 811, 843
Voudou and, 323, 324, 327
Cave art, 17, 24, 24–25, 113, 154, 474
Celestial Masters movement (Tianshi), 73
Celtic Reconstructionist groups, 476
Celts, 54, 467, **469–478,** 497, 506, 507, 508
Center, the, 145
Central African Republic, 947
Central America, 120, 176, 365–381, **382–393,** 394–464. *See also individual countries*
Centro Eclético de Fluente Luz Universal Raimundo Irineu Serra (CEFLURIS), 380–381
Cewa, 948–949
Chaco peoples (Argentian), 410–411, 461
Chagall, Marc, 26
Chanady, Amaryll, 414
Chang Kai-shek, 880
Chang Kwang-chih, 709
Chauvet Cave, 17
Chavin de Huantar, 383, 389
Cheju April Third Incident, 669
Cheju-do Island, **666–670**
Chelukhoev, Kanakai, 634
Chen Mengjia, 709
Chepang, 258, 742, **747–750,** 781
Cheremis, 486, 487, 488, 490, 491
Chewong, 258
Cheyenne, 282
Chhonam Festival, 749
Chile, 90, 94, 103, 132, 176, 365, 415, 417, 421 (illus.), 423
Chindarsi, Nusit, 808
Chinese communism, 713, 717–719
Chinese shamanism, 14, 15, 32, 42, 59, 60, 71–73, 83, 84, 87, 218, 551, 583–585, 597–601, 615, 642, 650, **705–739,** 790, 799
Ching, Julia, 709
Chippewa, 93
Chiri Mashiho, 661, 663, 701
Chiriap, Hilario, 380
Chiricahua Apache, 121 (illus.)
Choctaw, 278, 283, **285–287**
Christensen, James, 901
Christianity and shamanism, **35–41,** 143, 169
in Africa, 40, 45, 47, 885–886, 898, 913, 915, 918, 921, 927, 929, 930, 934, 952, 959, 960
Celtic, 476
in China, 726
in classical world, 483
colonization and, 42–46, 47, 120
in Eurasia, 42–44, 45–46, 143, 170, 551, 613–614, 633
in Europe, 267, 466, 476, 490, 500, 503, 504, 505, 508, 512
in India, 757
in Japan, 681
in Korea, 40
in Latin America, 39, 120, 366, 369, 380, 386, 391, 398, 404–405, 406, **409–414,** 423, 429, 454, 455, 461–462, 464
Maya, 426–431
in Nepal, 767
in North America, 39, 165, 278–279, 287, 288, 311, 337, 338, 359, 364, 396
in Oceania, 852, 853, 854, 866, 867–868, 873, 874, 875, 878–879
possession and, 76–77, 229, 230, 232, 249
souls and, 237, 490
in Southeast Asia, 799, 800, 811, 840, 841, 843
See also Catholic Church; Russian Orthodox Church
Chronicle of Melusine (d'Arras), 485
Chua, Wee Thiam Lester, 735
Chuai, Emperor, 676
Chukchee (Chuckchi), 11, 42–43, 63, 98, 104, 104 (illus.), 115, 119, 122, 127, 133, 156, 159, 176, 259, 260, 261, 262, 605, 608
Chuvant, 259
Classic of Mountains and Waters (*Shanhaijing*), 72, 712
Classical world (Greek and Roman) shamanism, **478–484**
Clastres, Hélène, 173
Clement of Alexandria, 469
Clever people (Australia), 860–865
Clown Society, 350
Coast Salishe, 225
Coca, 389–390
Codrington, Robert H., 876
Coeur d'Alene, 9
Coffin Texts, 906
Colombia, 8, 123, 202, 257, 365, 378, 379, 384, 385, 388, 389, 394, 411–412
Colonialism and shamanism, **41–49,** 144
in Africa, 45, 46 (illus.), 46–47, 897–898
in Alaska, 42, 44
in Latin America, 47, 120, 172–173, 390–391, 409–410, 440–441, 455, 461
in Oceania, 852, 855, 875, 879
in Russia and Siberia, 42–43, 46, 170, 171, 613
in Southeast Asia, 840, 843
in Taiwan, 880, 883
Coloo, J., 587
Colorado, 292, 318
Colson, Elizabeth, 75
Comanche, 292, 293, 336
Comaroff, Jean, 949
Comaroff, John, 949
Communal Preventive Rituals, **85–86**
Community, shaman interaction for, 3, 93–94, 187, 192, 451–452, 459, 609, 916
Company of Mystic Animals, 282
Confucianism, 654, 666, 681, 683, 684, 687, 705–706, 710–711, 714
Congo, Democratic Republic of, 896, 947, 951–954
Congo Free State, 177
Congo Square, 324, 328
Conibo Indians, 265
Conrad, Joseph, 48
Constantine, Emperor, 35
Copper Eskimos, 257

Córdoba, Luciano, 410–411
Córdova, Juan de, 383
Core Shamanism, **49–57,** 69, 74, 145, 265, 276, 354, 379, 496–497, 499, 508
Cormac, King, 472
Cornavii, 473
Corona de Luciano, 410–411
Cortázar, Julio, 414, 415
Cosmic journeys in India, 748, 749, 750
Cosmic mountain, 36, 40
Cosmic tree, 97, 263, 488–489, 494, 583, 612–613
Cosmology, 165–166
in Africa, 3–4, 891–892, 901, 955, 957–958
Chinese, 583, 598–599, 617, 709–710
in Eurasia, 536, 537, 542, 543, 545, 550, 551–552, 576–577, 595, 609, 612–613, 630, 633–634, 638
in Europe, 488–489, 511
in India, 748, 752
in Japan, 658–659, 690, 700
in Korea, 667, 668, 687
in Latin America, 371–373, 418, 426–431, 432, 440–441, 451, 456, 457, 462
Maori, 869–870
Maya, 426–431
Native American, 334, 346–347
in Oceania, 875–876
in Southeast Asia, 807–808, 824, 839
Costa Rica, 365
Costume, Shaman, **57–61**
in Africa, 911, 917, 925 (illus.)
in China, 59, 60, 727, 739
in Eurasia, 58–60, 175 (illus.), 241, 528, 541, 547, 548, 550, 554, 574, 600, 603, 621, 631, 641, 648
in Europe, 494
in India, 748
in Japan, 663–664, 702
in Korea, 57
in South Asia, 60
in Southeast Asia, 846
Cowan, Tom, 497
Coyote imagery, 9, 332, 333, 342–343, 351
Crapanzano, Vincente, 208, 228
Creation stories, 140
in Africa, 891–892, 900, 906, 957–958
in Europe, 492, 502
in Eurasia, 11–12, 545–546, 576, 599, 612
in Latin America, 373, 418, 428, 447–448, 457
Native American, 7–8, 10, 331–333, 344–345
in New Zealand, 869, 870
in Oceania, 876
in South Asia, 776
in Southeast Asia, 819, 824
Creek Indians, 283
Crocker, Jon Christopher, 377
Cross River Igbo, 929
Cross-cultural studies, **61–70,** 187, 272–274
Cross-gender behavior, 133, 159, 197–198, 207, 259–263
Crow (Apsaroke shaman), 7 (illus.)
Crow Indians 7–8, 9, 225, 332
Crystals, 81, 154, 355, 385–386, 404, 433, 436, 437, 862
Cuba, 230, 249, 365, 394, 449–453
Cubeos, 289
Cultural Revolution (China), 718, 720, 724
Cuna Indians, 161, 206
Curanderismo, **393–394**, 411–412, 436, 443
Curing societies. *See* Medicine societies, Native American
Curses, 327, 825
Czaplicka, Marie Antoinette, 144

Da Costa, José Gabriel, 380, 381
Dalai Lama, 565–566
Dall, William, 359
Dance, 188, 189–190
in Africa, 248–249, 889, 907–908, 917, 918, 919, 956
Afro-American traditions and, 248–249
in Bali, 249
Daoism and, 73
in Eurasia, 241, 248, 581, 603–604
in Japan, 663, 672, 703
in Korea, 104
Native American 171–172, 247, 281, 290, 314–315, 348
South American, 423
in Southeast Asia, 817
in Taiwan, 736–739
in Tibet, 104
Voudou, 328
See also Trance dance
Dance of the Deer Foundation, 50
Danuo, 736
Dao gong, 722
Daoism, 15, **71–74,** 246, 583, 689, 694, 706–707, 708, 711–712, 713, 714, 722, 726
D'Aquili, Eugene, 187, 215
Dark shamanism, **395–399.** *See also* Shamanism: malevolent
Darkhads, **545–547, 558,** 593, 596, 627–628, 650
D'Arras, Jean, 485
Das-Log, 796–797
Datun, 421
Datura, 18, 306, 351–352, 353, 354, 355, 388, 419, 448
Daur, 257
David, William, 918
Davis, Edward, 71
Dayak, 838 (illus.), 841
De Bernardi, Jean, 717
De Heusch, Luc, 229
De Martino, E. 250
De Soto, Hernando, 285
Death-and-rebirth experiences, 64, 116, 133, 153–154, 188, 191, 193, 298, 335, 611–612, 854, 862
Death rituals, 87–88, 127–128, 217–218, 353, 368, 375–378, 404, 422, 492, 493, 507, 557–558, 580, 604, 635, 750, 771–772, 829, 904–905, 907
Deer imagery, 9, 13, 23, 59, 255, 534, **547–551,** 580
Dekangivida, 288
Delaware Indians, 288
Delos, 479, 480
Delphi, 480 (illus.)
Democritos, 483
Demonic Possession, 66–67, **74–78**
Dena'ina, 42
Deng Xiaoping, 706, 719
Denmark, 500
Derbet, 558
Dervishes, 240, 240 (illus.), 241
Desana, 8, 9, 10, 154, 155, 158, 257, 385
Devereux, George, 122, 144, 206, 212, 345
Devlet, Ekaterina, 16
Dew Eagle Society, 314
DeWeese, Devin, 570
Dhalang, 832–833
Dhani voodoo, 4
Dhikr ceremony, 240, 241, 932, 941
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (Noll), 122, 207, 214

Diagnostics, 210, 225, 321–322, 341
Dibïa, 925 (illus.), 925–926
Dibïas, 888
Diderot, Denis, 143
Dieri, 861
Dievturi, 508
Digueño, 354
Dillehay, Tom, 423
Dio Chrysostom, 469
Diodorus Siculus, 469, 472, 474
Dionysus, 497
Diotima, 481
Discourse of the State (Guoyu), 709
Disease and illness, 227
in Africa, 887, 895, 911, 915
in Egypt, 909
in Eurasia, 643
in Europe, 500
in Latin America, 373–374, 421
Native American, 293–295, 301–302, 306, 313, 320–321, 335, 341, 349, 353, 355
in New Zealand, 871
in Southeast Asia, 821, 843, 846
Divaev, Abubakr, 570
Divination, **78–82**
in Africa, 81, 166–167, 888, 889, 914–919, 923, 926, 927, 935–937, 951–954, 958–959
in China, 728
in Eurasia, 95, 96, 571
in Europe, 473–474
in Latin American, 403, 425, 434, 436, 446–449
Native American, 356–357, 446–449
in Southeast Asia, 809, 819–821
Djiburu, 862
Dobbins, J. D., 249
Dobkin de Rios, Marlene, 115
Doctors' Dance, 281
Dogan, 548
Dolgan, 263, 264, 608
Dominican Republic, 365, 383, 449
Don Juan, 50, 265
Dörbet, 565
Double faith, 512
Dowson, Thomas, 17, 22, 25, 26, 222
Dpa'-bo, 791, 792–793, 795, 796
Dragonking Sea God rite, 683
Dramatic performance, **82–89**
Draper, Charles, 47
Dreams, **89–95**
in Africa, 917, 927, 932, 960
animals and, 4–5
in India, 749
in Japan, 660
in Latin America, 90, 91–92, 93–94, 403, 420, 426, 435
Native American, 90, 91, 92–93, 292–293, 295, 312, 334, 340, 342–343, 355
in Papua New Guinea, 853, **865–869**
in Taiwan, 859
Drewal, Henry, 928
Dronfield, Jeremy, 17
Drugs. *See* Entheogens; Hallucinogens; Psychedelic drugs
Druids, 467, 470–472, 473, 474, 476, 477 (illus.), 507
Drum circles, 52, 264, 496–497
Drumming and rituals, 51, **95–101,** 110, 156, 188, 209, 251, 420, 648, 937
Drums, **101–105,** 183, 184
in China, 104, 727–728
in Eurasia, 14–15, 102, 103, 104, 154, 541, 544, 548, 550, 553, 554, 574, 600, 631, 634–635, 636 (illus.), 641, 644 (illus.)
in Europe, 493–494, 500–501, 502, 503, 507–508
in Greenland, 299
in Japan, 104, 663, 672, 674, 702
in Korea, 103–104
in Latin America, 103, 452
in Nepal, 183
in South Asia, 104–105, 745–746, 748, 776, 793, 794 (illus.)
Dshamuka, 586
Du Shaoyuan, 645
Duajida, 341, 343
Duangong, 726, 727, 729
DuBois, Cora, 289
Ducks, 12, 13
Dukha, 594, 596
Dukun, 815–816, 833
Dulam, Sendenjav, 587, 650
Dumézil, Georges, 504
Düngür Society, 625, 638
Dunneza, 288, 290
Duvalier, "Papa Doc," 398
Dvoeverie, 512
Dwyer, Graham, 787, 788, 789
Dynamic figures, 222

Eagle imagery, 8, 9, 351
Earth Healing dance (Hopi), 290
East Africa, 938–942
Eastern Shoshone, 292, 293
Ebers Papyri, 909
Ecology and shamanism, **107–111**
Ecstasy, 36–37, 73, 78, 103, 145, 187, 188, 240–241, 252, 269
Ecstatic flight, 420
Ecstatic religions in India, **750–756**
Ecstatic Religions (Lewis), 233
Ecuador, 365, 378, 385, 389, 443
Edo period, 674, 701
Edurnsifo, 913
Effutu, 903
Egede, Hans, 297, 301
Eger Valadez, Susana, 256
Egypt, 230
ancient, 888, **906–910**
Eichmeier, Joseph, 118
El Salvador, 365, 428, 432
Eland, 220
Elegies of Chu (Chuci), 72, 712
Eliade, Mircea, 27, 35, 36, 48, 63, 67, 96, 100, 104, 112, 133, 145, 153, 154, 187, 192, 202, 213, 214, 217, 225, 229, 235, 251, 254, 269, 427, 428, 439, 450, 484, 509, 511, 524, 557, 675, 678, 733, 751, 756, 807, 835, 886, 911, 919, 925
Elk imagery, 13, 14, 534, 535, 549
Elkin, Adolphus P., 154, 860
Elliot, Alan, 735
Elusinian mysteries, 482, 497, 506
Empedocles, 481
Emshi, 569
Enets, 549
England, 519
En-no-Gyōja (En-no-Ozunu), 689
Entheogens, **111–117,** 439–440, 443, 479, 480, 483, 506–507, 917
Entoptic images, **117–119,** 222
Entsy, 554
Ephedra, 96, 529
Epidii, 473
Epilepsy theories of shamanism, 214–215, 269
Epimenides of Crete, 479, 480
Erawan Shrine, 847
Eskimos, 100, 104, 128, 133, 206, 257, 275, 277, 307–312
in Greenland, 297, 300 (illus.), 302
Essoun, Okomfo, 943 (illus), 945 (illus.)
Estonia, 486, 487, 490, 491, 492, 504

Etano of Kish, King, 102
Ethiopia, 230
Ethnocentrism, **119–124**
Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock), 230
Ethnographic Museum of Norway, 176
Ethnographic Museums of the Americas, 174, 176
Ethnologisches Museum, 174, 178
Ethno-medicine union (AGEM), 497
Ethno-shamanic approaches, 497
Eto, Silas, 878
Eurasia, **523–652**
Eurasian shamanism (Berlin), 75–76
Euripides, 482
Europe, shamanism and, **465–522**
  Core and Neo-Shamanism in, 54, 69
Evans-Pritchard, Edward E., 81, 272, 274, 397, 947–948, 949, 950
Evans-Wentz, W. Y., 476
Even, 608
Evenki, 14, 58, 108, 119, 165, 178, 536, 550, **551–557,** 608, 624 (illus.)
Ewe, 930
Exorcism, 31–32, 67, 73, **74–78,** 98, 162, 208, 231, 232, 246, 249, 250, 572, 616, 631, 643, 736, 754, 795, 820
Extraction, **124–125**
Ezekiel (prophet), 36, 37

Fabian, Johannes, 89
Fabrega, Horacio, 164, 213
Fadiman, Anne, 138
Faerie, 475
Fairies, 470, **484–486**
False Face Society, 282–283, 312, 313, 313 (illus.), 314, 331
The False Faces of the Iroquois (Fenton), 314
Fangshi, 72
Fante, 943
Faria, Abbé, 150
Faron, Louis, 423
Faulkingham, Ralph N., 920, 921, 923
Faust, Betty, 428
Fenton, William N., 314
Field Museum (Chicago), 177
Fiji, 127, 874
Findeisen, Hans, 255
Findhorn, 486
Finland, 486, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 494, 500, 501–502, 504
Finnish Literature Society, 502
Finno-Permians, 486
Finno-Ugrians, 12, 13, **486–496,** 501
Fintan, 473
Fiornini, Marcelo, 376
Fire, **127–129,** 491–492, 658
Fire dancing, 913
Firth, Raymond, 229, 875
Fish imagery, 8, 10, 331, 929
Fishing societies, 205
Flaherty, Gloria, 143
Flores, 813
Flower Garden, 723
Fly agaric mushroom, 479
Folk traditions
  Celtic, 475, 484, 507
  Greek, 506
  Nordic, 502, 505–507
Folklore
  Chinese, 599, 713–714
  in Eurasia, 537, 594
  Russian, 509–513
Folsom, David, 287
Fon, 248
Foods, ritual, 164
Formosa, 857
Foundation for Shamanic Studies, 27, 50, 51–52, 55, 69, 145, 265, 496
France, cave art in, 17
Frank, Jerome, 209
Frank, Julia, 209
Frankl, Viktor, 140
Franklin, Benjamin, 150
Frazer, James George, 122, 161, 162
French Guyana, 365
Friedson, Stephen, 886
Fringe, 59–60
Frobisher, Martin, 308
Fujimori, Alberto, 445
Funeral Rites in Eurasia, **557–564.** *See also* Death rituals

Gaga chief, 855, 857, 859
Gagan, Jeanette, 227
Gantogtox, G., 542, 587
Gantz, Jeffrey, 470
García Marquez, Gabriel, 414, 416
Gardner, Gerald, 519
Garing bin Muntalan, 826
Gavril, Dedushka, 543 (illus.)
Gavrilovna, Lyubov, 568–569
Geertz, Clifford, 233
Gellner, David, 245
Gender and shamanism, 18–19, **131–135,** 158–159, 259–262, 383–384, 444, 646, 648, 839, 841, 918
Genghis (Chinggis) Khan, 523, 545, 546, 586, 594, 595, 596, 602
Georgi, Johann-Gottlieb, 58, 143
Germany
  Core Shamanism in, 54
  Neopaganism in, 53
  Neo-Shamanism in, 496–500
Ghana, 4, 888, 899, 900, 903, 910–913, 930, 942–946
Ghost Dance, 171–172, 281, **287–292,** 291 (illus.), 316
Ghosts, 75, 293, 294, 627, 754, 785, 786, 787
Giesler, Patric, 209
Gilgamesh Epic, 102
Gimi, 866
Gimle (magazine), 54
Ginzburg, Carlo, 518
Gi:xa, 919
Glass Palace Chronicles, 804
Glossolalia, 36–37
Gluckman, Max, 948
Gmelin, Johann George, 143, 268
Goats, 4, 6
Godelier, Maurice, 867
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 143
Gold, Ann, 789
Gold Coast, 46 (illus.)
Gold Eskimos, 206
Golden Bough, 140
Golden Stool, 910
Golden Temple, 202
Goldi, 59, 60, 158, 159, 263, 548
Gomes, Diego, 931
Gomez, Vicente, 398
Gorshunova, Olga, 527
Göttingen University Museum, 60
Go-twasa, 917–918
Gould-Martin, Kathleen, 716
Graham, David, 728, 729
Gran Chaco Indians, 255
Grand Medicine Society, 282
Graves, 359
Great Basin hunters and gatherers, **292–297**
Great Exorcism (Danuo), 736
Great Leap Forward, 718
Great Peace Movement, 73
Great Plains, North American, 7–8
Great Zombi, 327
Greece, 478–484, 506, 507, 508
Greenland, 157, 158, 277, **297–303**
Greve, Reinhard, 768
Grey, George, 869
Guajiro Indians, 123

Guan Shuyun, 598
Guaraní tribe, 172, 173
Guardian Spirit complex, 91, 190–191
Guatemala, 19, 134, 176, 365, 367, 386, 394, 425, 428, 432, 433, 446
Gucumatz, 433
Guevara, Tomás, 423
Guiana, 110
Guitiérrez Estevez, Manuel, 428
Gulun, 862
Gundestrop Cauldron, 507
Gungawa, 921–922, 923
Gunwinggu, 862
Gusinde, Martin, 157
Guyana, 365, 397, 398, 406, 407

Haginaka Mie, 662
Haiti, 226 (illus.), 365, 383, 398, 416
Haitian Vodou, 75, 229, 230, 231, 232, 249, 329, 416, 450
Hala', 829, 830, 831
Halifax, Joan, 139
Hallucinations, 65, 117–118, 219, 222
Hallucinogens, 51, 52, 111–117, 134, 145, 157, 167, 251, 265, 268, 273
  in Europe, 479, 506–507
  in Eurasia, 96, 113, 606
  in Latin America, 19, 93, 134, 368, 383, 386, 388–390, 419, 439–440, 443, 448
  Native Americans and, 18, 306–307, 336–339, 351–352, 353
Hallucinogens and Shamanism (Harner), 268
Hamadsha, 230
Hamayon, Roberte, 252, 485, 518
Hammond-Tooke, W. D., 919
Han dynasty, 71, 72, 706, 709
Hancock, Mary, 755
Handelman, Don, 123
Handsome Lake religion, 288, 289
Hand-trembling, 321
Hanna, J. L., 247
Harner, Michael, 27, 50, 51, 54, 69, 145, 209, 265, 268, 273, 390, 427, 496, 513, 514
Harney Valley Paiute, 90
Harrison, Benjamin, 120
Harrisson, Tom, 845
Hart, George, 745
Hau, 871
Hausa, 184, 230, 248, 888, **920–924**
Hawaii, 876, 879
Hawkes, Ernest, 359
Head-hunting, 855, 858 (illus.), 858–859
Healers, 63, 65–66, 67, 205, 272, 935–936, 958
  in Africa, 892–893, 895–899, 896 (illus.), 914–916, 918–919, 921–922, 923, 929,
  in Australia, 863–864
  Chinese, 642–646
  in Egypt, 909
  in Eurasia, 237, 567–569, 571–572, 581–583, 638
  in India, 759, 760–761, 781–782, 784
  in Latin America, 134, 166, 386, 393–396, 434
  Mexican, 393–396
  in New Zealand, 873
  in North America, 164, 278, 282, 283, 316, 317, 403
  in Oceania, 853, 876, 878
  in Southeast Asia, 809, 818–824, 843–845
  in Taiwan, 857
Healing, **137–142**
  Christianity and, 38–39, 40
  divination and, 80, 205
  dreams and, 92–93
  magic and, 518
  Neo-shamanism and, 52
  psychology and, 209–210
  tricks of, 123
  Urban Shamanism and, 265, 266
Healing, bioenergetic, **29–30,** 444, 457–458, 463
Healing rituals, 44, **84–85,** 149, 150, 151, 193–194
  in Africa, 4, 163, 887, 891–894, 919, 959–960
  in Australia, 863–864
  in China, 83, 84, 599–600, 616–617, 643–644
  in Eurasia, 84, 97, 99–100, 581–583, 648, 718 (illus.), 719–720, 731
  in Japan, 672, 701, 702
  in Korea, 84
  in Latin America, 164, 373–374, 375–376, 385, 386, 421–422, 425–426, 441,
  Native American 164–165, 294–295, 301–302, 306, 313–314, 317, 320–321, 322, 335, 341–342, 349, 353, 355–356
  in Oceania, 867
  in South Asia, 760–761, 769, 778, 793, 795
  in Southeast Asia, 197, 199, 813, 831, 843–845
  in Taiwan, 857
Heaven doctor, 959
Hegel, G. W. F., 140
Heinze, Ruth-Inge, 208, 735
Hell, Bertrand, 485
Hellinger, Bert, 499
Henderson, James Sakej Youngblood, 289, 290–291
Hensley, Albert, 337
Herbalism, 163, 386, 434, 570, 572, 731, 889, 913, 914, 916, 937
Herder, Johann Gottfried, 143, 268
Herders, 14
Herdt, Gilbert, 867
Herodotus, 534
Herrera, Sabinita, 396
Herrnhuter, 364
Hery-shef-nakht, 909
Hessig, Walter, 587
Hiawatha, 288
Highest Clarity (Shangqing) school of Daoism, 73
Hikulima, 395 (illus.)
Hilario, Don, 380
Hildegard von Bingen, 466
Himalayans, 741, 756–763
Hinduism, 243, 244–245 244 (illus.), 874
  in South Asia, 741, 748, **750–756,** 757, 763, 767, 775, 781, 785, 777, 788
  in Southeast Asia, 231, 799, 812, 841
Hindu-Kaharingan 841
Hirst, Manton, 916
Historia Norwegiae, 254
History of Japanese Miko (Nakayama), 675
Hitchock, John T., 768
Hmong, 138, 800, 801, **806–810,** 834, 835
Ho-Chunk (Winnebago), 282
Ho-Do-Nau-Sau-Nee, 288
Höfer, Oskar, 118
Hohenthal, William, 356
Hokkaidō Ainu, 657, 658, 660–661, 662 (illus.), 663–664
Hokkaidō Ainu Association, 657, 658, 703

Holle, 230, 955, 956
Holm, Gustav, 176, 299
Holmberg, Uno, 255
Holy People (Navajo), 320, 321, 322, 323
Holy Wind (Navajo), 319–320, 321, 322
Honduras, 19, 365, 428, 432
Hong Kong, 705, 706, **729–732**
Hong Takii (Qing Taizong), 582–583
Honovi-Walpi, 306 (illus.)
Honshu, 670
Hoodoo, 326, 329
Hopi, 176, 278, 290, **303–307,** 348, 349
Hopi Snake dance, 306 (illus.)
Hoppál, Mihály, 509, 514
Hori Ichiro, 675
Hornbostel, Erich, 183
Horses, **147–148,** 510, 585
Horwitz, Jonathan, 54, 498
Hot Cold Theory of Disease, 394
The House of the Spirits (Allende), 415
Hove, Chenjerai, 950
Hózhó, 319–320, 322, 323
Hubert, Henri, 197
Huichol, 23–24, 23 (illus.), 115, 176, 201, 256, 336, 337–338, 339, 367, 385, 387, 389, **399–406**
Hultkrantz, Åke, 41, 145, 237, 254
Humphrey, Caroline, 202
Huna shamanism, 497–498
Hungarians, 486, 488, 489, 491, 494, 504, 510
Hunkpapa, 315
Hunt, Harry, 189
Hunter, Monica, 918
Hunter-gatherer societies, 9, 16, 19, 65, 74, 115, 187, 189, 205, 220, 272, 275, 277, 279, 292–297, 308, 619–622, 749, 839, 955, 891
Hunting ceremonies, 9, 10, 12, 79, 191, 360
Hunza, 248
Hupa, 131 (illus.)
Hurons, 313
Hurston, Zora Neale, 324, 325, 326 (illus.)
Husk Faces, 282, 314
Hyatt, Harry Middleton, 325
Hyperboreans, 478, 479
Hypnosis, **149–152,** 227

Iban, 260, 813, 814, 839
Ibandla lamaNazaretha, 960
Idaho, 181, 292
Ifugao people, 176
Igbo, **925–928,** 929, 949
Igjugaarjuk, 309
Iglesia Evangélica Unida (IEU), 464
Iglulik, 8, 9, 10, 156, 158
Igqirha, 914, 915, 919
Iha-pa, 791
Ikoro Agwu, 925 (illus.)
Iliya Muromets and the Brigand Nightingale, 510
Illness. *See* Disease and illness
Imagery, **267–270**
Inca empire, 47, 365, 389
India, 32, 127, 148, 251, 263, 483. 504, 741, 745–747, 750–766, 781–782, 784–790
Indiki, 959
Indonesia, 110, 122, 134, 197, 198, 199, 261, 263, 799, **810–815,** 839, 840, 841, 842
Indu Onot, 197–198
Ingerman, Sandra, 227
Ingrians, 486
Initiation of shamans, 64, 90–92, **153–160,** 253, 272
  in Africa, 155, 156, 158, 159, 887, 901, 902, 908, 913, 917–918, 926, 928, 936–937, 953, 956
  in Australia, 154
  in China, 724
  in Eurasia, 127, 153–154, 156, 158, 159, 217, 261, 264, 542, 609–611, 612, 630–631
  in Europe, 471, 493, 501, 505, 510, 511
  in Greenland, 298
  in Japan, 660, 669, 678, 680, 702
  in Latin America, 90, 91–92, 133, 153, 154, 155, 159, 379, 384, 388, 401, 403, 420–421, 422, 434, 442–443
  Native American, 90, 91, 153, 304, 349, 355
  in New Zealand, 872
  in Oceania, 854
  in South Asia, 758, 759, 760, 771, 777, 792–793
  in Southeast Asia, 826, 837, 846
  in Taiwan, 881
Innate processing modules, 190, 191
Institute for ethno-medicine (ETHNOMED), 497
Integrative Mode of Consciousness, 188
Intlombe, 918, 919
Inuit, 98, 99, 100, 154, 156, 165, 297, **307–312,** 333
Inupiaq masks, 358–362
Inupiat, 161, 164, 165
Inyanga, 958
Ipai, 354
Iqallijuq, Rose, 311
Iran, 96, 128, 504, **529–532**
Iraq, 112
Ireland, 17, 467, 469
Irian Jaya, 874
Irineu Serra, Raimundo, 380, 381, 412
Iron Age, 474, 534, 601, 604
Iroquois, 282, 283, 288, **312–315**
Isaiah (prophet), 36
Isangoma, 958
Islam, 230
  in Africa, 162, 163, 166, 885–886, 888, 912–913, 920–921, 922, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 939, 941, 957
  in Eurasia, 524, 527, 528, 569, 570, 572, 573, 579, 580, 581, 602, 629, 631–632, 643, 645, 646, 647
  in India, 741, 757
  in Nepal, 767
  in Oceania, 874
  in Southeast Asia, 799, 815, 823, 833, 840, 843
  Sufism and, 238–242
Isleta Pueblos, 283
Itako, 670, 672, 672 (illus.), 679 (illus.), 680, 701–702
Itazipco, 315
Itelmen (Itel'men), 11, 58, 259, 605
Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible; Russia), 517
Ivory Coast, 5, 943
Izangoma, 914
Izanuse, 914
Izinyanga Zeisthupa, 959

Jackson, Sheldon, 358, 359
Jacob, 37
Jacobsen, J. Adrian, 358
Jaguars as imagery, 8, 9, 257, 377, 433–434
Jainism, 751
Jakobsen, Merete Demant, 146, 496
Jamaica, 166, 248, 365
James, William, 215
Janet, Pierre, 268

Japan, 12, 66, 95, 99, 100, 104, 181, 201, 247, 562, 653–655, 657–666, 670–673, **674–681,** 689–704
Java, 800, **815–818,** 832–834, 840
Jenness, Diamond, 257
Jennings, Sue, 829
The Jesuit Relations, 312
Jesuits, 172, 286, 313–314, 364, 366, 454, 455
Jesus, 36, **37–39,** 77, 466
Jhāngrī (Jhākrī), 768, 777
Jimsonweed (datura), 18, 388, 419, 448, 306, 351–352, 353, 354, 355
Jini, 939, 940, 941
Jitong, 736, 737 (illus.)
Jivaro, 63, 265, 272, 385, 388
João II (king of Portugal), 173
Jochelson, Waldemar, 159, 235
Jombee Dance, 249
Joralemon, Donald, 201, 391
Jordan, David, 715, 736
Jorgensen, Joseph G., 290, 306
Joshua, 36
Judaism, 483
Jugun Hella, 922, 923, 924
Ju/'hoansi, 153, 154, 156, 157–158, 891
Julius Caesar, 471, 507
Jung, Carl, 213, 227, 265
Justin, 39

K'ab'al Xook, Lady, 433
Kabir, Zainab Sa'id, 921
Kacheï the Immortal, 511
Kachinas, 347, 348, 349
Kainen, Lemmin, 102
Kalevala, 502
Kalka, 863
Kalkha Mongols, 593
Kalmyks, **564–569**
Kamchadals, 115, 259
Kāmī, 768
Kamisama (Kaminchu), 694, 695, 697, 698, 699, 701–703
Kamlanye, 241, 552, 553, 554, 556, 575, 639
Kamsá, 379, 386
Kanaimá shamanism, **406–409**
Kandinsky, Vasily, 26
Kangjia, Ng., 765
Karajji, 861
Karakia, 871, 872
Kardecism, 232, 381
Karelians, 486, 487, 489, 494
Karen, 225
Karo, 199, 812
Karp, Ivan, 166
Kashinawua, 378
Katuza, 395 (illus.)
Katz, Richard, 153, 156, 210, 886, 893
Kawai, H., 206
Kayong'u, 936, 938
Kazaks, 63, 66, 537, **569–573,** 602
Kazakstan, 239, 574
Keeper of the Sacred Pipe, 316
Kehoe, Alice, 145, 202
Keightly, David, 709
Kenin-Lopsan, Mongush Borakhovich, 162, 557, 638, 639
Kenya, 939
Keresan, 346, 348
Kerr, George, 694
Kets, 547, 548, 554
Khakass, 14, 184, 527, 536, 538, 549, **573–579**
Khalkh Mongols, 649, 650, 651
Khangalov, Matvei Nikolaevich, 587, 619, 651
Khantszin-lama-geliun, 559, 560
Khanty, 12, 13, 43, 170, 171
Khavendaevich, Kirgis, 638
Kher ḥeb (Kheru hebet), 908, 909
Khmer, 840
Khodin, Pani, 170
Khori, 539
Khudiakov, Ivan A., 608
Khundaeva, Y. O., 595
Khwahu, 943
K'iche' Mayan culture, 134
Kieri, 402
Kiliwa, 354
Kim, Kwang-Ok, 199
Kinachau, 886
King, Serge, 498
The Kingdom of This World (Carpentier), 416
Kiowa, 336
Kirdīr, 530, 531
Kirghiz, 527, 537, **579–582,** 602
Kirghiztan, 574, 579
Kister, Daniel, 87
Kleinman, Arthur, 137, 761
Klopfer, B., 206
Klüver, Heinrich, 117
Knoll, Max, 118
Kogi, 257, 388
Kojiki, 676
Komi, 13
Konagaya, Yūki, 561–562, 563
Kongju Seo, Maria, 182
Kongo, 946
Korea, 13, 14, 40, 57, 83, 84–85, 85 (illus.), 86, 87–88, 98, 103–104, 161, 182, 184, 207, 209, 251, 653–655, 666–670, **681–688**
Kornakova, Augusta D., 559, 560, 561
Korom, 826
Koryaks, 58, 115, 127, 235, 259
Koryat, 605
Krahó, 376, 386, 390
Krasheninnikov, Stepan Petrovich, 143, 268
Kristeva, Julia, 140
Kroeber, Alfred, 122, 345
Kubu shamans, 47
Kulachandra, Ngariyambam, 765
Kuldukke, 861
Kulina, 131, 376, 377
Kumassi, 46 (illus.)
Kumia, 354
Kümin, Beatrice, 540, 542
Kun Shi, 598
Kuna, 384
Kunki, 861
Kunstkamera Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, 59
Kunstkammer Museum, 174, 175
Kupe, 870
Kurath, G. P., 247
Kuripakos, 389
Kut rites, 668, 684–687
Kut Sür, 625
Kutenai, 181
Kuznetsk, 184
Kwakiutl, 93, 123, 256–257, 284
Kxao ≠Oah, 154, 156
Kyzlasov, E., 575

LaBarre, Weston, 17, 19, 112, 114, 169, 337
Labrador, 9
Lacan, Jacques, 141
Ladakh, 741, 742, **756–763,** 790
Lai Zongxian, 738
Lakon Murwakala, 834
Lakota, 109, 110, 290, **315–323**
Lamaism, 563, 564–567
Lama-shamans, 60, 96, 104
Lambert, Helen, 789
Lamla, Masilo, 916
Lancelot, 475
Land-Without-Evil, 172, 173
Language, ritual, 140–141
Laos, 806–810, 840
Laozi, 706

Lapps, 96, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 507
Larsen, Helge, 359
Lascaux cave art, 17
Last, Murray, 921, 923
Latvia, 508
Laughlin, Charles, 187, 189, 215
Laveau, Marie the First, 325, 327
Laveau, Marie the Second, 325, 327
Layton, Robert, 219
League of Militant Godless, 120
League of the Iroquois, 288
Lebu, 4, 5
Lecouteux, Claude, 485, 511, 518
Lee Hyongsang, 666
Lee, Sung, 181
Lefevre, Nicholas, 286
LeFlore, Greenwood, 287
Lenin-Stalin Cult, 120
Leopold II (king of Belgium), 177
Lesser, Alexander, 281
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 139, 140, 161, 191, 212–213, 788
Levy, Jerrold, 304, 305
Lewis, Ioan M., 214, 229, 230, 233, 572, 753, 755, 788, 924
Lewis-Williams, J. David, 17, 25, 222
Lewontin, Richard, 137
Lex, Barbara, 215
Liebault, Auguste-Ambroise, 150
Lindquist, Galina, 55, 203, 496
Lingji, 738, 739
Linton, Ralph, 122, 212
Lions as imagery, 3, 4, 5, 6
Literature and shamanism
  in Europe, 507–508
  in India, 765
  in Japan, 662–663, 676, 677–678
  Latin American, **414–417**
  Mongolian, 593–597
Lithuanians, 506, 508
Little People Society, 282
Little Water Medicine Society, 282
Little Wound, 317
Livonians, 486, 490, 491
Logotherapy, 140
Lohmann, Roger, 868
Lokasenna, 506
Lolo, 218, 264
Lommel, Andreas, 145, 509
Loons, 12, 13
Lopatin, I. A., 122
López, Rodrigo, 201–202
Louisiana, 285, 323–331
Lower Kutenai Indians, 181
LSD, 390
Lucius (Egyptian monk), 908
Luke, gospel according to, 37
Luna, Luis Eduardo, 379
Lunda, 934
Luoxi, 83, 86
Lusban-Dorji, 559

Mabanba, 863
Mabarn, 861
Mabinogion, 471, 473
MacCarell, Tuan, 473
MacCumhaill, Fionn, 471
Machi, 417–423
Macumba, 249, 372 (illus.)
Mae Enga, 866
Magar, 183
Magic, **161–169,** 469–470, 472, 474, 513–514, 517–518, 520, 909, 930–934
Magical flight, 235, 529, 634. *See also* Soul journey (flight); Spirit flight
Maguzawa, 920, 921, 923
Mahābhārata, 752, 788, 832
Mahong'u, 935
Maibas, 765
Maibis, 763–765, 766
Maichou loishang, 765
Main Peteri, 819, 820, 821
Maiskii, Ivan M., 558
Maku, 389
Makuna Indians, 202
Makushi, 406
Makutu, 871
Malawi, 896
The Malay Magician (Winstedt), 837
Malay Peninsula, 180, 184, 835, 839, 841
Malays, **818–824,** 840
Malaysia, 110, 122, 197, 199, 258, 261, 717, 799, 827, 840
Maldives, 741
Mali, 5
Malip, 829
Mallam healers, 922, 923
Mallory, J. P., 504
Malov, S. E., 645
Maluti Bushmen, 155
Mami Wata religion, **928–930**
Man gwau po, 706, 729
Man mai po, 706, 729
Mana, 870, 876
Manacica, 217
Manchu Han Army clan, 83, 84
Manchuria, 551–557, 615–618
Manchus, 83, 84, 98 (illus.), 525, **582–586,** 597, 650
Mandan, 10
Mandjindja, 154
Mani, 530
Manichaeism, 466, 530, 629
Manipur, 742, **763–766**
Manitoba, 334
Manquilef, Luis, 423
Mansi, 43
Mansin, 57, 161
Manteis, 473–474
Mantras, 770
Manuel, Paul, 340–341
Mao Zedong, 706, 717, 718
Maori, 128, 853, 854, **869–874**
Mapuche, 90, 93–94, 132–133, 181, 184, 369, **417–425**
Mara'akáme, 23
Marabouts, **930–934**
Maratsi, 302
Marcionism, 466
Margidjbu, 861
Marianas, 879
Mark, Gospel according to, 37
Marrett, Robert R., 122
Marrngitj, 861, 863
Marwick, Max, 889, 948, 949
Masculinity and shamanism, 132–134
Masks, 83, 313 (illus.), 314, 336, 348, 358–361, 533, 877 (illus.)
Massaum, 282
Master of Animals, 8, 10, 12, 43–44, 191
Mataco, 154
Matagi, 701
Matakite, 871, 873
Matho oracles, 761, 762
Matopos, 155
Matsigenka, 385, 386, 387, 388, 390
Matthew, gospel according to, 37
Mauri, 871
Mauss, Marcell, 122, 197
Maya, 19, 134, 161, 164, 176, 263, 366, 367, 386, 387, 390, **425–435**
Maynogasheva, S. R., 576
Mazatec, 132, 384, 389
Mazatecan, 14
Mazdaism, 530
Mazhin, Markel, 633
Mbuti pygmies, 886
McKay, Mabel, 290
McLeod, Norma, 181
McManus, John, 187
McRae, Edward, 381
Means, Russell, 290

Medicine
  African traditional, **895–899**
  holistic, 329, 393, 421
  western and shamanism, 498–500
Medicine bundles, 279, 281, 282, 322
Medicine men (Africa), 958, 958 (illus.)
Medicine societies, Native American, 281–285, 314, 349
Meditation, 51, 520–521, 932
Mediums, **66–67,** 208, 229, 230, 231
  in Africa, 888, 893, 894, 900, 901–903, 951–952, 954–957
  Chinese, 707, 716, 732–736
  in Japan, 659
  in New Zealand, 872
  in Oceania, 854, 878
  in South Asia, 742, 773–774, 780, 791–792, 795, 796, 797
  in Southeast Asia, 803–806, 836 (illus.), 847–850
Megaga, 858
Meggitt, M. J., 866
Meiji Restoration, 674
Meitei society, **763–766**
Mekeo, 866
Mekigar, 861
Melanesia, 128, 851, 853, 865, 874, 876, 879
Mencius, 711
Mental illness theories of shamanism, 27, 64–65, 122, 165, 211–216, 232, 268
Meratus people, 814
Mesianism, **169–174**
Mesmer, Anton, 149, 150
Messengers animals, 12, 14
Messerschmidt, D. G., 143
Metamorphosis, 257–259
Métraux, Alfred, 255, 384
Mevlevis, 241, 248
Mexican Americans, 394–396
Mexican Healers, 393–396
Mexico, 19, 23–24, 39, 114 (illus.), 120, 132, 134, 162, 164, 176, 201, 202, 256, 336, 337–338, 354, 385, 386, 387, 389, 393, 394, 395 (illus.), 399–406, 410, 427–428, 432, 435, 453. *See also individual peoples*
Mganga (Waganga), 939, 940
Mganga wa kituba, 940, 941
Mganga wa pepo, 940, 941
Miao, 179
Michel, Anneliese, 77
Michigan, 334
Michl, Wolf-Dieter, 768
Micronesia, 851, 853, 874, 875, 876
Midéwiwin (Midé People), Ojibwa, 281, 282, 335
Midwives, 134, 660, 742, 822–823, 829, 899
Mikhailov, Taras, 540
Miko, 674–675, 676–680
Millenarian cults, 169
Miller, Loren, 380
Mimesis, 189–190
Miniconjou, 315
Minnesota, 334
Minusinsk Tatars, 573
Miracle plays, 555
Miracles, 37–38, 39, 573
Miraculous Stories of Karmic Retribution of Good and Evil (Kyokai), 678
Miropiev, M., 570
Mirrors, 59, 641
Mississippian societies, 285
Mithen, Steven, 191, 207
Mithraism, 466, 483, 484
Mixe, 202
Mixtecs, 134, 427
Miyake Hitoshi, 691
Mngqatsi, 47
Mo Di, 711
Mochica, 442 (illus.)
Mocovi, 461
Moffat, Robert, 45
Mog Ruath, 472
Mohist texts, 710
Mojave, 18
Mokone, Mangena M., 959
Molda, 569
Mongolia, 14, 59, 122, 148, 154, 155 (illus.), 176, 202, 218, 252 (illus.), 257, 264, 523, 526, 528, 533, 539–547, 557, 558–562, 563, 564, 565, 627–629, 649–651
  literature and traditions, **593–597**
  shamanic texts in, **586–593**
Mon-Khmer, 835
Mono, 292
Montana, 334
Monteiro, Clodomir, 381
Montenegro, Peña, 45, 120
Montserrat, 249
Mooney, James, 290, 345
Moore, J. G., 248
Moore, Omar, 79
Moose imagery, 535, 547, 549, 550
Moravian Church, 364
Mordvinians, 486, 487, 490, 491, 492
Morocco, 230
Moses, 36
Moso, 217
Mot dao, 722
Mot nam, 722
Mot nang ai, 722
Mota, Sebastiâo, 380, 381
Moth Frenzy, 320
Mother of the Sea, 298–299
Motifs, Christian, 39–40
Mountain Priests, **689–693**
Mountain symbolism, 690, 691
Mouridyya, 931
Mozambique, 896, 950
Mozi, 711
Mpondo, 915
Mudang, 681–682, 686
Muedans, 950
Muhulai, 545
Mullah, 569, 570
Mumford, Stan, 33
Murasaki, Lady, 677
Murdock, George Peter, 230, 274
Murray, Margaret, 520
Muruts, **824–827**
Museum collections, 59, **174–179**
Museum of Ethnography (St. Petersburg), 574
Music, 46, **179–186,** 188, 189–190, 247
  in Africa, 5, 184, 892, 907–908, 956
  in China, 179
  in Eurasia, 179, 181, 573, 574, 643–644
  in Japan, 663–664, **670–674**
  in Korea, 182, 183
  Latin American, 184, 439, 452
  Native American, 181, 340–341
  in South Asia, 782
  in Southeast Asia, 180, 181, 184
  Voudou, 328
  See also Drums; Drumming and rituals; Singing
Muskokee (Creek), 283
Musok Pojonhoe Preservation Association, 182
Mutilation, ritual, 406–408
Mwalimu (walimu), 939, 940, 941
Myerhoff, Barbara, 201
Mysticism, 817
Myth and Magic (Platov), 514
Mythic Time, 12
Mythology, 139, 165–166, 221, 223
  in Africa, 906, 911, 921

in Australia, 862
Chinese, 599, 709–710
Egyptian, 906–907
in Eurasia, 540, 542, 545–546, 550, 612
in Europe, 492, 502, 505–506, 507, 511–512
in Japan, 667, 669
in Korea, 686
Latin American, 418, 428, 447–448, 457, 462
Maya, 428, 233, 447–448
Native American, 331–333, 342–343, 344–345, 447–448
in Nepal, 776
Russian, 511–512
in Tibetan, 791–793

Na-Dene, 275
Nagai Hiroshi, 659
Nage, 812, 813, 814
Nagual, 14
Ñähñu Indians, **435–439**
Nahua, 134
Nahuatl, 427
Nakashima Degarrod, Lydia, 90, 91, 93
Nakayama Taro, 675, 677, 678
Na-khi, 217
Nambiquara, 376
Namibia, 20
Nanai people, 175 (illus.), 176
Naskapi, 9, 10
Native American Church (NAC), 319, 337
Native Americans, 7–11, 18–20, 53, 54, 120, 121 (illus.), 171, 207, 260, **275–364.** *See also individual peoples*
Nats, cult of, 803
Navajo, 140, 209, **318–323,** 338 (illus.)
Navoi, 241
Nayarit, 114 (illus.)
Nazarites, 960–961
Ndembu, **934–938**
Ndeup ceremony, 4
Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de, 96, 791
Nehanda, Mbuya, 898
Neher, Andrew, 209
Neihardt, John, 109
Nelson, Edward William, 358
Nentsy, 13, 170
Neolithic Era, 16, 17–18, 115
Neopaganism, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 508, 509, 514
Neo-Shamanism, 26–27, **49–57,** 68, 145–146, 203, 364, **496–500,** 508, 509, 513, 514, 515
Nepal, 60, 122, 139, 183, 209, 245, 258, 529, 741, 742, 747–750, **766–773,** 775–778, 781, 790
Neputa, 703
Netsilik, 176
Neurognostic structures, 194
Neuropsychology of shamanism, **187–195,** 222, 223
Nevada, 123, 171, 221, 292
New African Religious Movements, 913
New Age movement, 29, 49, 50, 52, 87, 145, 203, 265, 318, 369, 444–445, 486, 496, 498, 513, 514, 515, 516
New Guinea, 127, 875, 879. *See also* Papua New Guinea
New Mexico, 318, 395–396, 446
New Orleans Voudou, **323–331**
New Zealand, 853, 854, **869–874**
Neyici Toyin Lama, 564–565
Nez Perce, 8
Ngaanga ngoombu, 951
Ngadzhu-Dayak (Nagju Dayaks), 197, 260
Ngaju, 840, 841
Ngalyod, 863
Nganasans, 59, 96, 536, 547, 548, 554
Ngillatun Ritual, 422–423
Ngoombu, 952
Ngoombwa weefwa, 951
Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 950
Nguni, 914, 960
Nicaragua, 365, 394
Nicolas, Guy, 921
Niger, 161, 162, 166, 167, 230, 249, 920–924, 954–957
Nigeria, 167, 230, 248, 888, 920–924, 925–927, 929, 949
Nihon ryoiki (Kyokai), 678
Nihonshoki, 689
Nine Songs, 72, 73, 179, 712
Niviatsian, 308
Nivkh, 14
Njaay, Njajaan, 5
Nkrabea, 904–905
Nnta Abam, 944
Noita, 501–502
Nokskan, 288
Noll, Richard, 64, 122, 207, 214, 269, 598
Nolugxana, 914
Nomads, 601–602, 604–606, 891
Nong, 707, **722–725**
Nordic shamanism, 53, 54, **500–504,** 505, 506–507, 508
Norse Revival movements, 508
North America, **275–364.** *See also* Native Americans; *and individual peoples*
North Dakota, 334
Northern Paiute, 171, 292
Northern Shoshone, 292, 293
Norton, Rosaleen, 27
Norway, 500
N-P (neuropsychological) Model, 222, 223
Ntuli, Queen (Zulu), 896 (illus.)
Nuer people, 4
N/um, 892, 893
Numic-speaking peoples, 292–296
Numinous Treasures (Lingbao) school of Daoism, 73
Nunn, John, 908, 909
Nurhachi (Qing Taizu), 582
Nyberg, Henrik S., 96
Nzema, 943

Obeah, 450
Objects, shaman. *See* Shamans: paraphernalia and objects of
OBOD (Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids), 508
Obosom (abosom), 900, 910–911, 943
Obosom ba, 943–944
Obosomfo, 944
Ob'-Ugrians, 43, 486, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 494, 501
Oceania, 851–855, **874–879**
Offerings, **197–200,** 230, 419, 438, 439, 458, 491–492, 543–544, 563, 927, 940. *See also* Sacrifices
Ogawa Seikichi, 703
Oglala Sioux, 289, 291 (illus.), 315
O'Gorman, Frances, 230
Ögwü, 927
Ohlmarks, Ake, 144
Oirat Mongols, 564, 565
Oisin, 473
Ojibwa, 127, 278, 281, 282, **334–336**
Oka Masao, 675
Okendrajit, Maharaja, 765
Okinawa, 670, 672–673, 674, 675, **693–700**
Okipa ceremony, 10
Okladnikov, A. P., 532, 534, 606
Oklahoma, 281, 292, 337

Okomfo (akomfo), 888, 901–903, 911, 913, 943 (illus.), 944, 945 (illus.)
Olen, 479
Oliva, Father, 441
Olmec, 19, 427
Olson, Ørjan, 176
Oninsinye, 944
Ontario, 334
Ontoros, 826
Onwuejeogwu, Michael, 921
O'odham (Pima), 339–346
Oohenumpa, 315
Opler, Marvin, 93
Oppitz, Michael, 768
Oracles, Ladakhi, **756–763**
Oral traditions
  in Nepal, 776
  North American, **331–333,** 339–346
  in Oceania, 876
Orang Asli, 180, 827, 834, 835, 841
Oregon, 292
Oroch, 548, 549
Orochi people, 176
Oroqen (Orocen; Orochon), 87, **597–601**
Osiris, myth of, 906, 907–908
Osofo, 944
Ostyak (Ostiak), 96, 115, 170, 486, 491, 493
"Other," 23–24, 140, 192, 203
Otomí Indians, 368, **435–439**
Ottenberg, Simon, 927
Otter Society, 312
Out-of-body experiences, 521, 529–531. *See also* Altered state of conscious; Soul journey
Oviedo, Gonzalo Fernandez de, 383
Owummiri, 929, 930
Oya Melanau, 197

Páez, 257
Pagan Federation, 508
Paganism, 469, 476, **504–509,** 512, 514
Pahlavi Rivayat, 530
Pai Pai, 354, 356
Paiute, 90, 171, 247, 292
Pakistan, 248, 741
Paksu, 57
Paleo-Indians (Americas), 18, 275
Paleolithic Era, 16–17, 154, 383, 605
Pallas, Peter Simon, 143
Panama, 206, 365, 384
Pande, 748, 749, 750
Pandit loishang, 765
Pannatok, 257
Panteri, 93
Panther Cave rock art, 113
Papagos, 140, 340, 343–344
Papua New Guinea, 853, 865–869, 875, 877 (illus.)
Paq, 722, 723, 724
Paraguay, 172, 173, 365
Paraphernalia of Native Americans, 293
Parapsychological phenomena, 209
Parker, Arthur, 314
Parks, George, 78
Parmenides, 481
Patamuna, 396–397, 398, 406, 407
Pathology, 211–215
Paul (prophet), 36–37
Paviotso, 90
Pawang, 828
Pawnee, 281–282
Pawnee Doctors' Lodge, 281
The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game (Lesser), 281
Payés (piais), 9, 47, 257, 258, 384
Peck, Edmund James, 308
Pecos, 18
Peek, Philip, 79, 81
Peltier, Leonard, 290
Pemon, 406
Penang, Malaysia, 717
Pentikäinen, Juha, 109
People of the Long House, 288
Pepo cult, 231
Pereira de Matos, Daniel, 380, 381
Perls, Fritz, 265
Persia, 263
Personification, 5
Peru, 27, 93, 103, 172, 176, 368, 378, 379, 383, 385, 386, 388, 389, 441, **439–446**
Peter (apostle), 39
Peter the Great (Russia), 175–176, 517, 614
Peters, Larry, 207, 208
Petri, Berngard, 537
Petroglyphs, 113, 219, 220, 222, 534. *See also* Rock art
Peyote, 18, 23, 39, 277, 319, **336–339,** 389, 402, 403, 456
Peyote Road, 337
Phenomenology, 213–214
Phgup, 857
Philippines, 176, 197, 799
Philostratus, Flavius, 77
Piai (Payé), 384
Pictographs, 219. *See also* Rock art
Pilagá, 411, 461
Pilgrimage, **201–204,** 402, 403–404, 443
Pilsudski, Bronislav, 99
Pima, 277–278, **339–346**
Pinart, Alphonse L., 358, 359
Pittin, Renee, 923
Placebo effect, 150, 151
Plains Indians (U.S.), 176, 225
Plants
  medicinal, 386, 458, 518, 529
  psychoactive use of, 18, 19, 111, 112–115, 116, 251, 378–382, 386, 388–390, 402, 436, 439–440, 442–443, 456, 479
  sacred, 420, 436, 897, 914, 916, 937
Plateau Indians, North American, 8, 9, 10
Plateau Prophet Movement, 288
Plateau Salish, 332
Plato, 140, 481
Platov, Anton, 514
Pliny the Elder, 471, 475, 518
Plumley, Daniel, 637–638, 639
Pocs, Eva, 509
Poetry, oral in India, 745, 746
Polar Eskimos, 302
Pollock, Donald, 376
Polynesia, 207, 851, 853, 870, 874, 875
Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race (Grey), 869
Pommaret, Françoise, 791
Popol Vuh, 134, 428, 433
Popov, A. A., 548
Poppe, Nikolai, 587
Possession, 66–67, 189, 208, 235, 244–245, 246, 247, 251, 254, 269
  in Africa, 888, 889, 891–894, 902–903, 908, 911–912, 913, 917, 930, 940, 956–957, 958, 959, 960
  in China and Sino-Asia, 714, 729, 733–735
  demonic, **74–78,** 249–250
  in Eurasia, 581 (illus.), 642
  in Japan, 678
  in Latin America, 452–453
  in Oceania, 878
  in South Asia, 753, 758, 759, 761, 762, 779, 780–781, 784–790
  in Southeast Asia, 817, 820
  spirit, **228–234,** 235, 236–237
Possession and healing cults (Africa), 921, 951, 952

Poswimi, 304
Potanin, Grigorij N., 143, 558, 560
Potter, Jack, 716, 718
Pottier, Richard, 722
Pozdneev, Alexei M., 558, 587
Pravoslavya, 508
Prempeh, King, 46 (illus.)
Price-Williams, Douglass, 89, 90, 207, 208
Priestesses
in Eurasia, **601–608**
in India, 763
Okinawan, 693–700
in Sri Lanka, 773–774
The Primitive Religion of the Peoples Neighboring Japan (Torii), 675
Prithvi Narayan Shah, 766–767
Prophet Dance, 172, **287–292**
Prophets, 169, 283, 288–290, 295, 878, 901
Psychedelic Drugs, **111–117**
Psychedelic revolution, 369
Psychobiological Therapy, 192, 194
Psychology and shamanism, 27–28, 64, 93, 143, 144, 187–195, **204–211,** 227, 232–233, 265, 269–270, 489–499, 513
The Psychomental Complex of the Tungus (Shirokogoroff), 144, 235, 268
Psychoneuroimmunology, 266
Psychopathology and shamanism, **211–217,** 232, 251, 261
Psychopomp, 207, **217–218,** 237, 253, 325, 327, 583, 813
Psychotherapy, 498–499
Pueblo Indians, 115, 278, 283, 303, **346–350**
Puerto Rico, 365, 394, 449
Puhvel, Jaan, 504
Puranas, 752, 788
Purev, Otgony, 650
Putumayan shamanism, 167
Puyas, 765
Puysegur, Marquis de, 149
Puyuma, 855, **880–884**
Pygmies, 886, 907
Pyrolatreia, 127
Pythagoras, 469, 480

Qadiriyya, 931
Qiang, 707, **725–729**
Qianlong, Emperor, 584
Qilajuq, 308
Qimuksiraaq, 309
Qing dynasty, 582–583, 650
Qojas, 570, 572, 573
Qom, 461
Qu Yuan, 72, 712
Queen Mother of the West, cult of, 72
Quiche Maya, 367, 368, **446–449**

Radin, Paul, 282
Rai, 743, **775–778**
Rain rituals, 71, 72, 220, 283, 336, 709, 710, 736, 938
Rainbow Serpent, 154, 155, 159, 862, 863
Rajasthan, 742, **784–790**
Rāmāyaṇa, 752, 832
Rammā, 768
Rarámuri, 90, 367, 453, 454, 455–458, 459–460
Rasmussen, Knud, 156, 165, 308, 309, 310
Rattray, Robert S., 902, 912
Ravens as imagery, 11, 331, 332, 351, 474, 512
Record of Exile, 618
"Records of Ancient Matters," 676
Records of Rites, 711
Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo, 118, 154, 155
Reincarnation, 487
Reindeer imagery, 255, 534, 547, 548, 553, 555, 556
Retrieving souls, 877
Rewe, 420
Ṛg Veda, 779, 780
Rilke, Rainer Maria, 26
Rimbaud, Arthur, 26
Rinčen, Byambiin, 542
Ringatu faith, 873
Rites of passage, 8, 201. *See also* Initiation
The Rites of Zhou, 71, 710
Rituale Romanum, 76
Rituals, shamanic, **161–169**
The River Between (Ngugi), 950
Roadmen, 337, 338
Rock art, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 113, 118, 154, 155, 159, 181, **219–223,** 357, 383, 474, 502, 532, 533, 534, 535
Rodriguez, Gregorita, 395
Rogi, 368, 437
Role taking, 192–193
Rolling Thunder, 54
Rome, 478
Romuva, 508
Rosa (Tuvan shaman), 638 (illus.), 640 (illus.)
Roseman, Marina, 110
Rosicrucianism, 412
Roth, Gabrielle, 266
Rothenberg, Jerome, 26
Rouget, Gilbert, 100, 229
Royal Museum for Central Africa, 174, 177
Rozwadowski, Andrzej, 16
Rua Kenana, 873
Ruck, Carl A. P., 506
Rudgley, Richard, 112
Ruhani, 941
Rumi, Mevlana Jalal-ud-bin, 241, 248
Rungus, 199
Rupert, Henry, 90
Russell, John, 531
Russia
folklore in, **509–513**
modern shamanism in, 508, **513–516**
shamanism in, 42–46, 143, 170, 175–176, 629
witchcraft in, **516–519**
See also Siberian shamanism
Russian Museum of Ethnography, 174, 175 (illus.)
Russian Orthodox Church, 42–44, 45, 170, 575, 614, 633

Saami (Sami) culture, 12, 13, 254, 500–501, 502, 503, 507, 508
Sabina, Maria, 384
Sachs, Curt, 183
Sacred bundles, 433
Sacrifice
animal, 4, 6, 14, 33, 95, 97, 141, 148, 159, **197–200,** 230, 403, 419, 454, 458, 491, 537, 585, 631, 644, 750, 849, 887, 918, 926, 928
human, 71–72, 480
Safwi, 943
Sahagun, 337
Saint Vitus' dance, 248
Sake, 664, 703
Sakha, 14, 27, 119, 133, 536, 537, 538, **608–615**
Sakhalin Ainu, 660, 661, 663, 664
Saladin d'Anglure, Bernard, 262
Salish, 91, 172, 225, 332
Salmon as imagery, 8, 10, 331, 700–701
Salmon Festival (Tsugaru), 700–701
Salomon, 302
Salomon Islands, 127
Saman jarin, 96
Sambia, 866, 867
Samburu, 229
Samoedians, 13
Samoyed, 158, 170, 263, 510, 619

Samuel (prophet), 36
Samuel, Geoffrey, 33, 778, 791
San, 20, 24–25, 30, 118, 219, 891, 915, 919. *See also* Bushmen
San Pedro cactus, 383, 389, 439, 440
Sanamahism, 765
Šanar, 542, 543–544
Sanchez, Alison, 79
Sandpainting, 321, 322–323
Sangam anthologies, 745, 746–747
Sangoma, 896 (illus.)
Sanimuinak, 157
Sans Arc, 315
La Santa Cruz de Caravaca, 380
Santa Rosa (plant), 436
Santería, 230, 249, 366, 371, **449–453**
Santo Daime, 381, 412, 413
Sanžeev, Garuna, 587
Saradzakov, E., 575
Sarris, Greg, 290
Sasaki Kokan, 675
Saskatchewan, 334
Sather, Clifford, 813
Sau, 909
Sauer, Martin, 45–46
Sauneron, Serge, 908
Sayan Turks, 14, 184
Scapulimancy, 79
Scare Face, 331, 332, 333
Der Schamane in uns (Uccusic), 496
Schizophrenia theories of shamanism, 64, 65, 122, 206, 207, 212, 213, 214, 268
Schura, 568
Scientific Center for the Study of Shamanism, 638
Séances, 162
  in Africa, 888, 953
  in Eurasia, 165, 553, 575–576, 575 (illus.), 577 (illus.), 583, 585, 596
  in Greenland, 297, 299, 301, 302
  Native American, 308
  in South Asia, 748, 749, 750, 760, 777, 792, 795, 796
  in Southeast Asia, 184, 197, 816, 829, 836 (illus.), 838 (illus.)
Seblang, 817
The Secret History of the Mongols, 545, 546, 586, 595
Secret Societies, 281–285, 312–315
Secunda, Brant, 50
Sedna, 99, 100, 331, 333
Seiðr cult, 502–503, 506, 507
Sekani, 288
Selako Dayak shamans, 838 (illus.)
Self-mortification, 74, 736, 737 (illus.)
Self-sacrifice, 751
Selkups, 548, 549, 554, 619
Semai, **827–831**
Semenovna, Alexandra (Schura), 568
Seneca, 288, 314
Senegal, 4
Senufo societies, 5
Serpent imagery, 20, 154, 155, 159, 327. *See also* Snake imagery
Serqet, priests of, 909
Sewang gelap, 829,
Sewang terang, 829, 830
Sexual metaphors, 158–159
Shadow puppetry, **832–834**
Shake the Pumpkin, 282
Shaman/healer (term), 65–66, 80, 846
Shamanic flight (journey), 36, 37, 148, 149, 151, 165. *See also* Soul journey (flight)
Shamanic power
  in Africa, 935
  in Mexico, 403
  Native American, 292–293, 341–342, 352–353, 354–355
  in South America, 463
  in Southeast Asia, 826
Shamanic realism, 415
Shamanism
  black and white, 536–539, 540, 541, 650, 651
  dark side of, 271–274
  definition of, ix, xi, xv, 21, 22, 35, 41, 48, 62, 63, 69, 119, 142, 169, 187–188, 202, 236, 237, 317, 432, 484, 496, 666, 669, 713, 717–719, 767, 768, 800, 807, 835, 837, 860, 886, 898, 911, 919, 925
  derogation and suppression of, 44–46, 47, 68, 119–122, 143, 267–269, 279, 337, 369, 381, 389, 398, 410, 441, 461–462, 503, 551, 565, 567, 575, 576, 579, 602, 619, 637, 650, 880, 883, 898, 930, 957
  idealization of, 143, **144–146**
  origin of, 16–18, 478, 497, 618, 835
  revival of, 596, 625
  study of, 142–146, 187–188
  universals of, 187–188
Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy (Eliade), ix, xi, xix, 48, 145, 675, 886
Shamans
  malevolent, 205, 271–274, 352, 353, 396–399, 406–409, 441–442
  paraphernalia and objects of, 402, 420, 443–444, 543, 572–573, 600, 606, 641, 702, 727–728, 793–795, 882, 887–888, 893, 902, 916–917, 929, 932, 937, 952, 959
  personality traits of, 206–207, 215
Shaman's Drum, 210
Shambala, 514
Shang dynasty, 71, 709
Shanidar cave, 112
Shape-shifting, 255, 433, 472
Sharanahua Indians, 93
Sharon, Douglas, 201
Shawnee, 288
Shembe, Isaiah, 960
Sherrat, Andrew, 17
Shetani, 939
Shey oracle, 762
Shinto, 675, 677, 852
Shipibo, 385
Shipibo-Conibo, 378
Shirokogoroff, Sergei, 95, 97, 122, 123, 144, 235–236, 237, 268, 751, 767, 768, 780
Shors, 549
Shortland, Edward, 870, 871
Shoshone, 292, 346
Shuar, 380
Shugendō, **689–693**
Shuowenzi, 709
Sibe, 525, **615–618**
Siberian shamanism, 153, 154, 217, 252, 485, 525, 551–557, **618–627**
  animal imagery and, 148, 255, 547–551, 553, 555, 556, 620, 622
  art and artifacts in, 27, 113, 175–176
  black and white shamans in, 536–539, 540, 541
  colonial influences on, 42–44, 45–46
  costumes, 58–60, 60 (illus.), 133, 547, 548, 554
  cross-gender behavior and, 133, 158, 159, 207, 259

drums and, 95–97, 98, 102, 103, 104, 105, 154, 548, 549, 550, 553, 554
hallucinogen use in, 113, 115, 268
healing and, 567–568, 625
messianism in, 170–171
modern, 513–514
origin of shamanism and, 16, 29, 119 142, 532, 618
performance rituals of, 84, 86–87, 108, 123, 127
studies of, 62–63, 235–236
See also individual peoples
Siberian tiger, 14
Sicangu, 315
Sidhas, 791
Sihasapa, 315
Siilaka, 62–63, 67, 509
Sikadwa, 910
Sikkim, 790
Silver, Daniel, 164, 213
Silverman, Julian, 122, 206, 213
Singapore, 705, 707, **732–736**
Singh, M. Chandra, 765
Singing, 156, 162–163, 314–315, 340–341, 355, 385, 404, 472, 509, 640, 673, 782, 908
Sinhala, 773, 774
Sino-Asia, **705–739**
Siona, 378
Sioux, 171, 289, 290, 291 (illus.), 332, 335, 336
The Sixth Grandfather, 316
Skin walkers, 320
Slavic Communities Union, 508
Slotkin, James, 337
Smirennikov, Ivan, 44
Smith, Morton, 37
Smith, S. Percy, 872
Smithsonian Institute's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), 177
Smohalla cult, 288
Smoking Lodge ceremony, 336
Snake cult, 72
Snake imagery, 8, 13, 155–156, 294, 327, 328, 351, 492, 511, 776, 929
Snake, Reuben, 338
Society for the Anthropology of Consciousness, 210
Society of Mystic Animals, 314
Society of Tuvan Shamans, 638
Socrates, 481
Sodnom, B., 587, 591
Solomon, King, 36, 39
Soma ritual, 483, 779
Somalia, 230
Songhay, 230, 955
Sora, 122
Sorcery, 188, 205, **271–274**
in Africa, 895, 896–897, 898, 933, 939, 948, 950, 959, 960
Chinese, 722
in Egypt, 909
in Eurasia, 536, 537
in Latin America, 385, 396, 397, 398, 399, 437–438, 441
in North America, 294, 305, 351
in Oceania, 863, 871, 876
Soul flight, 470, 473–474
Soul journey (flight), 29, 63, 64–65, 73, 119, 169, 188, 189, 191, 207, 208, 217–218, 229, 235, 251, 254, 379, 481, 529–531, 552, 610, 844, 886
Soul retrieval, 64–65, 125, 165, 199, **225–228,** 237, 294, 295, 301, 362, 379, 458, 481, 500, 555, 556, 572, 578, 599–600, 668, 837, 844, 877, 911
Soul Retrieval (Ingerman), 227
Souls, 218, 235, **237,** 489–490, 620, 624–625, 628, 808, 887, 907
multiplicity of, 531, 578, 610, 627, 835, 843, 907
South Africa, 155, 156, 159, 896 (illus.), 914–920, 949, 957–961
South America, 103, 120, 127, 153, 154, 159, 172–173, 176, 217, 257, 365–381, **382–393,** 394–464. *See also individual countries and peoples*
South Dakota, 315
South Korea, 85 (illus.). *See also* Korea
Southern Coast Salish, 91
Southern Paiute, 292
Southwest (U.S.), 176, 247, 303, 346. *See also individual peoples*
Souza Ferreira, Gilson, 371
Soviet communism, 119, 175, 202, 551, 557, 565, 567, 579, 602, 613, 619, 637, 650
Soyot, 549
Spare, Austin Osman, 27
Speake, G., 24
Speck, Frank G., 312, 314
Spier, Leslie, 172, 288
Spirit cults, 230
in Swahili, **938–942**
Spirit flight, 864
Spirit incorporation, 207, 208
Spirit journey, 29, 73, 413, 837. *See also* Soul journey
Spirit Lords, Burmese, **803–806**
Spirit mediums. *See* Mediums
Spirit possession. *See* Possession
Spirit women (Papua New Guinea), 868
Spirit Worlds, Pueblo, 346–347
Spirit Writing, **729–732**
Spirits, **235–238**
in Africa, 892, 894, 896, 910, 921, 922, 936, 937–938, 939–942, 952
animal, 3
Chinese, 716, 723
communication with, 78–82, 187, 192–193, 247, 261, 732–735
definition of, 235
in Eurasian shamanism, 235, 236, 577–578, 627, 630, 235, 236
Evil, 38–39, 74–77, 124–125, 537, 630, 644
in Greenland, 298
in India, 750, 753–754, 785–789
in Japan, 677–678
in Latin America, 418–419
Native Americans, 293, 346–347
in Nepal, 768, 769
in Oceania, 878
in Southeast Asia, 817, 824–825, 847–850
Spiritual Churches, 330
Spiro, Melford, 837
Sri Lanka, 31, 741, 773–774
Stadling, J., 122
Staniszewski, Mary, 22
Stargazing, 321–322
Stars, 371–373
State Museum of the Buryat People, 178
State oracles, 742, 762
Stephen, Alexander, 304
Stephen, Michele, 866
Stewart, Omer, 337
Stoicism, 483
Stone Age, 20, 532
Stonehenge, 477 (illus.)
Stones as imagery, 727
Strabo, 474
Sudan, 230, 397, 947
Sufism, **238–242,** 248, 527, 570, 646, 931, 932, 933, 934
Sukhareva, Olga, 630

Sulamith, 718
Sulawesi, 834, 835, 839
Sullivan, Lawrence E., 159
Sumangat, 843
Sumankwafo, 913
Sumatra, 812, 834, 835
Sumerians, 102, 105
Sun creator, 8
Sun Dance, 282, 289, 290, 293, 315, 336
Supreme Council of the Gentile Hellenes, 508
Suriname, 365
Svasthāveśa, 780
Swahili, 230, 231, **938–942**
Swallow social dancing songs, 340–342, 345
Sweden, 54, 55, 500
Swedish Association for Nordic Shamanism: Yggdrasil, 54
SwiftDeer, Harley, 54
Swnw, 909
Symbolism, 39–40, 58–60, 36, 140, 161–162, 183–184, 189, 193–194, 210, 215, 428, 430, 432, 433, 446–447, 929
  animal, 3–16
  tree, 36, 97, **263–264,** 420, 475, 488–489, 494, 511, 543, 549, 583, 612–613, 937
Symposium (Socrates), 481

Taboca, 286
Tabu, 876
Tahiti, 879
Tain bo Cuailnge, 471, 474, 506
Taishin, 170
Taiwan, 73, 84, 209, 705, 707, 715, **736–739,** 851, 852, 855, 857–860, 880–884
Taiwanos, 389
Tajik, **629–632**
Tajikistan, 240, 629
Takánakapsâluk, 10
Tale of Genji (Lady Murasaki), 677
Taliesin pen Beirdd, 471, 473
Talismans, 73, 352, 932–933
Taman, 800–801, 840, **842–847**
Tamang, 209
Tambores, 452–453
Tamil, 742, 745–747, 753, 754
Tamuramaro, Gen. Sakanoueno, 703
Tanaka, Sakurako, 659
Tang, King, 71, 710
Tang-ki, 715
Tanoan, 346
Tantra, 752, 759–760, 762, 767, 781, 791
Tantrism, 32, **243–247**
Tanzania, 896, 939
Tapirapé, 91–92, 93, 387
Tapu, 854, 870–871
Taqhisma, 300 (illus.)
Tarahumara, 367, 389, **453–461**
Tarantism, 250
Tassili plateau petroglyphs, 113, 113 (illus.)
Tatars, 573, 602
Taurisci, 473
Taussig, Michael, 167
Täwip, 569, 570, 572
Te Kooti, 873
The Teachings of Don Juan (Castaneda), 498
Tedlock, Dennis, 429
Teleut, 158, 527, **632–637**
Temiar, 110, 180, 184, 827, 829
Tennay, Ulu, 256
Tenochtitlán, 427
Teotihuacán, 427
Teresa of Avila, 466
Tertullian, 39
Tesguino, 455, 458
Tewa, 348
Texas, 113
Thailand, 799, 806–810, 840, **847–850**
Theraputic processes, 64, 188, 192
Theravada Buddhism, 799, 803
Thevet, André, 267, 383
Tholos, 480 (illus.)
Thomas, Keith, 162
Thomas the Rhymer, 475
Thornton, John, 946
Thoughts About Miko (Yanagita), 674
Thule culture, 297
Thundercloud, 282
Tibet, 33, 58 (illus.), 60, 96, 104–105, 122, 217, 529, 741, 742, 759, 760, **790–798**
Tigers, 13, 14, 258
Tijaniyya, 931
Tikopia, 875, 878
Tindale, Norman, 864
Tipai, 354, 355, 356
Tisdall, Caroline, 26
Titiev, Mischa, 304
Tlingit, 176, 181, 225
Toba, 369, 411, **461–464,** 812
Tobacco, 134, 198, 277, 352–353, 379, 383, 388, 402, 444
Tofa, 547, 548, 549
Togo, 929, 930
Tohono O'odham, 334, 343
Tohunga, 853, 854, 871, 872–873
Toledo, Alejandro, 445
Tonga ghosts, 75
Toraja, 812
Torii Ryuzo, 675
Torrey, E. Fuller, 209, 210
Totems, 12, **13,** 190–191, 219, 334, 351, 487, 510, 580
Tourism and shamanism, 48, 146, 203, 496, 515
Trance dance, **247–250,** 266
  in Africa, 6, 20, 24, 25, 219, 220, 247, 248, 249, 889, 892, 893, 894, 908
  in Afro-America, 249
  in Egypt, 908–909
  in Eurasia, 248, 631
  in Japan, 247, 661
  Native Americans and, 171–172, 247, 305
  in South Asia, 748, 749, 782
  in Southeast Asia, 819, 820, 830
Trances, 119, 140, 166, 167, 214, 215, 220, 222, **250–255,** 269
  animals and, 4–5, 6
  drumming and music and, 96, 100, 162, 251
  hallucinogens and, 96, 114, 167
  hypnosis and, 149–151
  initiation and, 127, 157, 252–253
  possession and, 208, 228–229, 231, 237, 251
  New Age and, 265–266
Transformation, 2**55–259**
Transvestitism, 133, 159, 197–198, **259–263,** 631, 648, 839, 841, 918, 923
Tree of Life, 263
Tree symbolism, 36, 97, **263–264,** 420, 475, 488–489, 494, 511, 543, 549, 583, 612–613, 937
Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, 120
Tricks, shamanic, 123, 165, 167, 472
Trickster, 9, 11, 220
Trio shamans, 159
Troeltsch, Ernst, 55
True Discourse (Best), 308
Tsagaan Salaa/Baga Oigor, 533, 535
Tsataan, 594, 596
Tsimshian, 332
Tsing, Anna, 814
Tsugaru, **700–704**
Tswana, 45

Tuareg, 161, 162–163, 166–167, 249
Tuatha de Danaan people, 472
Tukanos, 118, 133, 257, 258, 378, 389, 412
Tungilik, Victor, 309, 311
Tungus, 60, 60 (illus.), 95–96, 97, 98, 100, 119, 142, 153, 159, 235–236, 237, 263, 478, 551, 558, 582, 597, 618, 619, 622
Tupian groups, 384, 399
Tupí-Guaraní society, 173, 366
Tupinamba, 267, 383
Turkey, 241
Turkic groups, 14, 15, 95, 179, 569, 570, 579, 602, 608, 632
Turnbull, Colin, 886
Turner, Edith, 164, 165, 166
Turtle Mountain Band, 336
Tusukur, 659, 660, 661, 662
Tusu-sinotca, 662–663
Tutepa, 935
Tuuka, 539
Tuvans, 13, 14, 60, 176, 179, 255, 261, 514, 526–527, 536, 537, 549, 557–558, 564, 602, **637–642**
Twasa, 914, 917
Twin cult of the Akan, **942–946**
Two Kettle, 315
Tylor, Edward B., 161, 162
Tz'utujiil Maya, 367, 425, 426

Uath, 473
Uccusic, Paul, 496
Uchendu, Victor, 927
Ufufunyane, 959
Ugra, 170
Ugrians, 96, 486
Uji shui monogatari, 676
Ukraine, 508
Ul'chi, 14
Uljalġas, 571
Umbanda, 230, 249, 366, 371, 381
Umik, 311
UMIYAC (Unión de Médico Indígenas Yageceros de la Amazonía Colombiana), 380
Underhill, Ruth Murray, 140
Ungur, 863
Uniâo do Vegetal (UDV), 381
United Kingdom, 471, 473–474, 508, 519
Urban Shamanism, **265–266,** 386, 389
Uriankhai, 558
Urik, Inang, 826
Ur-religion, 112
Uruguay, 365
Ushewokunze, Herbert, 898, 899
Utah, 292, 318
Ute, 93, 292, 293
Uvavnuk, 308
Uyghur, 527, **642–646**
Uzbekistan, 239, 574, 629
Uzbeks, **646–649**

Vahrām II, King, 530
Vaí-mahsë, 8, 10
Vajrabodhi, 245
Valentinianism, 466
Valikhanov, Chọkan, 570
Van Gennep, Arnold, 144
Vassiliev, Savej, 553
Vavlyo Neniang, 170
Vedas, 751, 780, 788
Vegetalistas, 379–380, 386, 440
Vendidad, 531
Venezuela, 123, 134, 365, 389, 394, 396, 398
Veniaminov, Ioann, 44
Veniaminov, Ivan, 358
Veps, 486
Verbitsky, V. I., 14
Vietnam, 181, 799, 840
Vinogradov, Andreï, 515
Vīrāz the Just, 530
Vision of Rhonabwy, 475
Vision quests, 18, 91–92, 116, 188, 220, 221, 293, 304, 521
Visions, 51, **89–95,** 109–110, 111, 154–156, 189, 247, **267–270,** 288, 316–317, 413
The Visit to Tuonela, 502
Visualization, 521
Vodu, 930
Vogt, Evon, 428
Voguls, 486, 488, 489, 492, 494, 548
Vollweiler, Lothar, 79
Voluspá, 505, 506
Volx, Vsieslavl's son, 509
"Voodoo death," 151
Vots, 486
Votyaks, 486, 487, 490, 491, 493
Voudou (Vodou; Voodoo), 4, 75, 229, 230, 231, 232, 249, 323–331, 366, 416, 450, 901, 930
Voznesienskii, Ilia, 358

Wab, 909
Wabanowin, 335
Wachawi, 939
Waganga (mganga), 939, 940
Waganga wa kichwa, 939
Waganga wa kitabu, 939, 941, 942
Waganga wa miti shamba, 939
Waganga wa pepo, 939, 941
Wagley, Charles, 91
Wahhabis, 933–934
Wahhabiyya, 933
Wairua, 871
Waite, Gloria M., 895
Waiyaki, 950
Walamira, 862
Walbiri, 863
Wales, 471, 473–474
Walimu (mwalimu), 939, 940, 941
Wallace, Anthony F. C., 122, 213, 290
Walsh, Roger, 204
Wana, 110, 198, 814, 839
Wang (Shaman), 719–721
Wang Honggang, 598
Wang Kang, 728
Wang Yi, 72, 712
Warao, 110–111, 134, 181, 386, 396–397, 398, 399
Wari', 377
Washo, 90, 120, 123
Wassa, 943
Wasson, R. Gordon, 384, 506
Wat Lampang Luang, 848
Watan-Tanga, 857
Watson, Aaron, 180
Watun, Pony Dick, 353
The Way and It's Virtues (Daodejing), 72
Way of Beauty, 319–320
The Way of the Shaman (Harner), 50, 265, 427, 513
Wayang kulit, 832–834
Weather control, 295, 311, 472
Weber, Max, 166
Wee, Vivienne, 735
Welcoming the Drum rite, 681, 683, 684
West, Harry, 950
West Africa, 928–934
Western Shoshone, 292
Whirling dervishes, 240 (illus.), 241, 248
White shamans, **536–539,** 540, 541, 651
White Stone, 727
Wicca, 476, 508, 519
Wiimbaio, 861
Wilbert, Johannes, 110, 398
Wildness, 47–48
Williams, Walter, 207
Willis, Roy, 886
Wilson, Jack (Wovoka), 281, 289
Wilson, Sheryl, 207

Wind as imagery, 820
Windigokanak, 336
Wingirin, 861
Winkleman, Michael, 62, 63, 80, 187, 204–205, 207, 208, 215, 272, 276, 354, 846
Winnebago, 282, 337, 338
Winstedt, Richard O., 813, 837
Winzeler, Robert, 807
Wiradjeri, 861
Wireenan, 861
Wiringan, 861
Wisconsin, 282, 334
The Witch Cult in Western Europe (Murray), 520
Witch doctors
  African, 935
Witch Rangda, 231
Witchcraft and witches, 68, 231, **271–274**
  in Africa, 889, 895, 898, 915, 933, 936, 939, **946–951**
  in Latin America, 396, 397, 398, 399, 418, 441, 458–459
  modern, 519–522
  Norse, 503
  in North America, 287, 305, 316, 320, 349–350
  in Russia, 516–519
  in South Asia, 769, 770, 786
  in Southeast Asia, 850
  See also Sorcery; Wicca
Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande (Evans-Pritchard), 974, 949
Witchcraft Suppression Act (1899), 898
Witherspoon, Gary, 140
Witoto, 389
Witsen, Nicolas, 44
Witsuwit'en (Western Carrier), 288, 288, 290
Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 140
Wixárika, 367, **399–406**
Wodizob, 171
Wolff, Janet, 22
Wolf-Shaman, **256–257,** 404
Wolof peoples, 5, 66
Women as shamans, 63, 66, 131–135, 261, 383–384, 394–396, 444, 601, 839, 840, 918
Woodland Culture (North American), 312, 334
World Congress of Ethnic Religions, 508
World Tree, 36, 263–264, 511
Wounded Knee, Battle of, 171, 289, 290, 316
Wovoka, 171, 281, 289
Wright, Robin, 376
Wu (shaman kings), 71, 72, 709
Wuma (Horse shaman) Qi, 711
Wyoming, 292

Xangô, 230
Xerxes, 483
Xese Xengerg, 625
Xesibe, 915
Xhosa, 889, 914–915, 917–918, 919

Yahey, Charlie, 290
Yaka, 889, **951–954**
Yakuts, 14, 43–44, 45, 46, 97, 119, 148, 154, 157, 158, 159, 255, 263, 264, 511, 536, 537, 538, 549, 605–606, **608–615,** 621
Yali, 878
Yamabushi priest, 692 (illus.)
Yamada Hidezō, 703
Yamana, 157
Yaminahua, 385
Yan Bori, 923
Yan Duada, 923
Yanagita Kunio, 674, 678
Yanan period, 717
Yang Xi, 73
Yanomami, 389
Yaqui, 50, 162, 265
Yellow Shamans, **649–652**
Yellow Turban Movement, 73
Yenissei shamans, 59
Yi dynasty, 654
Yi people, 84
Yokuts, **350–354**
Yoruba, 248
Yu, myth of, 71, 72, 73, 710
Yukagir, 58, 98, 99, 608
Yukar, 662–663
Yuman, **354–358**
Yunnan, 179
Yupik, 98, 99, 176, **358–364**
Yurak, 170
Yurayaco, 380
Yurok, 131
Yuta, 694–699
Yuwipi, 317, 335

Zaki, 368, 436–437
Zambia, 75, 896, 934–938, 948, 952
Zande (Azande), 81, 272, 273, 397, 947–948
Zapotec, 383
Zar cult, 230, 231, 249
Zarma, 230, **954–957**
Zeno, 483
Zhang Daoling, 73
Zhang Jue, 73
Zhao Liben, 598
Zhou dynasty, 71
Zhuangzi (Zhuang Zhou), 72, 706, 711, 712
Zimas, 889, 954–955, 957
Zimbabwe, 155, 159, 896, 898
Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers' Association (ZINATHA), 889, 898–899
Zinacanteco shamans, 213
Zionism, 960
Zombis, 327
Zoroastrianism, 96, 466, 504, 529, 530, 629
Zulu, 896 (illus.), 914, 918, **957–961**
Zuni, 115, 127, 260, 306, 346, 348, 349, 367, **446–449**
Zuo Commentary, 711
Zyrians, 486, 487, 490, 491, 492

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Mariko Namba Walter is a visiting professor and teaches Shamanism and Asian Religions at Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA. Her publications include *Tokharian Buddhism in Kucha: Buddhism of Indo-European Centum Speakers in Chinese Turkestan before the Tenth Century* and she is the primary editor for the forthcoming *Death Rituals and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism: A Historical Perspective* by University of Hawaii Press.

Eva Jane Neumann Fridman, author of *Sacred Geography: Shamanism in the Buddhist Republics of Russia* and numerous articles on Shamanism, is a practicing psychotherapist and anthropologist. She has been a senior fellow at Harvard University, Center for the Study of World Religions, and taught courses on Shamanism at Brown University.