

# **AASC NEWSLETTER**

Association for the Anthropological Study of Consciousness

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## WHO ARE THE SHAMANS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY?

by Ruth-Inge Heinze, University of California, Berkeley

#### Introduction

Are shamans a phenomenon of the past? Is it nostalgia which draws us to shamanism? Why do we want to revive the heritage of the paleolithic and deceive ourselves with imitations of ancient traditions? Do imitations obstruct the development of new traditions? Who are the shamans of the twentieth century?

Clearly, we are not living in hunting and gathering societies anymore. Most of us live in big cities. Is it possible that cities can develop their own shamans? I am thinking here not only of shamans who move to cities and adapt to urban life, but of people who are born in big cities and begin to shamanize without any overt or covert connection to previous traditions.

I witnessed the development of shamanic traditions in urban centers of Asia as well as in Europe and the United States, but we may question how "new" these phenomena actually are?

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#### Definition

Before we look for shamans in whatever environment they may operate, we have to agree on who can be called a shaman. Although practitioners may use a wide range of different techniques and paraphernalia, I suggest that only individuals with the following characteristics can rightfully be called shamans:

- (1) They can access alternate states of consciousness at will:
- (2) they fulfill needs of their community which otherwise are not met, and
- (3) they are mediators between the sacred and the profane.

This is compatible with Eliade's classical definition of shamans as masters of the "archaic technique of ecstasy." I prefer the above definitions because they allow me to include trance mediums. I am compelled to do so. since I discovered during my twenty-seven years of fieldwork that both shamans and mediums make journeys or "magical flights" through the world of spirits where they talk, for example, with the souls of the dead whose messages they bring back to the world of the living, or they call spiritual entities into their body and these spiritual energies then become the actors. In brief, shamans are also mediums as mediums are capable of going on "magical flights." Both can do what the other is doing. They may, indeed, enter a wide range of alternating states of consciousness during a single session. It is, therefore, more accurate to use one generic term, shaman, rather than having to refer to the same individual at one time as a shaman and at another time (perhaps only a few minutes later) as a medium.

#### Alternate States of Consciousness

When we talk about alternate states of consciousness used by shamans, it has to be mentioned that it is physically difficult to remain in a deep trance for a long time. Shamans are usually also good actors. When the audience wants to experience the invisible, they produce the expected manifestations and dramatize the ritual

process. In shamanic societies, acting out a trance is, therefore, as effective as a genuine trance. Through my long-standing friendship with shamans, I am able to distinguish whether practitioners are deeply in trance, working on intermediate levels or are not in trance at all. A forty-year-old housewife in Singapore, for example, calls the spirit of a general from the Three Kingdoms (third century A.D.) into her body every evening from 7 to 12 p.m. and twice on weekends. During onsetting trance her toes stiffen and curl. When the depth of her trance decreases, her toes release tension and uncurl. It is quite a sight to observe how she monitors the intensity of her trance during a five-hour session. Her clients look the god into his face and don't pay any attention to his (or her) toes. They won't "see" any difference.

## Is Shamanism a Religion

I have been asked whether shamanism is a religion. The word "religion" seems to imply a codified body of sacred scriptures and a priestly hierarchy which we don't find in shamanism. But when we include contact with the metaphysical and the belief in the survival of the soul, then shamanism is a religion. It is, in fact, the proto-religion underlying established world religions. It was shamans who kept the belief in spiritual protection alive.

## Shamans as Imagemakers?

As mediators between the sacred and the profane, shamans may, at times, become also the "image makers." By that, I do not mean that they necessarily create material images of deities. Statues themselves, if not activated during a ritual, are ineffective and nothing but depictions. But when the "formless" messages of the sacred become ineffable, shamans provide symbolic representations in word and action.

## Specialization

Today, we have become increasingly familiar with a wide range of specialists. For example, there are *channels* and spirit mediums who are directed by spiritual entities, some of whom claim to be divinely inspired prophets or priests, ordained to confer blessings. Some are *necromancers* who communicate with the dead. There are *clairvoyants* who perceive objects and events without any known sensory process and may also be adept in precognition. Then there are oneirocritics who interpret dreams; diviners who foretell the future by various methods; and geomancers who divine by looking at the contours of mountains, trees, and water courses to bring natural forces in harmony and to determine, for example, the auspicious site for a house or grave. In addition, there are *conjurers* who use magic spells to evoke spirits (yes, aside from *magicians* who use tricks and sleight of hand, people in modern Western societies still practice magic). There are sorcerers who use magic to harm people. Besides these there are warlocks and witches who are able to wield supernatural powers as the result of a pact with the spiritual world, and there are *exorcists* who expel intruding, i.e., "possessing," spirits. Finally, there are healers and medicine men who use natural means such as massage and herbs. Individual practitioners may master any combination of the above skills but only those who can access alternate states of consciousness at will,

fulfill needs of their community which otherwise are not met, and who are mediators between the sacred and the profane can rightfully be called *shamans*.

#### **Different Shamanic Traditions**

What are the connections between modern shamans and the shamans of the past? For European scholars, the shamans living between Lapland and the Chukchee Peninsula belong to a large unit. When reports from Russia became accessible at the end of last century and the study of shamanism was recognized in academia, the North Asiatic shaman seems to have served as a prototype, but shamanism is not exclusively an arctic phenomenon.

Since these earlier studies, ethnologists, psychologists, and historians of religion have conducted research in other countries. They report of considerable differences in paraphernalia, technique, and world-view among shamans. My personal observations, for example in Southeast Asia, indicate that the trances of Malay shamans differ considerably from the trances of Siberian shamans. Different are also the techniques to go into trance - meditation, drumming, chanting. Sometimes trance is not required at all. Moreover, for some shamans trance is a mind-expanding, whereas for others it is a dissociative experience.

## Pathology of Shamans

Some psychiatrists still maintain that shamans are suffering from some kind of mental illness. (In the case of the Siberian shaman, it is called "arctic hysteria.") Nevertheless, the 122 shamans I worked with over the last twenty-seven years, go regularly and professionally into trance, and lead a productive life which bears no indication of any pathology. Furthermore, the conditions of a hysteric or schizophrenic will, at times, be uncontrollable and, in many countries, be diagnosed as spirit-possession which requires exorcism. The trances of shamans, on the other hand, take place in a culturally acceptable framework and are controlled. These are important differences. With different geographic, climatic, and cultural circumstances we find different forms of shamanism corresponding to local needs. The stereotype of the North Asiatic shaman should no longer block our view when we meet other forms of shamanism. We also should recognize that shamans function well in their community and a diagnosis of shamans in terms of the DSM-III-R appears to be missing a point.

## Continuity of Shamanic Traditions

We find the first documentation about shamans in neolithic cave walls. From studying old cave wall drawings, which are well over 15,000 years old, we know that hunters and gatherers - that is, nomadic cultures - already had shamans. With the beginning of agriculture and the formation of settlements, the shamans' tasks changed. The necessity for hunting magic, for example, was superseded by the need for making rain or stopping floods. Socio-political developments pushed the shaman from his leading role inside a clan into the role of a specialist. Goodman (1987:282-88) has provided us with an excellent survey, from the shamans of hunting and ga-

(Continued on page 7)

#### FROM THE EDITOR ...

In this issue we have a special focus upon living spirit traditions and their transformations in the modern world. In the lead article, Dr. Heinze traces the many forms of shmanism and the changes it has undergone this century. In the second article, Ms. Torres describes the political and religious importance of the changes which the Orisa tradition holds for Hispanic and African Americans. Finally, Dr. Saklani discusses the functions of a group of shamanistic mediums in a more traditional setting in India.

In this issue I have also donned the first of my official hats as president of the *AASC*. In the *President's Message*, I have tried to sum up my thoughts on the anthropology of consciousness after nearly nine years of work in the field. It is not an easy field to summarize as it is continuing to evolve both theoretically and methodologically. Such evolution is not without dispute as past theoretical disagreements have shown. Most recently Donovan and Giesler have disagreed and their debate will undoubtedly reappear in next year's *Newsletter*. Such debate and criticism is essential for the growth of our field.

In 1989, I expect the *Newsletter* to improve with the addition of an advisory editorial board with more production support which will allow me to produce the *Newsletter* in a more timely and efficient manner. I continue to encourage members to contribute articles, news items, book reviews, etc.

Finally, I look forward to working closely with our incoming president, Geri-Ann Galanti. I believe under her very able leadership the *AASC* will grow into a stronger organization and a more effective voice in anthropology and in consciousness studies.

#### **AASC NEWS**

The *AASC* Board of Directors held a semi-annual meeting, November 11, 1988, in Oakland, California. Among the topics discussed were official affiliation of the *AASC* with the American Anthropological Association. planning for the upcoming annual meeting in Pacific Palisades, and establishing an editorial advisory board for the *Newsletter*. The regular annual meeting of the *AASC* Board of Directors will be held Thursday and Friday, March 3 & 4, 1989, at the Fifth Annual Conference of the *AASC* at Pacific Palisades, California. All board members are requested to attend to elect new officers and board members and discuss society business.

#### **BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW**

Readers interested in reviewing the following book should contact book review editor, Michael Winkelman at *AASC Newsletter*, P.O. Box 4032, Irvine, CA 92716-4032.

A Little Course in Dreams, by Robert Bosnak, (Boston: Shambhala Publications, Inc.), 1988.

#### PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

by **Jeffery L. MacDona**ld, New School for Social Research, New York City

"What is the anthropology of consciousness?" is a question I'm often asked. There is no simple or easy answer to such a question, largely because it is too hard to encapsulate the field in a sentence or a paragraph. The anthropological study of consciousness participatory/experiential and observational/analytical. It is a whole brained approach to both consciousness and to anthropology. For what do ethnographers aim for unless it be changing their everyday waking consciousness to that of their chosen culture through the manipulation of their experiences in using a different tongue and interpreting events differently, changing lifestyles, in short changing the values, assumptions about reality, beliefs, and ways of knowing. There can be no profounder changing of consciousness than that of changing cultures. The induction of the new culture has been ascribed to a form of slow hypnosis. And a powerful induction occurs with such slow hypnosis. What we call the waking state of consciousness is a cultural base line. Each culture has its own culturally specific base line.

But the anthropology of consciousness (a phrase which takes some practice to type much less say without resorting to an acronym) encompasses much more through its study of the ways in which people alter their consciousness all over the world, such methods including drugs (a highly charged word), trance inducers of various sorts such as suggestion, dancing, drums, bells, physical exhaustion, and fasting. Furthermore, we study the types of people who are expert in altering their consciousness

as well as the ways they relate to their societies. These people are called by a variety of names such as shaman (of which Castaneda's Don Juan is archetypical), medium, diviner, healer, magician, medicine man, and ecstatic to name a few.

Yet this tells again only one part of the story, that of the individual's role in consciousness. There is yet the fascinating first hand accounts and experientially derived beliefs about the nature of the altered reality (what reality is or seems to be while in an ASC). Such reports emanate from all corners of the globe and from every culture. Though cultural integrity is difficult to obtain today, there is much similarity between cultures on certain key issues related to consciousness, a not unlikely occurrence given the biological similarity of humans everywhere.

One area of agreement concerns an area of human ability, the psychic, which we often relegate to a doubtful ontological status. However, many facets of psychic ability are integral to cultural systems. Again we bump into cultures and what their cultural base line of normal waking consciousness suggests is real. More common than just psychic abilities is the belief in other dimensions or domains of reality inhabited by sentient and insentient beings which are able to influence our own reality.

This view of the anthropology of consciousness sounds most interesting, touching as it does upon parapsychology and mythology. In general, anthropology has long been the domain of myth and folklore and as such has a rich amount of data and analysis to draw from for the exploration of myth and consciousness. In this such giants as Eliade, Jung, and Campbell have pointed the way. Parapsychology, on the other hand, has remained a problem for anthropology as much as for

psychology and other disciplines despite the fact that anthropologists have had numerous chances to observe unusual and possibly paranormal events in the field. In private I have heard of many experiences from anthropologists, but most have never published them.

Anthropologists generally have been reluctant to mount parapsychological investigations in the field for a variety of reasons. Ethnography in general relies upon a somewhat subjective method involving both the participation and observation of the ethnographer, but psychic experiences or ostensibly paranormal events often are accompanied by a much higher level of subjective intensity than everyday life. Often such experiences fly in the face of the ethnographer's scientific training and world view and previous personal experience. It is therefore not easy to accommodate psychical events into ethnological theory and less easy to validate such events given the anthropologist's lack of parapsychological methodological training and the difficulty until recently in adapting parapsychological lab based tests to the field.

Attitudes have changed in recent years particularly as many anthropologists have begun to investigate shamanism among groups using powerful consciousness changing drugs or rituals. This research and the proliferation of psychotechnologies in American culture at large has led to a far greater acceptance of the ASC and to the research importance of consciousness. Such research involving as it does the ethnographer in an intimate and personal journey inward to become a shaman or at least experience the shaman's reality has anthropologists to the importance consciousness while plunging them into the mystic's dilemma: language and its limitations upon the communication and experiencing of reality while in an ASC. How does an anthropologist who has a clearly "subjective" experience (are all experiences subjective?) while in an ASC communicate, much less incorporate, this experience and what this experience suggests about the nature of reality into the dominant paradigm of the social sciences? To be more specific, how does an anthropologist deal with information received from a "power animal" while in a "shamanic state of consciousness"? To date there has been great aversion to incorporate such experiences of "other realities" into anthropological theory.

Generally most researchers have preferred to avoid facing such ontological questions head on, involving as they do radical shifts of paradigms from a materialistic to a vitalistic universe. Instead many psychologists and physiologists have turned to studying psychophysiology of states of consciousness. And in so doing have discovered important data and scientific understanding on the relationship between the physiology of the brain and consciousness. This has in turn led to new understandings of how consciousness is altered in a variety of ways cross-culturally. Increasingly this data has been incorporated into anthropological studies of consciousness, most notably by Winkelman, to show the socio-political implications and adaptive uses of altering consciousness.

Such psychophysiological findings have also opened up questions of a new kind in linguistics. For instance, it

forces a return to the classic Sapir-Whorf debate on the role of language in determining our view of reality and on the flip side, the ways in which language itself (perhaps hypnotically) induces a state of consciousness in the listener. And to what degree is speech itself related to altered states and to telepathic forms of communication?

The research on altering consciousness through a variety of psychotechnologies has led to a reappraisal of ancient means of altering consciousness within a traditional setting. The most important of these recently has been shamanism and healing. Alternative modes of healing using psychic means and the resurgence of shamanism or neo-shamanism has opened up new theoretical questions and debate regarding the role of shamanism and healing in modern industrial society. It is clear now that shamanism and healing are not dying practices but are resurging both in updated culturally specific forms and in new eclectic forms. Not only shamanism and healing but this resurgence itself is a research interest of anthropologists of consciousness.

What then distinguishes the AASC and the anthropology of consciousness from other groups devoted to the study of consciousness? It is precisely our insistence upon the traditional interest of anthropology: the influence of human culture upon behavior and belief. Consciousness can be seen as the link between nature and culture for it is our consciousness in both the collective and individual sense which forms our sense of separateness from nature. Consciousness gives us and creates our awareness of and conception of ourselves as humans, as beings somehow apart from nature because of our culture and because of our self-awareness. The anthropology of consciousness is ultimately an investigation of the nature of human consciousness as shaped and as it shapes culture and society. As anthropologists we are not just interested in consciousness in a decontextualized form, as reduced to Western categories and thought. We must explore the numerous aspects of consciousness as they occur in different cultural contexts. Increasingly anthropologists realize that what people believe shapes their view of reality and indeed the nature of that reality itself, whether it be social, psychological, economic. political, or spiritual.

Consciousness itself is a rather unruly term which lends itself to many different definitions and interpretations. At one level it implies self-reflection and the consciousness of being conscious. It can also be used in a Marxist sense to indicate "class consciousness". Or it can be used to indicate a relative quality such as is implied in such terms as "raising consciousness" or "expanding consciousness" or "higher states of consciousness". The first of these three of course refers to changing the awareness of social and political realities of groups in society while the last two are more related to the individual. Yet all three terms suggest that consciousness is a quality which can be expanded or improved. In the final sense then the anthropology of consciousness should be aimed at expanding our awareness of the role of our own human consciousness in creating our cultures, in structuring and inventing the myths and beliefs we live by, in providing a base line for our own individual and collective realities. For only by knowing the possibilities of human consciousness in its many cultural manifestations can we truly understand our potential as a species.

## ORISA -- ITS TRANSFORMATION IN THE UNITED STATES: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, 1950'S - PRESENT

by **Marilyn Omifunke Torres**, Iyaloris Yemoja T' Sopona, Brooklyn, New York

## A West African Tradition

The Orisa Traditions currently emerging in the United States are derived from the West Ivory and Gold Coast regions of Africa. These traditions are an intricate part of the customs, values, and religious philosophies of the Yoruba people. The principles of these traditions are rooted in an "oral tradition" dating as far back as 3,000 B.C. (Bascom 1969).

The "oral traditions" consist of a series of legends, proverbs, and folktales expressing African concepts in the creation of life, the masculine and feminine forces of nature, and the process of reincarnation through ancestral worship of departed spirits (Epega 1924; Sowande ND).

It was not until the early 19th century that African Yoruba historians began teaching this "oral tradition" by correspondence under the system of divination called "Ifa/Fa" (Epega 1951). This oracle of divination is considered the ancient wisdom of the Yoruba people,

... it is not philosophy, but contains philosophy; it is not science, but contains science; it is not medicine, but contains the powers of healing, whereby many magnificent and miraculous things have been known to happen. (1)

The author of Ifa writings further elaborates:

Ifa is therefore truth, that truth which changes not. It is the cradle of our philosophy and general science, wherein the early history of the world and the remnant of ancient science and wisdom can be traced. Those who have studied it are called *Babalawos* (Ifa priest, or Fathers of the Mysteries) but, it can be studied by any general reader or by a seeker of truth. Ifa is divided into four sections, how it is *divined*, how it is *written*, how it is *read*, and how it is *applied*. We call these, divination, notation, reading, and application. It is a combination of these four principles as it was revealed by the priest prophet *ORUMILA* (who witnessed the creation of all things) (Epega 1985).

The oracle of Ifa is the principle oracle of divination by which all other systems of divination have been derived among the Yoruba people and now in the present Western Hemisphere.

The system of divination is applied to the casting of sixteen palm nuts called *lkin lfa*. These sixteen palm nuts represent sixteen principle *Odus* consisting of the principles of *light* and *darkness*. Combined there are 256 Odus, which speak of legends and proverbs associated with the first *lmales* to descend from heaven to earth, *lle-lfe*. According to Yoruba cosmology, lle-lfe is

considered the cradle of the world. For each of these Odus (256) there are 1,680 proverbs (Delano 1966), which serve as a form of communication between the forces of nature, the ancestral spirits (combined they are understood to be the multi-faceted forces known as Orisas) and human life.

It is part of Yoruba traditions that humans must maintain a continous level of open communication with these Orisas, protecting oneself and family from misfortune. Thus, the acknowledgment and appeasement of ancestors bring forth blessings of prosperity, good health, and many children.

## The Carribean: A Historical Perspective

At present, we are witnessing the surviving elements of African traditions as they have transformed in various regions of the Caribbean Basin. The transitional process of these customs reflects the different colonial policies of Spain, France, Britain, and Holland. These countries' various religious, racial, and socioeconomic colonial policies during the early slave trade of the 1600 - 1800's make up the various folkloric customs emerging in the United States and South America.

This process of acculturation has created the foundation of "informal" religious folklaws unique to those regions in the Caribbean. Thus, among the Haitian and Jamaican populations there exist devotees of Songo/S/Chango, and Vodun (Simpson 1964; Braithaite 1981), among the Brazilians and South Americans the devotees of Macumba and Candomblé (Nodal 1978; Setch 1972; Verger 1940), among the Puerto Ricans devotees of Espiritismo (Mercado ND), among the Dominicans devotees of Luases(2), and among Cuban devotees Santeria and Palo (Cortez-Garcia 1971; Cabrera 1970, 1983; Canet 1973; Croz-Sandoval 1975).

## **Cuba: Migration to the United States**

It was in the early 1950's when the first migration of Cubans entered the United States that the "informal" foundations of Orisa practices under the folkloric customs of Santeria were established. Many who were well-versed in these customs saw the applicability of these traditions in their adjustment to a new urban environment. Ernest Cassier relates, "...in desperate situations, man will always have recourse to desperate means...if reason has failed us, there remains always the 'ultimate ratio' the power of the miraculous, and the mysterious." It is important to mention at this point that the ambivalence of Western society coupled with historical oppression are the key factors which have contributed to the "codes of secrecy" attributed to ritual and ceremonial "rites of passage" (Halifax and Wiedman, ND).

In recent years the ritual and folkloric practices of Santeria and Palo have emerged as the key "informal" foundations of Orisa practices within the United States. There are many unique dynamics within the present folkloric religious Afro-Cuban structure which emphasizes the merger of Catholic/Christian Iconolatry and Yoruba Dieties (Orisas). These racial, economic, and cultural differences reflect many diverse "functional" perspectives and interpretations of Orisa among the current *less* (Houses of Worship) in the United States.

Although these differences have contributed greatly to many controversial views on the religious ethical or unethical practices among devotees, one cannot ignore the rich cultural awareness on the impact of Africanism within the "latino" community. The knowledge and understanding of Orisa as a universal force has personified a sense of new hope for both the Hispanic and African communities in the United States where its impact has been experienced at phenomenological levels. It is ever so clear that the knowledge and folkloric practices of Orisa as they presently evolve in our urban environment have and will continue to provide an accessibility to resources and opportunities which too often have been denied.

Thus, as we further explore this knowledge of what we know to be Orisas, consider the words of Herbert Spencer:

...there is a principle which is a bar against all information, which is proof against all arguments, and which cannot fail to keep man in everlasting ignorance. That principle is contempt to investigation.

## Orisas: Multifarious Perspectives

In examining the role of the Orisas (Deities) and the development of diverse levels of communication some basic fundamental principles discussed by Dr. Thomas Adeoye Lambo (1978) include:

a) all things exist in dynamic correspondence, whether they are present or not:

b) past, present, and future blend in harmony;

c)the world does not change between one's dreams and daylight;

d)there is a continous communication between the living and the departed;

e) and, the strength and influence of every family member is anchored by the spirits of deceased heroes.

These deceased heroes are currently acknowledged as divine forces who influence and control several elements of nature (e.g., fire, air, water, earth). Thus, wherever that principle element exists, pantheistically the force known as Orisa is self-generated.

For the purposes of this brief discussion several more commonly know Orisas (Deities) are listed in Figure 1. This by no means includes the entire listing of the many deities in the Yoruba traditions, and this does not also include the complete conceptual interpretations of their functions as they relate to human communication. It is outlined only as a means of briefly presenting the ideas and interpretations commonly associated with their functions, from their historical interpretations to their current transformation into "popular religious networks."

In conclusion, as we embrace these various innumerable energies, let us maintain a degree of objectivity towards the innovative dynamics in which they are transforming in urban societies. Let us not forsake their principle origins, and keep in mind the words of a current African scholar, Dr. Fela Sowande:

...it has been established beyond all reasonable doubt, in my view, that every human society draws material for its mythology and legendary records from one and the same source. Nevertheless,

## Orisa-Yoruba Origin

Esu - The messenger; deity of the crossroads; essential in all levels of divination and communication with all other deities.

Ogun - Deity of Iron: associated with clearing the pathways essential to the completion of tasks, goals, and issues of justice, or law and order.

Orishanala - Deity of the Creation of human form. Represents wisdom, the Orisa of the Eleda (head). There is debate on whether this force is male of female, depending on the region of Nigeria.

Sopona - Deity of smallpox.

Oya - Deity of the Niger River' associated with winds, tornadoes and the domains of departed spirits/Egungun.

Songo - Deity of thunder and lightning; once the Oba (king) of the Oyo region of Nigeria.

Yemoja - Deity of the Ogun River in Nigeria; associated with salt water and "mother of many deities"

Osun - Deity of the Osun River in Nigeria; associated with sweet waters. Deity of love, and fertility.

Olokun - Deity of the sea; associated with great wealth.

#### Folkloric Transformation - USA

Elegbara - Deity of communication; associated with confusion; the crossroads, and essential to all forms of communication and divination.

Ogun - Deity of Iron; associated more commonly with issues of confrontation and war; issues of justice, law and order.

Obatala - Deity of the Creation of the human form. Represents wisdom, the Orisa of the Eleda (head). In principle, is considered androgenous, however this name is used to represent the male counterpart.

Babaluaye - Deity of sickness or diseases.

Oya - Deity of the winds and tornadoes, associated with domains of departed spirits/Eguns.

Shango - Deity of fire, thunder and lightning. Associated with rulership and great wealth.

Yemaya - Deity of the surface of the sea; associated with salt waters and considered "mother of all deities."

Oshun - Deity of all rivers; associated with sweet waters and fertility.

Olokun - Deity of the bottom of the ocean; associated with phenomenological occurrences.

Figure 1

every human society adapts this material to is own satisfaction, to meet its own psychological needs, and molds the plastic substance which it takes from common source into shapes that fit in with its own ideas and outlook of life. Perhaps in deed what it selects and how it selects from the source may be instinctive awareness itself; perhaps what it does is not so much to adapt as to choose material that will eventually shape along directions that will be psychologically satisfying to the society, rather like a child who selects certain pieces of building blocks that appeal to it, but from which it can build only the type of houses it likes (Sowande 1966).

#### **NOTES**

- Taped discussions with Babalawo Patriarch O. Epega at the Imole Oluwa Institute for Ifa Studies in Oderemo, Nigeria, Summer 1984.
- Fieldnotes with Luases Priest in Brooklyn, New York, Spring 1985.

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#### WHO ARE THE SHAMANS? (Continued from page 2)

thering societies to the shamans of horticulturists, nomadic pastoralists, agriculturists to urban shamans. Unchanged over the millennia remained the role of the shaman as a mediator between the world of spirits and humans.

## Royal Shamans

Not only shamans but also rulers demonstrated shamanistic faculties. The crowns of Korean kings of the Silla Dynasty (third to fifth century A.D.), for example, show shamanic symbolism (antlers, trees). In the Middle Ages, the sick approached European kings and gueens

and believed they could get well when a royal hand would touch them. During the anointment of a king, divine powers were installed in his body. In Europe, it was done with the help of an archbishop, whereas in Southeast Asia, the rulers became god-kings with the aid of brahmins (Hindu priests). We have documentation that, until the middle of the nineteenth century, Malay sultans still were practicing shamans. In our times, the Ayatollah in Iran, for example, is believed to have access to transcendental powers.

#### The Need for Shamans

The need to come into the presence of the spiritual, is deeply rooted in the human soul. Over thousands of years

those seeking a spiritual connection developed different methods and disciplines to come "to know God." In each culture we find spiritual disciplines available for those who look for them. Many, however, have neither the inclination nor the time for "spiritual exercises," they seek, instead, mediators who have developed the ability to access spiritual energies and who can manifest the spiritual in visible form.

## **Emergence of Shamans**

The first sign for the emergence of new shamans is that their faculty to establish connections to other dimensions, in brief, their spiritual powers, is discovered. They usually begin to work inside their family. Initiation now mainly takes place on the spiritual plane, because in an urban setting, we do not find many other shamans "authorized" to confer such initiation. The reputation that a shamanic advice, exorcism or cure has been successful spreads fast. One satisfied client tells his relatives, acquaintances, and friends and the group of followers grows. (In this regard, it has to be noted that, among the shamans with whom I worked, none ever accepted cases he or she could not solve.)

During the second phase in the career of a shaman, a hierarchy develops among the assistants. Some have taken over the task of regulating the stream of clients, others interpret and explain what the spirit has said. Clients have to be told how amulets have to be worn, how herbal medicine has to be taken or how blessed water should be used. Entourage and clients expect codification, and so the "correct" performance of rituals becomes important.

The entourage also determines the fee for the different shamanic services and administers the incoming donations. Although it is generally believed that shamans will lose their faculties when they become greedy, in some cases, the wealth of successful shamans becomes obvious. In other cases, modesty and frugal life style attests to the altruistic, service aspect of shamans.

## Syncretism of Modern Shamans

In multiethnic and multi-religious societies, shamans often borrow from different traditions and constantly reinterpret the elements of their rituals. The success of shamans rests in their faculty to integrate effortless features which enhance the effect of the shamanic performance. The reason for syncretism is obvious. Different ethnic groups have brought their own religion and culture to the city and the effectiveness of various rituals has become known to other ethnic groups. That means, urban shamans, as did all their predecessors from the beginning, integrate elements of the cultures with which they come into contact and give these elements a new meaning which will correspond to the context of the ritual performed. All elements of urban shamanism are familiar to the shamans and their clients. All have been in contact with the respective traditions as insiders or outsiders. This does not exclude cases where shamans shape new images and use symbols to convey the "formless" messages they continue to receive from the spiritual world. Paraphernalia and rituals will also correspond to the personality of particular shamans and the needs of the people who consult them.

This complexity of shamanic techniques is beneficial because it allows a wide range of explanations and fulfills a wide range of needs. Important for this investigation is that, without the legitimization of a certain culture and tradition, techniques and rituals develop and change to fulfill the needs of a particular segment of a city's population. Legitimization occurs after a successful shamanic ritual, codification makes future performances less flexible.

## **Expectations**

Shamans are seen to, indeed, fulfill the expectations of those around them. People want spiritual advice, protection, and healing and they want to experience the presence of spiritual power. These expectations help to open the gates for shamans who trigger the self-healing powers of their clients.

## **Levels of Operation**

As mediators, shamans work, therefore, on a number of different levels.

(1) Socially, they are citizens like everybody else,

(2) spiritually, they enjoy a higher position on account of

their relationships to the Divine,

(3) during the shamanic rituals, they operate on intermediate levels, between the spiritual world and the world of humans. Normative rules of the social order are suspended and the encounter with the omnipotent spiritual world is screened. On one hand, shamans protect the spiritual world from being polluted by human weaknesses and, on the other hand, they channel spiritual energy in a useful way so that it does not overtax the capacity of their clients.

## Shamans Past and Present

Compared with shamans in the past,

(1) the environment of shamans in the twentieth century differs socially and culturally considerably from that of paleolithic shamans.

(2) Citizens in the twentieth century also seem to have needs that differ from those of our predecessors in hunting, herdsmen, horticultural and farming cultures. However, an individual in a big city can feel as alienated and isolated as a hunter or gatherer in an early jungle. Considering their existential nature, the needs of contemporaries do not differ much from those of earlier generations.

(3) The characteristics of shamans who get in contact with the spiritual world have remained the same.

When existential emergencies occur and show overwhelming dimensions, when politicians lose the confidence of their constituency, when priests do not consider the needs of their community, when physicians and psychotherapists treat the symptoms and not their patients, because they don't have the time or they feel constrained by "scientific considerations, when underlying imbalances in an individual's physical, emotional, social, philosophical, moral, and spiritual systems remain unattended, then the search for spiritual help begins and produces new shamans.

## Conclusion

Shamanism is very much alive today. It has stayed accessible whether we look without or within. Shamanism ritualizes the processes for transformation whether we walk the path on our own or whether we consult shamans. Shamans have been and are called to serve and to restore the union between the sacred and the profane.

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## PARAPSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS WITH SHAMANISTIC MEDIUMS IN GARHWAL HIMALAYA (INDIA)

by Alok Saklani, Garhwal University, Srinagar, India

Claims of shamans to paranormal abilities are common the world over. However, very few studies have been made to scientifically determine the authenticity of the preliminary Considering this psi parapsychological) tests were given by the author to a shaman who was selected for detailed studies following a screening of five shamans of Garhwal.(1) "Bakias" (as the shamans are commonly called) perform the functions of "divine consultation healing" while being "possessed" by a deity. They are Garhwalis (belonging to the Garhwal hills) who have been supposedly chosen by a deity to perform for the benefit of the society but virtually without any training except for a brief initiation.

Bakias may be either male or female hailing from any caste (whether "Bashist" that is superior, or "Doms" who formerly considered artisan class the "untouchables"). Like most Hindus Garhwalis are deeply religious praying about twice a day and observing fasts for more than fifteen to twenty days a year. Garhwalis visit a Bakia for a wide range of problems, such as career advancement, low farm yield, litigation, childlessness, theft, and unharmonious family relations. Bakias conduct bi-weekly sessions (generally on Tuesdays and Saturdays, considered auspicious) after entering into a trance performing at one stretch and on an empty stomach even though the number of people who have come for relief may be large. The people are not supposed to discuss their problems with the Bakias. Instead it is the Bakia who is expected to disclose the same and also reveal the causes thereof. Generally, Bakias diagnose the problems as due to a deity's wrath, or spirit possession, or sorcery, or even fate. Temporary relief may be brought about by the Bakia himself through rice grains "energized" (by blowing air onto grains, which are to be swallowed by the distressed) instantly. However, the recommended treatment for a permanent solution to the problem invariably consists of some rituals (whereby a deity, spirit, or planet is expected to be

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appeased) which are conducted by a "Purohit" (another religious specialist, who is of the high Brahmin caste).

It has been observed that people of all castes and station both from neighboring as well as distant villages go to Bakias with their problems. A survey conducted to determine the incidence of faith in Bakias in four nearby villages revealed that almost all (95%) villagers are convinced of Bakias' psychic powers, also that they have visited a Bakia at least once in their lifetime. In order to observe the methods of consultation and healing repeated visits were made by the author to five shamans over a period of around three years. The interviews with Bakias were held both in Garhwali (local dialect) and Hindi (national language). Good rapport had been established with three of the five Bakias although later efforts were concentrated only on one of them.

Of the three kinds of psi tests given to the selected Bakia psychic abilities were demonstrated only in the one involving psychokinetic (PK) and healing effects on plants. The Bakia succeeded in making the experimental group of plants grow significantly faster than the control in the PK test. And in the healing test the Bakia not only caused a significantly higher germination in the experimental group of seeds (wheat grains) but also brought about a change in the absorbance level of the solution used in the experiment. Tests for PK on methanol and those for studying psychometry abilities in the subject, however, yielded non-significant results, although it may be mentioned that the material (methanol) in the former, and the condition (no feedback) in the latter were alien to her.

#### NOTE

1. The observations and results reported here form parts of papers presented in the 30th Annual Convention of the Parapsychological Association held at Edinburgh in 1987 and the Fifth International Conference on Shamanism and Alternate Modes of Healing held at San Rafael, California in 1988.

(Editor's note: Dr. Saklani can be reached at Department of Commerce, Garhwal University, Srinagar-U.P. 246 174, INDIA)

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

The Way of the Actor: A Path to Knowledge and Power by Brian Bates. (Boston: Shambhala), 1987, 216 pages, \$9.95 paper. Reviewed by Dan Hawkmoon Alford, California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, California.

This is a gestalt-switch book, not for the faint-conceptual, which unmasks the psychic and shamanic underground that our greatest actors have always belonged to. Through vivid personal accounts and conversations, Brian Bates whose primary research and writing involve shamanism, opens discussion about the ancient power of acting rather than its structure.

An important contribution of this book is its examination of the role of the actor in modern civilization as an *entertainer*, versus the actor's role of trance medium for the spirits in traditional societies: "For thousands of years, actors were seen as the guardians of wisdom. And the way of the actor was a path to personal knowledge and power." In revealing anecdotes the author shows how many of our own "civilized" actors take this more ancient role very seriously.

And lest you pass by this book because you think it's about "those other people" who perform on stage and film, this book is just as much about you and me as we go through our daily lives, showing one "face" to one person and a second to another, acting just a bit different than usual before this group, watching our p's and q's when we're with those people. Or, as Marlon Brando says, "Acting is something that most people think they're incapable of but they do it from morning to night."

Beginning the book with anecdotes of clairvoyance, out-of-body experiences, reincarnation, spirit-possession, and other ruminations involving actors such as Alec Guinness, Shirley MacLaine, and Liv Ullmann, Bates sums up his premise, footnoting Eliade:

There is a particular significance to all of these experiences, for they unlock secrets within actors, and ourselves, which we only barely understand. And yet in times past this knowledge was accessible to us. For in traditional societies around the world, actors were *expected* to foretell future events. To travel beyond the boundaries of their bodies. To incarnate spirits of the mysteries. To risk life and death in performance, to hunt the unknown, to love and reveal inner spirit which communicates with others at the deepest levels (p. 2).

Just how such a shamanistic calling got transformed into "entertainment" in Western European culture is laid right at the clay feet of the Church, threatened as it was and always has been by traditional peoples' direct contact with spirits -- rivalry of religious stages, as it were. Official discrimination against actors, obviously directed by the Church, began in 1372 with the passing of an Act of Parliament which designated as "Roges, Vagabondes and Sturdye Beggars all Fencers, Bearewards and Common players in Enterludes and Minstrels", categorizing all the activities of actors as "lewd" and liable of punishment (p. 20).

The era of the sacred actor in Western Civilization was over as acting was taken out of the pagan forest and put up on a stage where it could be overseen more easily. A sad result, over six hundred years later, is that we often look to scientists for truth when they can say absolutely nothing about our fundamental conditions: deep psychological needs, spiritual energies, healing powers, archetypal fears, prophetic dreams, forces of nature, and the souls of the dead (p. 22). Actors give form to these spirits and incarnate them for their audiences, traditional and modern.

For instance, in analyzing the popularity of *Dallas*, watched by 250 million people in 80 countries, Bates notes that it and *Dynasty* confront in a non-threatening way the moral structures of contemporary society, citing the breaking of each of the Ten Commandments as key conflicts in the plot lines (Thou shalt not steal, murder, commit adultery, covet, bear false witness, etc.) and comparing J.R. to the devil in the York Mystery Plays (p. 26). This type of fictional character occupies an important place in audiences' minds today, providing an extended family of "people" whose incidents are fully as important as those of some of the real people we know.

One reason it has been so difficult to write this review is the sheer number of provocative and important statements made by the author -- picking just a few to give a flavor of the reading was painful for what had to be left out. I've given above my picks from just the Introduction and first chapter, The Lost Tradition. Chapter Two begins with a riveting description of Marlon Brando's transformation into Don Corleone in an early preparation for the title role in *The Godfather*. A simple listing of later chapters will let you see what else is in store:

Possession: Finding Inner Selves Transformation: Changing Selves Rebirth: Reliving Life Seeing: Facing Reality Dream: Images of Power Death: Living Near the Edge Charisma: The Power of Presence Soul: Liberation from the Body Powers: Psychic Sensitivity Energies: Intimate Communication Return to the Mystery

Of major significance is Bates' description of some of the exercises and techniques used in the Royal Academy of the Dramatic Arts and elsewhere to center, project, and strengthen rapport: the color meditations on pages 163 and 171; the mirroring exercise on page 183; and the blindfold and chairs exercise on page 187 seem especially noteworthy.

One thing I felt bad about was that Brian Bates didn't include any reference to Peter Sellers' greatest career performance as Chauncy the Gardener in *Being There*. Also, while attempting to disabuse people of their misconceptions about acting and actors, he seems to perpetuate misconceptions about music (quoting Simon Callow, "A play is not a score, with specific notes which have to be played as they're written....") and hypnotic trance ("The actor in effect hypnotizes himself by repetitions into his role. The fact that he is still conscious, still aware of everything going on around him on the stage and in the auditorium, does not alter the fact that his

'performance' is the result of these hypnotic repetitions.") Musicians and hypnotic subjects, just like shamanic actors, must have their feet planted in both the "real" and imaginal worlds at once.

I guess the most important questioning this book gave me was toward reexamining the depths and possibilities inherent in the Babel Inverted Group's recent conclusion about the current fad of channeling -- that there is a strong element of **acting** involved. It's unfortunate, but a slight pejorative odor tends to hang in the air after a statement like that is made, slightly sulfurous and harkening back to a 14th Century Act of Parliament. Since, following Bates, the original actors were shamans, and the best of today's actors stand in the shamanistic stance with one foot in either world, then saying that what channels do is acting may be paying them a high compliment indeed! And this sort of concession indicates what this reviewer GOT from Brian Bates' offering.

The Way of the Actor: A Path to Knowledge and Power is interesting on virtually every page, and belongs in the libraries of all researchers into shamanism and topics of consciousness, as well as anyone who takes self-discovery seriously. I will let the author have the last word in this review:

This book reveals, through the experiences of today's actors, what it is that actors have to teach us about ourselves. Finding our inner identity. Changing ourselves. Realizing and integrating our life experience. Seeing life freshly and with insight into others. Becoming aware of the powers of our mind. Risking and commitment. Learning how to concentrate our lives into the present, and the secrets of presence and charisma. Extending our sense of who we are, and achieving liberation from restricted concepts of what a person is. Getting in touch with our psychic powers, and communicating with others in that realm.

## REQUESTS

We have had a request for literature by an art historian and anthropologist in Turkey, who is having great difficulty finding access to some of the current literature, especially from the USA. His interests are in shamanism, consciousness, spirituality, trance/possession, parapsychology and psychology, and anthropology/archeology. He would especially like materials on Amerindian, Eskimo, Ural and Altaic Peoples and their shamanism, from earliest times up to the present. The former AASC officer contacted for this information is sending around 2000 pages of reprints, books, and xeroxed copies of materials answering this description, and requests that we ask that all members who can afford it through departmental or other funds also send materials. Considering the glut of materials available from recent years, it will surely prove impossible to amass all the materials, but a group effort will surely expedite things for this very active foreign researcher. (He also asks for "kind advice and recommendations" on these topics, so may wish to begin regular correspondence with you.) Send to: **Dr. Arben Engin Beksac**; Kozyatqi Kayasultan Sokak; No.52/ Tunca Apt./ D.10; S1090 - Erebjit - Istanbul; TURKEY

#### READER'S EXCHANGE

(Editor's Note: This column is set aside for *Newsletter* reader's to exchange information about themselves, their research interests and projects, and their publications and other activities. Reader's addresses are printed only with a reader's permission.)

Carol Patterson -- Occupation: anthropologist. Education: Doctoral student. Research Interests: Sign language of Native Americans; Symbols used in picture writing; Shamanic symbols, Artistic depictions of self when in trance. Research projects: Shamanic symbols found in Indian petroglyphs; Iconic and indexical analysis of a large survey of American Indian (Pueblo) petroglyphs. Experiential training and fieldwork: Symbol in anthropology, cultural anthropological photography, visual anthropology and filmmaking. Address: 221 Gowen Place, Winslow, WA 98110.

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